A

# COMMENTARY

ON THE

# HOLY SCRIPTURES:

## CRITICAL, DOCTRINAL AND HOMILETICAL,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINISTERS AND STUDENTS.

BY

JOHN PETER LANGE, D. D.,

IN CONNECTION WITH A NUMBER OF EMINENT EUROPEAN DIVINES.

*TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, AND EDITED, WITH ADDITIONS, ORIGINAL AND SELECTED.*

BY

PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D.,

IN CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN SCHOLARS OF VARIOUS EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS.

VOL. VII. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT:
CONTAINING CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER.

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THE BOOKS

OF THE

# CHRONICLES.

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THEOLOGICALLY AND HOMILETICALLY EXPOUNDED

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# PREFACE TO VOL. VII. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THIS volume completes the Commentary on the Historical Books of the Old Testament, written during the period of the reconstruction of the theocracy after the return from exile. It contains:

1. THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES, by Dr. OTTO ZÖCKLER, Professor in the Prussian University of Greifswald (1874), translated and edited by Professor JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., of Belfast, who is already well known to the American public by his Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and the Psalms. Professor Murphy has departed from the method of the other volumes by giving a literal translation of the text instead of the authorized version with emendations in brackets.

2. EZRA, by Dr. FR. U. SCHULTZ, Professor in the University of Breslau (1876), translated and edited by Dr. CHARLES A. BRIGGS, Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, who prepared in part the Commentary on the Psalms for this work.

3. NEHEMIAH, by Dr. HOWARD CROSBY, Chancellor of the University of New York. Dr. Crosby had finished his work in manuscript before the German Commentary of Dr. Schultz appeared (1876), but he has added a translation of the Homiletical sections from Schultz.

4. ESTHER, by Dr. SCHULTZ, translated and edited by Dr. JAMES STRONG, Professor of Exegetical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. Dr. STRONG has translated the frequent Latin citations, added the Textual and Grammatical notes, enlarged the list of exegetical helps, and furnished an excursus on the Apocryphal additions to Esther, and another on the liturgical use of the book among the Jews.

The remaining three of the twenty-four volumes of this Commentary are in the hands of the printer, and will be published at short intervals.



PHILIP SCHAFF.

BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, December, 1876.

# PREFACE.

THE matter and the whole form of the books of Chronicles afford a sufficient warrant for allowing the homiletic and even the theological part of the exposition to fall more into the background here than elsewhere in this Bible-work. In the following work also, on account of the numerous parallels with the books of Samuel and Kings, an almost exclusive predominance of the historical element might easily be permitted. For with regard to theological and homiletic comment, the corresponding portions of these books have already received a fruitful and valuable treatment in the able works of Bähr and Erdmann, so that reference to them might in every instance have been sufficient. And where anything peculiar to Chronicles was to be explained, it almost always referred to portions like the genealogical lists in 1 Chron. ii.–ix., the various supplements to the history of war, and the highly characteristic episodes on the history of worship, which belonged rather to the outer surface, the rind and shell of the theocratic and evangelical system, than to its spiritual ground and essence, and therefore needed rather to be explained historically, than to be considered or applied dogmatically or practically. The homiletic remarks might, therefore, in this volume be omitted as a distinct section, and a group of sections might be thrown together as a basis for the development of theological or evangelical and ethical principles. But besides, it appeared necessary in Chronicles to dwell more frequently on difficulties of a chronological kind, and on apologetic problems connected therewith, on account of which it was requisite, besides and along with those evangelical reflections, to introduce several *excursus*, some of considerable length, as that on Ophir after 2 Chron. viii., and that on the chronology of the kings during the time of the separate kingdom after 2 Chron. xxxii.

Of recent literary helps, some that appeared in the course of printing could not be fully employed; for example, the second edition of the commentary of Thenius on the books of Kings (in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, S. Hirzel), and the treatise of H. Brande, *Die Königsreihen von Juda und Israel nach den biblischen Berichten und den Keilinschriften* (Leipzig, Al. Edelmann),—a praiseworthy attempt to remove the chronological differences between the statements of the books of Kings and Chronicles on the one hand, and those of the Assyrian monuments on the other, in which some at least of the discrepancies between the biblical and Assyro-Babylonian computation of time brought forward by Assyriologists, especially by Schrader, have met with an interesting, if not quite satisfactory explanation. And of the simultaneously-appearing third revised edition of C. F. Keil's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, (Frankfurt a. M., Heyder und Zimmer) obviously no use could be made.

With regard to the question, How the very numerous proper names, especially of persons, in the text of Chronicles were to be treated in their transference into German, the author was presented with a problem not quite easy to solve. Perfect consistency could only be attained either by a close adherence to the text of Luther, or by the thorough restoration of a spelling adapted as strictly as possible to the Hebrew sound; in which latter case, however, names such as Jehova, and the household words Noah, Isaak, Israel, Saul, Salomo, Hiskia, etc., must

have given way to the more correct forms Jahve, Noach, Jitschak, Jisrael, Schaul, Schelomo, Jechizkijahu. As this would not have corresponded with the rule elsewhere adopted in our Bible-work, we have taken a middle course. All the well-known current forms of the Lutheran Bible that have been as it were canonized by a usage of several centuries in the tradition of evangelical Germany, especially the divine name Jehova and all names of prominent men of God (patriarchs, prophets, kings, etc.), and of important holy places, we have left wholly unaltered, only with the addition, once for all, of the more exact orthography in parentheses (usually on the first occurrence of the name in question). All less current names, because they belong to less important persons and places, and especially if they occur only once, are immediately and directly expressed in the way more agreeable to the Hebrew sounds; and only when there is a very great deviation from the received orthography in the Lutheran text is this difference noted by the insertion of a parenthesis. For this intermediate course between the customary and the modern mode of writing, we are glad to be able to refer among others to the late Oehler as warrant, who, in p. 146 of the lately published first part of his posthumous *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen, Heckenhauer), expresses his agreement in principle with the rule here laid down, when he declares that such forms as Jehova, Jordan, etc., are less correct than "Jahve, Jarden," etc., yet not to be supplanted by these more correct forms, and proceeds accordingly throughout the text of his work.

DR. O. ZÖCKLER.

GREIFSWALD, *October* 1873.

[Translating into English, we shall use the English mode of spelling the ordinary names.
J. G. M.]

# THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. ON THE IMPORT OF CHRONICLES AS A HISTORICAL WORK, AND ON ITS RELATION TO THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS.

THE last book of the Old Testament canon forms a comprehensive history, which recapitulates the progress of the people of God from Paradise to the close of the Babylonish captivity in a peculiar point of view, partly extracting, partly repeating, and partly supplementing the contents of the earlier canonical books of history, with the exception of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, which are later in point of contents than our book.

1. The *first* or *genealogical* portion of the work especially *extracts or summarily recapitulates* the earlier historical books. It embraces the first nine chapters, according to the present division, and contains the genealogies of the patriarchs, the twelve tribes, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, till the beginning of the kingdom (occasionally even beyond it), in order to exhibit the genealogical connection of David, as well as the Levites and priests of his time, with the antediluvian patriarchs of the human race. Only here and there, particularly with respect to the statements concerning the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Levi, this form is changed into that of a completion or enlargement of the former record by peculiar genealogical or historical additions. As a mere repetition of the statements contained in the earlier books, appear several genealogical notices of the first chapter; for example, those relating to the races of the table of nations and the princes of Edom (Gen. x. 36).

2. The second or strictly historical portion of the work partly repeats and partly completes, sometimes with a great fulness of details, the historical books after Moses and Joshua, especially the books of Samuel and Kings. It extends from 1 Chron. x. to the end of 2 Chron., and mainly presents a history of the kings of Judah from David to Zedekiah, or rather to the edict of Cyrus at the close of the Babylonish captivity. A process of abbreviating, of only summarily recapitulating, and even of wholly passing over a great deal of historical material, now takes place, inasmuch as the writer ignores the facts relating to the private life of David and Solomon, especially when they are unfavourable to their moral character, and in the time after Solomon intentionally turns away his eye from the fortunes of the northern kingdom, and confines himself almost exclusively to the Jewish history of this period. Yet for the whole time from David to the exile he appears more as a supplementer than as a concise repeater of the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, inasmuch as the intrinsic importance of the addition made by him almost always exceeds that of the passages omitted, and both the omission and the addition appear to have in view certain fixed tendencies, especially the endeavour to glorify the theocratic order of the priests and Levites. If we take into account this particular tendency, as well as the altered circumstances in which he wrote, we arrive at the following points as characteristic of his work, compared with his older predecessors, especially the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings.

*a*. The books of Samuel and Kings having originated (been reduced to their present form) during the Babylonish exile, are a proper Israelitish national work, treating the history of both kingdoms, Israel and Judah, with equal attention. On the contrary, the Chronist appears as a specially Jewish (Judaising) writer, who belonged to the time after the exile, possibly even of the post-Persian dominion (Hellenic), and from his late age lay too remote from the events of the once existing kingdom of Israel; and, moreover, from his rigid theocratic position, took

so little interest in the fortunes of the northern kingdom, that he excluded them altogether from his regard, and produced merely a Jewish chronicle.

*b.* The standpoint of those older Israelitish national historians is that of the prophet, while the younger Jewish Chronist occupies that of the priest and the Levite. Whereas the former, in accordance with the total depression, the apparently almost hopeless destruction, of the Mosaic temple worship in the exile, take a predominantly spiritual direction, averse to the external side of the theocratic worship, the latter, writing after the exile, at the time of the restored national sanctuary, exhibits a more lively interest in the external institutions and modes of worship, as well as in the order of priests and Levites appointed to take charge of it. From this sacerdotal ecclesiastical direction there follows a third important point of difference.

*c.* The moral causes of the national misfortune that broke in upon the people, especially their constantly-repeated lapse into idolatry, with which those older historians were most anxiously engaged, are cast into the shade, and often studiously ignored, by the Chronist, so that in the picture presented by him there appears a much smaller number of the gloomy shadows and dark spots of religious apostasy, and consequent national humiliation by heavy divine judgments. While the former obviously follow the tendency "to hold up to them a warning picture, in the tragic history of the Hebrew nation, of the danger of the relapse of a not yet elevated people among heathen nations, and in the narrative of the successive sins of their fathers to give a theodicy to the race already bewildered with respect to the promises and the faithfulness of Jehovah, and show them that their national misfortunes are to be ascribed to their own guilt; on the other hand, for the author of Chronicles, who lived after the exile, from which time the people, purified by affliction, adhered with stern obstinacy to their national God, and who no longer distinguishes accurately between the different kinds of ancient superstition (appears indeed to identify the impure Jehovah-worship of the northern kingdom with complete idolatry), accounts of the earlier superstition must have been of less consequence, because they presented to him less didactic matter and historical interest than to the authors of the older historical work" (Movers).

*d.* With this is connected the tone of panegyric usual with our author, frequently deviating from the unvarnished manner of the older historians, his apologetic endeavour to make the heroes of the foretime and their deeds to stand forth in the most glorious light, by giving prominence to the more externally than internally significant and ethically important moments, and especially by statistical data concerning the greatness of the temporal and spiritual state of the kings, the magnitude of the festivals celebrated by them, etc.

*e.* Finally, with regard to the outward form of representation, the younger work contrasts very strongly with the older. As well by its less pure Hebrew style, presenting so many traces of a late age, as by its often striking monotony, want of independence and poverty of ideas, its dry annalistic method of statement continued through long sections, and its inclination to direct copying and mere transcribing of the old books of Kings, it falls very far behind the classical originality, the fresh and genial historiographic skill of the other.

To bring these differences between the literary peculiarity of the two parallel elaborations of the history of the people of God till the exile under a single formula, we may with Keil distinguish the older books of Kings as the fruit of the *prophetic* form of history, and Chronicles as the product of the *hagiographic* mode. Our work, indeed, belongs more closely to that special development of hagiographic historiography, which, in contrast with the *popular* method of the books of Ruth and Esther (and with the *prophetic* mode of the historic sections of Daniel), may be termed the *sacerdoto-Levitical*, and in which the preference for annalistic statement (appearing also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the continuations of Chronicles) must be accounted eminently characteristic. Keil[1] justly denies that any one of these special moments, whether popularity, the sacerdoto-Levitical, or *the annalistic* character, should be applied to the collective historical works of the hagiographic part of the canon. "Common to the collective hagiographic books of history, and characteristic of them, is simply the retreat or the absence of the prophetic view of the course of history according to the divine plan of salvation unfolding itself in the events, instead of which appear individual points of view that show themselves in the prosecution of parenetic, didactic ends, and have a definite influence on the selection and treatment of the facts."

[1] *Bibl. Comment. on Chron., Ezr., Neh., and Esth.*, Introd. p. viii.

### § 2. NAME OF CHRONICLES. RELATION TO THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

Of the two most widely accepted designations of our historical work, the one pointing to its annalistic character, the other to the relation of supplement or completion which it bears to the older books of Kings, the former rests on the Hebrew phrase דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים. This phrase, before which, according to 1 Kings xiv. 19, 29, xv. 7, 23, the word סֵפֶר (or, according to Esth. vi. 1, סֵפֶר זִכְרֹנוֹת) is to be supplied, means "events of the day, course of events" (*res gestæ dierum*), and thus presents our work as a "Book of current events," as a "Chronicle:" which name, not as a literal, but a correct rendering of דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, has been made current by Jerome for the Latin, and by Luther for the German Church.[1] So far as this denomination in the quoted passages of the Old Testament refers to divers other historical works, in particular to those old Israelitish royal annals often quoted by our Chronist, the "books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (as in Esth. ii. 23, vi. 1, x. 2, the Medo-Persian royal annals, the "book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia"), it appears to be a rather indefinite designation, by which our work should be distinguished quite generally as belonging to the class of annalistic works covering a long space of time. Whether this name proceeds from the author himself, or owes its origin to a later (certainly very old, and at all events pre-Masoretic) tradition, at any rate, the denomination brought into currency by the Sept. Παραλειπόμενα (*liber* Paralipomenōn) is more significant for the characteristic position and import of the work as a historical book, especially for its relation to the earlier historical books of the canon. For this name, which is to be explained, not with Movers, by *supplementa*, relics from other historical works, but, in accordance with the patristic tradition in Pseudo-Athanasius (*Synopsis Scr. S.*, in *Athanasii Opp.* ii. p. 83: παραλειφθέντα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις περιέχεται ἐν τούτοις), in Jerome (*Ep. ad Paulin:* . . . "*prætermissæ in Regum libris historiæ*"[2]) and Isidore of Seville (*Origen*, lib. vi. c. 1, p. 45: "*Paralipomenon græce dicitur, quod prætermissorum vel reliquorum nos dicere possumus*," etc.), by "omitted, overlooked in the other historical works," sets forth in a striking manner the position taken by our author as the supplementer of the prophetical historians, and has therefore the advantage over the Hebrew denomination of greater definiteness, although it appears neither quite free from misapprehension nor adapted to the collective characteristics of our history.

Our work, moreover, forms, according to its original plan, as well as the oldest tradition, only one "book of annals" or supplements, for not only the old numeration of the books of the Old Testament in Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 8), Origen (in Euseb. *H. Eccl.* vi. 25), and Jerome (*Prolog. galeat.*), according to which the canon consists of twenty-two books, but also the later computation made by Jerome and in the Talmud (*Baba bathra*, fol. 14), extending to twenty-four books, recognises only one book of Chronicles; and that the Masora regarded it as a single work is evident from the remark at the close of its text, that 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 forms the middle of the whole. The present general division (even in the recent Hebrew editions) into two books, springs from the Alexandrine translators and Jerome their follower, and may have been occasioned on their part by the existence of some great section or interval at the point of division, 1 Chron. xxix. 29 f., in the majority of older Hebrew MSS. This bipartition of the work (which even Melito of Sardis knew, Euseb. *H. Eccl.* iv. 26, as his list of the holy scriptures includes Παραλειπομένων δύο) cannot be regarded as unsuitable, since, apart from the almost equal length of the two parts, the end of the reign of David, on which the writer dwells with greater fulness than on that of any other king, presented a most fitting point of pause and division.

The identity of the close of the second book, ch. xxxvi. 22 f., with the beginning of the book of Ezra, especially as the passage presents no truly satisfactory close for our work, raises the expectation that some connection exists between it and the latter book. In favour of this is farther the close affinity of the style of each, the mode of quoting the law common to both,

[1] Jerome's *Prolog. galeat.: Dibre hajamim*, i.e. *verba dierum, quod significantius* chronicon totius divinæ historiæ *possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur.*

[2] The whole passage (*Opp. ed. Vallars.* t. i. p. 279) runs thus: *Paralipomenon liber*, i.e. *instrumenti veteris epitome, tantus et talis est, ut absque illo, si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, se ipsum irrideat; per singula quippe nomina juncturasque verborum et prætermissæ in Regum libris tanguntur historiæ et innumerabiles explicantur evangelii quæstiones.*

as well as the decided preference of both for genealogical registers, statistical lists, and minute descriptions of acts of religion, in which also the same formulæ are not seldom used (see Remark). As no small part of these idioms belong also to the book of Nehemiah, the hypothesis is natural, that the three books, even if proceeding from different authors, have been subjected to a common revision by a later writer. This hypothesis is more probable than both the other attempts to solve the problem, namely, that either Chronicles and Ezra (Movers), or Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (Zunz, Ew., Berth., Dillm., Davidson, etc.), originally formed a single work proceeding from one author. For in such unity of origin of the three works, their separation before the close of the canon into three or (in case of Ezra and Nehemiah having originally formed one work) into two books remains purely inexplicable. The author of such separation would have had no rational ground for retaining 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23 at the same time as the close of the first and the opening of the second part. The double place of these verses leads much rather to a common redactor of the two writings than to an identity of author. The majority also of the already-mentioned common idioms, and other qualities, are sufficiently explained by the hypothesis, that the present very homogeneous form of the two, or at most three pieces, arises partly from having proceeded from the same circle of sacerdotal and Levitical views, endeavours, and learned researches, and partly from having gone through the hands of the same redactor. And even if one author of the two or three works must be affirmed, there can be as little doubt of the fact, that he conceived Chronicles as an independent and separate work, as of the independence and original distinctness of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are clearly separated from one another in the Hebrew text by the new superscription, Neh. i. 1. Comp. § 3. [There seems to be no reason why one author may not continue the work of another on the same plan and in a similar style.—J. G. M.]

*Remark.*—On the numerous verbal points of contact noticed by Pareau, *Institutio interpr. V. T.* p. 419,[1] between Chronicles and Ezra, applying also in great part to the book of Nehemiah, see Movers, *Krit. Untersuchungen*, p. 17 f.; Hävernick, *Einl.* ii. 1, 269 ff., and especially Bertheau, *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb.*, Einleit. p. xix. f. The latter recounts: *a.* a number of like grammatical inflections and constructions, namely, 1. The short way of subordinating relative clauses by placing them after a construct state (1 Chron. xxix. 3; 2 Chron. xxxi. 19; Ezra i. 5; Neh. viii. 10); 2. The use of the infinitive with ל to express must or shall (1 Chron. v. 1, ix. 25, xiii. 4, xv. 2, etc.; 2 Chron. ii. 8, viii. 13, xi. 22, etc.; Ezra iv. 3, x. 12; Neh. viii. 13); 3. The extremely frequent use of the prep. ל, partly before the object as *nota accusativi*, partly after an accus. in continuation (1 Chron. xxviii. 1; 2 Chron. xxvi. 14, xxviii. 15, xxxiii. 8; Neh. ix. 32), especially before לכל, to include all in enumerations (1 Chron. xiii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 12; Ezra i. 5, vii. 28; Neh. xi. 2), after the prep. עַד, where in former usage the word subordinate to this followed immediately (1 Chron. xxviii. 7, 20; 2 Chron. xiv. 12, xvi. 12, 14, xvii. 12, etc.; Ezra iii. 13, ix. 4, 6, x. 14) before the adverbial infin. הַרְבֵּה (2 Chron. xi. 12, xvi. 8; Neh. v. 18); 4. The abundant use of prepositions in general, for example, in such phrases as עַד נֶגֶד, Neh. iii. 26; בְּפִתְאֹם, 2 Chron. xxix. 36; בְּיוֹמָם, Neh. ix. 19; 5. The placing of the article before a verb for the *pron. relat.* (1 Chron. xxvi. 28, xxix. 8, 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 36, xxxiv. 32; Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17; Neh. ix. 33). Moreover, Bertheau himself is obliged to acknowledge with regard to these constructions, that "they occur occasionally also in other books of the Old Testament, especially the later." That they may be laid to the account of the idiom of one single author of the books compared, will be the less evident, because some of these constructions, as the quoted passages show, occur not more than once in any one of these writings, and therefore by no means belong to the prominent characteristics of their style.

*b.* On the contrary, single phrases quoted by him, or standing constructions of certain words, point somewhat more definitely to identity of authorship. Thus the construction עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת, 2 Chron. xiii. 9; Ezra iii. 3, ix. 1, 2, 11; Neh. ix. 30, x. 29 (comp. also מַלְכֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת, Ezra ix. 7; יֹשְׁבֵי הָאֲר', 2 Chron. xv. 5; גּוֹיֵי הָאֲר', 2 Chron. xxxii. 13, 17, etc.), הֵכִין לֵב, 1 Chron. xxix. 18; 2 Chron. xii. 14, xix. 3, xx. 33, xxx. 19; Ezra vii. 10; הֵכִין in

[1] *Quod peculiare est in dictione utriusque libri Chronicorum, id etiam in dictione libri, qui Esræ tribuitur auctori ejusque nomen præ se fert, animadvertitur, quatenus lingua Hebraica conscriptus est.*

several other constructions; הִתְנַדֵּב, "to offer freely at the temple," 1 Chron. xxix. 5, 6, 9, 14, 17; 2 Chron. xvii. 16; Ezra i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5 ff.; Neh. xi. 2; בִּזָּה, 2 Chron. xiv. 13, xxviii. 14; Ezra ix. 7; Neh. iii. 36; קִבֵּל, 1 Chron. xii. 18, xxi. 11; 2 Chron. xxix. 16; Ezra viii. 30; מְלֶאכֶת בֵּית יְהוָה (or מ' ב' אֱלֹהִים), 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 30; Ezra iii. 6, vi. 22; Neh. x. 34, xi. 22, etc. Yet all these phrases occur not exclusively in our books, but occasionally elsewhere (הִתְנַדֵּב, for example, in Judg. v. 2, 9; הָאֲרָצוֹת in several constructions also, 2 Kings xviii. 35, and often in Ezek.; בִּזָּה also in Esther and Daniel; קִבֵּל there also, and in Prov. and Job, etc.). Actual idioms of the books of Chron., Ezra, and Neh., from which their derivation from one author may seem to follow, are properly only such phrases as עַל עָמְדָם, 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 10; Neh. viii. 7, ix. 3, xiii. 11; חֶדְוָה, 1 Chron. xvi. 27; Neh. viii. 10; Ezra vi. 16; כְּפוֹר, "basin," 1 Chron. xxviii. 17; Ezra i. 10, viii. 27; עַד לְמֵרָחוֹק, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15; Ezra iii. 13 (comp. the other constructions with עַד לְ in 2 Chron. xvi. 14, xxvi. 8, xxxvi. 16, etc.); מִתְוַדִּים in the plur., 2 Chron. xxx. 22; Neh. ix. 3; comp. Ezra x. 1; פְּלֻגָּה, of divisions of the Levites, 2 Chron. xxxv. 5; Ezra vi. 18. To this may be added such phrases and formulæ resting on the priestly and legal ideas and facts of these books, as כַּמִּשְׁפָּט, 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; 2 Chron. xxxv. 13, xxx. 16; Ezra iii. 4; Neh. viii. 18 (this phrase is peculiar to our books, while the synonymous כַּכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה occurs often in the older writings); הוֹדוּ וְהַלְלוּ לַיהוָה, 1 Chron. xvi. 4, xxiii. 30, xxv. 3, etc.; Ezra iii. 11; likewise the liturgical form לְהוֹדוֹת וּלְהַלֵּל, and "for He is good, for His grace endureth for ever," 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. v. 13; Ezra iii. 11; not less the standing phrases in describing festivals, בְּשִׂמְחָה (1 Chron. xii. 40, xxix. 9, 17; 2 Chron. xv. 15, xx. 27, xxix. 30, 36, xxxi. 23, 26; Ezra iii. 12) and עַל־יְדֵי דָוִיד (1 Chron. xxv. 2, 6; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 27; Ezra iii. 10); lastly, the official names of certain temple ministers and sacred musicians found only in our books, especially נְתִינִים, הַמְשֹׁרְרִים and מְצִלְתַּיִם. If we add to these common properties, extending even to literal agreement in expression, the preference in these three writings for genealogies and lists of officers and the like (comp. 1 Chron. i.–ix.; Ezra iii., vii. 1–5, viii., x. 20 ff.; Neh. vii. 6 ff., x. 1 ff., xi., xii.), as well as the great prominence of the temple musicians and porters as an institution mentioned with peculiar interest (1 Chron. vi. 16 ff., ix. 14 ff., xv. 16 ff., xvi. 4 ff., xxiii. 5, xxv. 1 ff., xxvi. 12 ff.; 2 Chron. v. 12 ff., viii. 14 ff., xxiii. 13 ff., xxxi. 11 ff., xxxiv. 12 f., xxxv. 15; Ezra ii. 42, 70, iii. 10 f., vii. 7, x. 24; Neh. vii. 1, 45, x. 29, xi. 17 ff., xii. 24 ff., xiii. 5), there grows up a certain probability for the presumption of one author for the three writings in question. But this presumption cannot be regarded as "altogether established" and "fully demonstrated" (Bertheau, p. xx.). The great majority of the coincidences adduced are sufficiently explained by supposing a plurality of authors, nearly of the same date, inspired by a like Levitico-sacerdotal interest and impulse, drawing from the like sources, of whom the last, in order to produce a uniform edition of these similar historical works, submitted his two predecessors to a common revision. Comp. on the other hand, Keil (*Comment.* p. 15 ff.), who, however, certainly derives at least two of the works in question, Chronicles and Ezra, from one author; and, on the other hand, Bleek, *Einleit. ins A. T.* (2d edit. § 171, p. 404), who, coming nearer the truth, claims distinct authors for the three books, but regards the author of Chronicles as the last writer and the redactor of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The question not immediately affecting our problem, whether the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are to be regarded as forming originally one work, or as independent productions of different authors, will have to be incidentally treated in the following investigation concerning the author of our book and the time of its composition.

[The arguments from the above phenomena for a redaction of these books are not convincing. An author writing in the language of the people, especially in the East, will use and repeat the current phrases of his day. The rise of new habits, objects, and acts will demand new words and constructions for their expression. These two circumstances are nearly sufficient to account for all the diversities and identities that have been noted, without having recourse to the hypothesis of one author or one redactor. A familiarity with the previous authors of the Old Testament will probably balance the account.—J. G. M.]

## § 3. AUTHOR, AND TIME OF COMPOSITION.

As Chronicles at its close mentions the edict of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews from the Babylonish exile (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f.), and in 1 Chron. iii. 19–24 it traces the descendants of Zerubbabel through six generations (see the exposition of the passage and Remark at the end of the section), it cannot have been composed, or at least put in its present form, before the time of Zerubbabel, or for a considerable time after Ezra. With an average of thirty years for each of the generations after Zerubbabel, the last, consisting of the seven sons of Elioenai, must be supposed to flourish after the year 350 B.C. The last decade of the Persian monarchy, if not the beginning of the Grecian period, is, moreover, indicated by several other circumstances, among which are the following:—

*a.* The computation employed in 1 Chron. xxix. 7 (in the history of David) by Dariks, אֲדַרְכֹּנִים, a Persian gold coin, occurring also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah,—that, whether first stamped under Darius Hystaspis or not, refers the time of the composition of the work to the Persian sway over the Jews, or even some time after it;[1]

*b.* The name בִּירָה, castle, likewise indicating the Persian period, designates the temple as a magnificent building (1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19),—a term only occurring elsewhere in the books of Esther and Nehemiah, which there designates either the palace of the Persian monarch (Esth. i. 2, 5, ii. 3, 8; Neh. i. 1), or the castle near the temple of Jerusalem, the later Βᾶρις (Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2);

*c.* The orthography and Chaldaizing style betraying a pretty late age (comp. Remark on § 2);

*d.* The position of the work in the canon as the last of the Hagiographa, and thus after the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, to which it would scarcely have been subjoined by the collectors, if any certain knowledge of its composition before or even contemporary with them had existed in Jewish tradition;

*e.* The circumstance that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, for which, on account of the already adduced verbal and other coincidences with our books, an almost identical date of composition must be asserted, must have been already written a considerable time after their heroes and traditional authors, as the proper memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah were used as sources in them,—the age of these men (Neh. xii. 26, 47) is represented as already in the distant past; and, moreover, lists of the chiefs of the Levites (Neh. xii. 23) and of the high priests (Neh. xii. 10 ff.) are given therein, that extend down to Jaddua, the holder of the high priest's office in the time of Alexander the Great. That this Jaddua, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8), high priest during the last years of the Persian Empire, as well as under Alexander, was a contemporary of the author of the book of Nehemiah, appears in fact very probable, according to the twelfth chapter of the book. Yet Ewald and Bertheau have gone too far, when they infer, from the manner in which both in Ezra and Nehemiah Cyrus and his successors are constantly mentioned as *Persian* kings (Ezra i. 1, iv. 5; comp. iv. 7, vi. 1, etc.), that the Grecian monarchy had already commenced. The author might consider it suitable to give prominence to the Persian nationality of these kings, in contrast with the former kings of Judah. And all else that, after Spinoza, has been urged by de Wette, Berthold, Gramberg, and others (recently again by Nöldecke, *Die alttestamentl. Literat.*, 1868, p. 63 f.), for the origin of the book under the Macedonic or the Seleucidic government, amounts only to hypercritical conjectures (comp. Keil, *Apolog. Versuch*, p. 17 ff.; Hävernick, *Einl.* ii. 274 ff.).

If our book appears from the above considerations, especially those adduced under *c–e*, to belong to a time falling after Ezra and Nehemiah, it is impossible for Ezra himself to be the author. The Talmud, indeed, regarded him as the common originator of the book called after him and of Chronicles (*Baba bathr.* fol. 15, 1: *Esra scripsit librum suum et genealogiam in libro Chronicorum usque ad se*), in which it was followed by most Rabbins, some Fathers, as Theo-

[1] That the composition must have taken place during the Persian rule, and before Alexander the Great, can scarcely be inferred from the mention of this coin (against Movers). For as Bleek justly remarks, p. 398: "It may well be imagined, and is in itself quite natural, that a silver or gold coin, once introduced into the country and extensively circulated, will continue in currency long after the dynasty that coined it has ceased to rule."

doret, and later theologians, as Carpzov, Heidegger, Pareau, Starke, Lange, Eichhorn (*Einl.* iii. 597 ff.), Hävernick, Welte, Keil (*Apolog. Versuch*, p. 144 ff., *Einl.* p. 497; comp. *Comment.* p. 14), and Jul. Fürst (*Gesch. der bibl. Lit.* ii. 210, 537 ff.), and others. But he can no more have written the book of Chronicles than the book of Ezra itself. Both belong notoriously to a later age; and in view of their manifold internal and external connection, the hypothesis of Movers, that a writer living some centuries after Ezra wrote both works as a continuous whole, though afterwards separated (Mov. *Krit. Unters.* p. 14 ff.), would commend itself, were it not necessary to take into account the relation of the book of Nehemiah to both, and to admit some sort of connection among the three books. To show that this consists in being derived from the same author has been attempted by Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 18 ff.), Ewald (*Gesch. des v. Isr.* i. p. 264, 2d edit.), Bertheau (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handb.*, Einl. p. 15), Graf (*Die geschichtl. Bücher des A. T.* p. 114 ff.), Dillmann (in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*, Art. "Chronik"), Davidson (*Introd. to the Old Test.* ii. p. 115 sq.). They have regarded the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah as three constituent parts of a single historical work, composed in the end of the Persian or the opening of the Grecian period. But against this are the following considerations:—

1. The identity of Ezra i. 1–3 with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f., which is more easily understood if we regard it as the work of a redactor who wished to show the second of the two originally separate works to be a kind of continuation of the first, than if we suppose that the narrative originally proceeded from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23 to Ezra i. 4, and then, after rending the two books asunder, the opening words of the second concerning the edict of Cyrus were repeated at the close of the first. Comp. Keil, *Comm.* p. 14 f.: "For such a separation with an addition there seems to be no ground, especially as the edict of Cyrus must be repeated. The introduction of this edict with the words, 'And in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, etc.,' is so closely connected with the close of the description of the destruction of Jerusalem and the carrying away of Judah to Babylon, 'and they were servants to him (King Nebuchadnezzar) and his sons until the reign of the Persians, *to fulfil* the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah . . . to fulfil seventy years,' ver. 20 f., that the edict of Cyrus cannot be separated from the foregoing; much rather must the same author, who wrote vers. 20, 21, and represented the seventy years of exile as the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy, have also mentioned the edict of Cyrus, and connected it with this prophecy. This connection of the edict with that prophecy furnishes an incontrovertible proof that the verses containing the edict form an integral part of Chronicles." On the whole, the supposition of a supplementary separation of a history originally forming one whole is attended with serious difficulties; and neither the apparently somewhat abrupt close of Chronicles, as it now stands (with וְיַעַל, "And let him go up"), nor the circumstance that the opening words of Ezra, though verbally coinciding in general with the closing words of Chronicles, yet differ from them in some particulars (namely, for בְּפִי of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, מִפִּי, and for יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23, יְהִי אֱלֹ' ע'), can be satisfactorily reconciled with the hypothesis of separation, both phenomena agreeing better with the supposition, that the conforming hand of a later redactor had established a coincidence in the main between two passages that were originally somewhat different.

2. The plan, also, of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, clearly aiming at the presentation of contemporary or very recent history, speaks against the hypothesis of their original immediate connection with the book of Chronicles. Whatever there is in the plan of this work, or in the position of the writer, with respect to the sources used by him resembling the historiographic method of the other two books, is easily explained by supposing the authors to be guided in general by the same views, and to write in the same, or nearly the same times.

3. And as neither these merely subordinate resemblances of plan and form, nor the already mentioned verbal and orthographical coincidences, suffice to disprove the independent character of the three works, neither can the circumstance, that the author of the apocryphal third book of Ezra, from the way in which he strings together 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 and Ezra i. 1, seems not to have been acquainted with the separation of Chronicles from Ezra, nor the phenomenon parallel to this circumstance, that the Talmud, the Masora, and the ancient Christian Church count the books of Ezra and Nehemiah generally as one book. At the ground of this latter phenomenon obviously lies the Jewish endeavour not to let the number

of the books of the Old Testament exceed that of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (Origen in Euseb. *H. Eccl.* vi. 25; Jerome, *Prol. gal.;* Talmud, *Baba bathr.*, in Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, c. xi. p. 108 sqq.),—an endeavour from which the oldest Church Fathers, in their lists of the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, were not free, and of which the circumstance that two of the oldest MSS. of the Septuagint, the cod. Alexandrinus and the Friderico-Augustanus, separate the book of Nehemiah by no interval from that of Ezra (comp. Tischendorf's *Vetus Testamentum juxta* LXX. *Interpretes*, edit. iv. 1869, *T. I.* p. 611), must be regarded as a later effect.

If, according to all this, the connection of these three books is not to be viewed as a unity, forbidding their original independent existence, and if, notwithstanding all traces of an almost contemporary origin, no common author needs to be assumed for them, nothing is more natural than to regard one of the two or three supposed authors as the originator of that redactional conformation on which the present affinity and mutual relation of the three books, so far as it betrays the hand of a literary reviser, depends. And in all probability this redactor was the author of Chronicles, as a compilation presupposing the existence of the other two, and adapting itself to them. The already extant works concerning Ezra and Nehemiah, proceeding perhaps from the younger contemporaries of these men, may have served as the occasion and impulse to this writer to present the previous history of God's people in a like spirit of Levitical, priestly pragmatism, and in a similar annalistic method, and so to project his review of the progress of the kingdom of God from Adam to the end of the exile, running parallel with the earlier historical books, which he partly supplements and partly abstracts. That he prefixed the closing verses of this work as an introduction to its sequel the book of Ezra, to mark externally the connection of the two works, must be considered more probable from the above remarks, than the reverse hypothesis of Bleek, that "he brought over the first verses of that work (Ezra) as the close of this latter." Comp. throughout Bleek, *Einl.* § 171, p. 404 f., with whose representation of the origin of our three works we only differ on this subordinate point, while we must regard it otherwise as the most satisfactory solution of the present question.

Concerning the person of this author of Chronicles and final redactor of Ezra and Nehemiah, who belonged to the last years of the Persian dynasty, only this can be established, that he must have belonged to the Levites of the second temple, and in particular to the singers or song-masters, in whom he takes a special interest, as the constant putting of them forward (as also the porters) along with priests and Levites in many parts of his work shows; see above, § 2, Remark, p. 6. When Keil (*Comment.* p. 17 ff.) urges against this hypothesis the fact, that "in all places where he speaks of musicians and porters we also find the priests mentioned," sufficient attention is not paid to the fact, that this express mention of such inferior officers as singers and musicians, along with the priests and other officials of the temple, implies a special interest in them on the part of the author. Certainly the porter is often mentioned in the same places; but the interest of the narrator in the musicians and their doings (into which he often enters minutely, while he only mentions the porters by the way) plainly outweighs everything else. And nothing is obviously deducted from the authority and credibility of our writer, if we think of him as an Asaph of the later sanctuary, though his identification with Ezra the priest becomes thereby impossible.

*Remark.*—The difficult passage 1 Chron. iii. 19–24, the full elucidation of which we must reserve for the commentary itself, names from Hananiah, the son of Zerubbabel, five other generations, represented by Shechaniah, Shemaiah, Neariah, Elioenai, and Hodaiah, the last of which generations, Hodaiah with his six brothers, which appears to be nearly contemporary with the author of our work, can scarcely, even if we reckon a generation at 30 years, have flourished before 350 or 340 B.C. To this date points also another note contained in ver. 22. The Hattush here mentioned as great-grandson of Zerubbabel, is perhaps the same Hattush mentioned, Ezra viii. 2, as a descendant of David, and as brought under Ezra from Babylon to Judea. Now, as in vers. 22 and 23 the grandsons of Neariah, a younger brother of this Hattush, are mentioned, we shall thus be carried down beyond the year 400, as the earliest possible time of the drawing up of this genealogy; and the omission of some intervening members after Hattush would carry it down considerably later. These chronological combinations taken from 1 Chron. iii. 19 ff. may not appear absolutely certain and indisputable, as the Hattush of Ezra might possibly be different from that of our passage (comp. Keil, *Einl.*

p. 496), and as, especially in ver. 21, where all connection of the בְּנֵי רְפָיָה with the foregoing is wanting, the suspicion (uttered by Vitringa, Heidegger, Carpzov, etc.) of corruption, or the supposition that a fragment of some other genealogy has crept into the text (Hävern., Movers, Keil, etc.), appears sufficiently plausible. Notwithstanding this uncertainty and partial obscurity of the passage, the opinion expressed is probable enough; and the more so, the more clearly the other considerations (under *c–e*) above mentioned point to a still later time than that of Ezra and Nehemiah.

[The data presented by the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, prove, at most, that a touching hand was applied to them after the lifetime of Ezra and Nehemiah, simply adding a few names to a list or pedigree. But this comes far short of proving that these works were not produced by Ezra and Nehemiah, the authors to whom they are usually assigned. To give even plausibility to this negative conclusion, it is necessary to apply our modern notions or habits of composition to the men of ancient times, before printing was invented, or the rules of literature determined. There is great risk of mistake in taking this important step, as the modern man of letters is liable to carry up into those primitive days his own subjective views, and make a world of ancient literature after the fashion of the nineteenth century. To infer, for instance, that a work was not composed till the last person now named in it had lived and flourished, may seem legitimate. Yet it is not necessarily true even of modern works, as names and facts may be added by an editor or continuator. Still less can it be affirmed of ancient works antecedent to printing, especially when they are of national importance, and under the care of men competent and authorized to make such trifling additions as are supposed by some to discredit the authorship of Ezra and Nehemiah.—J. G. M.]

### § 4. MATTER, PLAN, AND OBJECT OF THE WORK.

In regard to matter, Chronicles falls, as already stated, into two main divisions—a shorter genealogical, i. 1–9, and a longer historical one. If we take into account the several groups of genealogical and historical material that exist within these main parts, the following detailed scheme of contents results:—

I. Genealogical tables or registers, with brief historical data, 1 Chron. i.–ix.
- *a.* Genealogies of the patriarchs from Adam to Israel and Edom, with the descendants of the latter till the era of kings, i.
- *b.* The sons of Israel and the generations of Judah till David, with David's posterity till Elioenai and his seven sons, ii.–iv. 23.
- *c.* The generations of Simeon, and the transjordanic tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh, till the deportation of the latter by the Assyrians, iv. 24–v. 26.
- *d.* The generations of the Levites, with a statement of their cities in the different tribes, v. 27–vi.
- *e.* The generations of the remaining tribes, except Dan and Zebulun, and in particular, of the Benjamite house of Saul, vii., viii.
- *f.* The inhabitants of Jerusalem till the period of kings, with the genealogy of Saul repeated, forming the transition to the history of David, ix.

II. History of the kings in Jerusalem from David to the exile.

1. David, x.–xxix.
   - *a.* Introduction; the fall of the house of Saul, x.
   - *b.* David's elevation to the throne; arrangement of his residence at Jerusalem; wars and enumeration of the people, xi.–xxi.

     [Removal from Hebron to Jerusalem, xi. 1–9; the heroes and worthies of David, xi. 10–xii.; preparation for removing the ark to Jerusalem, xiii.; David's house-building, family, and wars with the Philistines, xiv.; the solemn conveyance of the ark, xv., xvi.; David's purpose to build a temple to the Lord, xvii.; his wars, xviii.–xx.; the numbering of the people, with the plague; determination of the place for the future temple, xxi.]

c. David's arrangements concerning the temple; other spiritual and temporal regulations; last will and death, xxii.–xxix.

[Provisions for the temple, xxii.; division of the Levites and priests, and order of their service, xxiii.–xxvi.; division of the war officers, and order of the service, xxvii.; last directions concerning the transfer of the government to Solomon, and end of David, xxviii., xxix.]

2. Solomon, 2 Chron. i.–ix.
   a. His solemn sacrifice at Gibeon, and his riches, i.
   b. The building and consecration of the temple, ii.–vii.
   c. Solomon's building of cities, and serfs; religious ordinances; navigation to Ophir; intercourse with the queen of Sheba; glory; length of reign, and end, viii., ix.
3. The kings of Judah, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah, x.–xxxvi.
   a. Rehoboam; the prophet Shemaiah, x.–xii.
   b. Abijah, xiii.
   c. Asa; the prophets Azariah son of Obed, and Hanani, xiv.–xvi.
   d. Jehoshaphat; the prophets Micah son of Imlah, Jehu son of Hanani, etc., xvii.–xx.
   e. Joram; letter of the prophet Elijah, xxi.
   f. Ahaziah, xxii. 1–9.
   g. Athaliah, xxii. 10–xxiii.
   h. Joash; the prophet Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, xxiv.
   i. Amaziah, xxv.
   k. Uzziah, xxvi.
   l. Jotham, xxvii.
   m. Ahaz; the prophet Oded, xxviii.
   n. Hezekiah; the prophet Isaiah, xxix.–xxxii.
   o. Manasseh and Amon, xxxiii.
   p. Josiah; the prophetess Huldah, xxxiv., xxxv.
   q. Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah; close, xxxvi.

From this survey of contents, the following points appear characteristic for the standpoint and plan of our historian:—

1. The taking up of the kingdom of David as a moment in the history of the tribe and state of Judah, with the corresponding retreat of the genealogy and history of the northern tribes (of which Dan and Zebulun are not even mentioned; Issachar, Naphtali, Asher, and half-Manasseh are only briefly noticed), and especially of the reigns of Saul and Ishbosheth, at the same time with the total omission of Jeroboam and his successors, which determines that of the prophets of the northern kingdom, and thus the action of Elijah, Elisha, etc.

2. The prominence given to the tribe of Levi, its ordinances and divisions, offices and functions,—a moment appearing with characteristic force as well in the genealogical portion (1 Chron. v. 27–vi. 66) as in the history of David (1 Chron. xxiii.–xxvi.), of Solomon and his temple-consecration (2 Chron. v. ff.), of Rehoboam, Asa, Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah.

3. The preference for reporting genealogical series, which goes so far, that one list of this kind is unnecessarily repeated (that of the house of Saul, 1 Chron. viii. 29 ff.; comp. with ix. 35 ff.); and in the history of David, a register of his heroes, worthies, and offices, is inserted several times in apparently improper places (thus 1 Chron. xii., the list of the heroes adhering to him during his persecution by Saul, that of his worthies who raised him to the throne in Hebron, and xxvii., the summary of his forces, princes, and officers, for which a more suitable place would have been xviii. 12 ff.).

4. The visible inclination to dwell on the glorious periods of the theocracy and the theocratic worship, and by depicting such bright seasons, and treating as briefly as possible the contrary times of darkness and superstition, to display conspicuously the full blessing of preserving pure the national religion of Jehovah and the legitimate temple-service: on which account, such reigns as those of David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah, are depicted with peculiar delight; while the last days of Solomon, the rule of Ahaziah and Athaliah, and that of the last kings before the exile, are despatched with comparative brevity, or entirely omitted, like the whole history of the kingdom of Ephraim.

The above-mentioned moments appear still more clearly as favourite points of history and

fundamental peculiarities of our historian, if we compare the course of his historical representation with that of the parallel historical books, especially the books of Samuel and Kings. Characteristic for the time before the kings is his endeavour, by suitable abbreviations of the genealogical sections of Genesis, to give the clearest possible view of the descent of the house of David from the antediluvian patriarchs; comp. 1 Chron. i. 1–4 as an abridgment of Gen. v.; 1 Chron. i. 5–23 as a corresponding abbreviation of Gen. x.; 1 Chron. i. 24–27 as contracted from Gen. xi. 10–26; 1 Chron. i. 29–33 as recapitulated from Gen. xxv. 1–15; 1 Chron. i. 35–54 as recapitulated from Gen. xxxvi. 10–43; 1 Chron. ii. 1–5 as a summary of the list of Jacob's sons (especially those of Perez) in Gen. xlvi. 8–12; also 1 Chron. ii. 10–12 (list of the descendants of Ram to Jesse) with Ruth iv. 19–22; and in particular, the list of the Levitical cities, 1 Chron. vi. 39–66, with Josh. xxi. 10–39. There is throughout, as these parallels show, an endeavour aiming at the exaltation of the Davidic sovereignty as the brightest point of the history of God's people before the exile, by which the author has been guided in the genealogical preface to his history. For the history of David are equally significant, both that which is omitted of the books of Samuel, and that which is added as a supplement. He has here omitted most of the facts concerning the relation of David to Saul and his house (in particular the reign of Ishbosheth, 2 Sam. i.–iv. 9); nearly all the events of David's private life, especially those less favourable to his call, as the scene with Michal (2 Sam. vi. 20–23); the adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi., xii.); the dishonour of Tamar by Amnon; Amnon's death by Absalom, and Absalom's rebellion, with its consequences (2 Sam. xiii.–xix.); the revolt of Sheba (2 Sam. xx.); the delivery of some descendants of Saul to the Gibeonites for execution (2 Sam. xxi. 1–14); David's thanksgiving song and last words (2 Sam. xxii., xxiii. 1–7); Adonijah's attempt at usurpation, and the thereby hastened anointing of Solomon (1 Kings i.); lastly, David's last will regarding Joab, the sons of Barzillai, and Shimei (1 Kings ii. 1–9). On the contrary, he has supplemented the account of the older historians by his list of the brave men from all tribes who joined David during the persecution of Saul, and the warriors who made him king in Hebron (1 Chron. xii.), by his account of the part taken by the Levites in the conveyance of the ark (1 Chron. xv., xvi.), his long descriptions of David's preparations for the building of the temple (xxii.), his no less full statistical description of the priests and Levites, and the military and civil officers under David (xxiii.–xxvii.), and his account of the arrangements made by David shortly before his death in a great assembly of the people (xxviii., xxix.). It is not less characteristic, that the author has omitted in Solomon's history a number of facts which refer to the private life of this king, and are partly unfavourable to his character, as the punishment of Joab, Shimei, and Adonijah (1 Kings ii. 13–46), the marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings iii. 1–3), the wise judgment of the king, and the full picture of his glory and wisdom (1 Kings iii. 16–v. 1), his palace (1 Kings vii. 1–12), his polygamy and idolatry, with the consequences following as a divine judgment (1 Kings xi. 1–40), while he reports all that relates to the building and consecration of the temple, the building of cities, bond-service, trade with Ophir, etc., at equal, if not greater length, than in the books of Kings. Lastly, in the period from Solomon to the exile, he significantly omits the whole history of the ten tribes, their kings and prophets, with the sole exception of the friendly or hostile relations in which they stood to the kingdom of Judah (to which belongs also the letter of Elijah given in 2 Chron. xxi. 12 ff.). On the contrary, regarding the kingdom of Judah in this period, a whole series of supplementary accounts are given, especially such as serve to glorify the theocratically-disposed sovereigns of this kingdom, but others also that exhibit along with these bright places darker shadows of the apostasy and the resulting national misfortune; as accounts of Rehoboam's cities of defence, reception of the Levites driven from the northern kingdom, and family connections (2 Chron. xi. 5–24); of Abijah's war with Jeroboam, his wives and children (xiii. 3–21); of Asa's victory over the Kushite Zerah, and the action of the prophets Azariah and Hanani under this king (xiv. 3–15, xv. 1–15, xvi. 7–10); of Jehoshaphat's internal and external administration, and his great victory over the allied Ammonites, Moabites, and others (xvii.–xx.); of Joram's fratricide, idolatrous reign, and punishment (xxi. 2–4, 11–19); of Joash's final fall into idolatry after the death of Jehoiada (xxiv. 15–22); of Amaziah's increase of his army and idolatry (xxv. 5–10, 14–16); of Uzziah's successful war with the Philistines and Arabians, his fortifications and his troops (xxvi. 6–15); of Jotham's fortifications and victory over the Ammonites (xxvii. 4–6); of the theocratic reforms of Hezekiah, his Passover, and the abundance of his

treasures (xxix. 3–31, xxxii. 27–30); of Manasseh's removal to Babylon, repentance, and return from captivity (xxxiii. 11–17); of Josiah's Passover, and the part taken in it by the priests and Levites (xxxv. 2–19).

The author has no very fixed principle in making his abbreviations and additions; otherwise, notwithstanding his theocratic tendencies, he would have imparted some traces of David's family history, and along with the building of the temple and the cities, would have noticed that of Solomon's palace (1 Kings vii. 1–12); he would perhaps have been silent on the idolatry of Joash and Amaziah, as well as of Solomon, and have dwelt longer on the bright point of the Jewish monarchy in the reign of Josiah; and if it concerned him to bring out the dark shadow of apostasy with the light spots of this later period, he might have given a fuller account of the idolatrous reign of Ahaz, and of the misgovernment of the last kings, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah, etc. The inconsistency indicated by a dim perception of his design, and a want of thorough pragmatism, rests undoubtedly on the nature of his sources, the disproportion in the matter of which must have produced a similar defect in himself, and prevented him from exhibiting a uniform whole resulting from a single casting. On the whole, however, the correctness of our remarks on the prevailing tendency of the author is not prejudiced by these anomalies. It is indubitable, from his priestly-Levitical standpoint, that he wished in general to relate the theocratic civil and religious history of the Jews from David with a chief regard to their bright periods, and a recognition of their times of apostasy being invariably attended with divine judgments, and to hold up to his contemporaries a mirror encouraging them to fear God, and warning them against unfaithfulness to the Lord. Otherwise than the author of the books of Kings, who relates the events more objectively in their natural order, "our author places the facts and occurrences in connection with the conduct of the prince and the people toward the Lord, and endeavours so to illustrate the historical facts, that they teach how God rewards the faithful with peace and blessing, and visits the revolt from His covenant with penal judgments. The narrative thus acquires a parenetic character that often rises to the rhetorical manner. This parenetico-rhetorical stamp of his work meets us not only in the many speeches of the agents, but also in many historical delineations (for example, in Joram, 2 Chron. xxi.; in Ahaz, xxviii.; in Manasseh, xxxiii.; and in Zedekiah, xxxvi. 12–21). From this parenetic tendency, and the reflective mode of viewing history, is explained the greater part of his deviations from the parallel accounts in Samuel and Kings, as well the omission of collateral circumstances as the pictorial descriptions of religious regulations and festivals, the manifest object of which is to awaken in the mind of the reader delight and joy in the attractive services of the Lord, and to confirm the heart in fidelity to the Lord and His law" (Keil, *Comment.* p. 11). On account of this property, directed with special preference to the worship and the officers of worship, this history has been designated as specially Levitical,—a designation which is only suitable and free from misconception, when we bear in mind that it is not the Levites as such, but as the ministers of the lawful theocratic worship, the source of all salvation and blessing for the people of God, to whom the author devotes his special attention. "The Chronist wishes, not to glorify the Levites and the Levitical worship, but rather to lead the proof, from the history of the kingdom in Israel, that faithfulness to the covenant which the Lord has made with Israel brings happiness and blessing; neglect of it, misery and perdition. But Israel shows fidelity in walking after the standard of the law given by Moses, when he worships Jehovah the God of his fathers in His sanctuary, as He has appointed in the ordinances of worship. The author lays stress on the Levitical worship only so far as the faithfulness of Israel shows itself in its careful observance" (Keil, *Comm.* p. 8).

*Remark*.—The forty or more parallel sections which the part of Chronicles, common with the books of Samuel and Kings, presents, now in longer, now in shorter form, and now in corresponding, now in deviating sequence, are exhibited in the following table (from Keil, *Einl.* p. 479; comp. Davidson, *Introd.* p. 81 sq., and Tübingen *Theolog. Quartalschr.* 1831, p. 209 ff.):—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Chron. | x. 1–12, | 1 Sam. xxxi. |
| ,, | xi. 1–9, | 2 Sam. v. 1–3, 6–10. |
| ,, | xi. 10–47, | ,, xxiii. 8–39. |
| ,, | xiii. 1–14, | ,, vi. 1–11. |
| ,, | xiv. 1–7, 8–17, | ,, v. 11–16, 17–25. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Chron. | xv., xvi., | 2 Sam. | vi. 12–23. |
| ,, | xvii., | ,, | vii. |
| ,, | xviii., | ,, | viii. |
| ,, | xix., | ,, | x. |
| ,, | xx. 1–3, | ,, | xi. 1, xii. 26–31. |
| ,, | xx. 4–8, | ,, | xxi. 18–22. |
| ,, | xxi., | ,, | xxiv. |
| 2 Chron. | i. 2–13, | 1 Kings | iii. 4–15. |
| ,, | i. 14–17, | ,, | x. 26–29. |
| ,, | ii., | ,, | v. 15–23. |
| ,, | iii. 1–v. 1, | ,, | vi., vii. 13–51 |
| ,, | v. 2–vii. 10, | ,, | viii. |
| ,, | vii. 11–22, | ,, | ix. 1–9. |
| ,, | viii., | ,, | ix. 10–28. |
| ,, | ix. 1–12, 13–28, | ,, | x. 1–13, 14–29. |
| ,, | ix. 29–31, | ,, | xi. 41–43. |
| ,, | x. 1–xi. 4, | ,, | xii. 1–24. |
| ,, | xii. 2, 3, 9–16, | ,, | xiv. 21–31. |
| ,, | xiii. 1, 2, 22, 23, | ,, | xv. 1, 2, 6–8. |
| ,, | xiv. 1, 2, xv. 16–19, | ,, | xv. 11–16. |
| ,, | xvi. 1–6, 11–14, | ,, | xv. 17–24. |
| ,, | xviii. 2–34, | ,, | xxii. 2–35. |
| ,, | xx. 31–xxi. 1, | ,, | xxii. 41–51. |
| ,, | xxi. 5–10, 20, | 2 Kings | viii. 17–24. |
| ,, | xxii. 1–6, 7–9, | ,, | viii. 25–29, ix. 16–28, x. 12–14. |
| ,, | xxii. 10–xxiii. 21, | ,, | xi. |
| ,, | xxiv. 1–14, 23–27, | ,, | xii. 1–17, 18–22. |
| ,, | xxv. 1–4, 11, 17–28, | ,, | xiv. 1–14, 17–20. |
| ,, | xxvi. 1–4, 21–23, | ,, | xiv. 21, 22, xv. 2–7. |
| ,, | xxvii. 1–3, 7–9, | ,, | xv. 33–36, 38. |
| ,, | xxviii. 1–4, 26, 27, | ,, | xvi. 2–4, 19, 20. |
| ,, | xxix. 1, 2, | ,, | xviii. 2, 3. |
| ,, | xxxii. 1–21, | ,, | xviii. 13–xix. 37. |
| ,, | xxxii. 24, 25, 32, 33, | ,, | xx. 1, 2, 20, 21. |
| ,, | xxxiii. 1–10, 20–25, | ,, | xxi. 1–9, 18–24. |
| ,, | xxxiv. 1, 2, 8–32, | ,, | xxii., xxiii. 1–3. |
| ,, | xxxv. 1, 18–24, 26, 27, xxxvi. 1–4, | ,, | xxiii. 21–23, 28, 29–34. |
| ,, | xxxvi. 5, 6, 8–12, | ,, | xxiii. 36, 37, xxiv. 1, 5, 6, 8–19. |
| ,, | xxxvi. 22, 23, | Ezra | i. 1, 2. |

The value of this table of parallel passages consists in this, that it not only exhibits the mutual relation of the sections, showing now an extension, now an abridgment, on the part of our author, but also indicates where deviations in the order of the several events take place. For in the order of his materials the Chronist by no means agrees throughout with the books of Samuel and Kings; as he, in 1 Chron. xi. 10–47, takes a list of David's heroes from 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39, and attaches it to events which are parallel with 2 Sam. v., and the account in 2 Sam. v. he does not reproduce *continuo*, but takes beforehand the section 2 Sam. vi. 1–11 (see 1 Chron. xiii. 1–14), as he farther places the history of David's numbering of the people, and of the plague, 2 Sam. xxiv., not quite at the end of the section belonging to David, but subjoins to it accounts of David's provision for the building of the temple, as well as his spiritual and temporal officers (1 Chron. xxii.–xxix.); as he also, in Solomon's history, takes beforehand the small section concerning Solomon's treasures and troops, 1 Kings x. 26–29, and places it beside that which is related in 1 Kings iii.–v., and so on. That which appears arbitrary in these deviations, vanishes when we reflect that our author followed not so much the books of Samuel and Kings in their existing state, as certain old sources partly lying at their foundation, and partly deviating from them; and thus the nature of his sources had an effect on determining the arrangement and sequence of his materials.

[To this very thoughtful and interesting section it may be added, that the author of Chronicles confines his attention to David, and the kingdom founded on the promise made to him in 2 Sam. vii. Hence he excludes from direct consideration the kingdom of the ten tribes, which gradually fell into idolatry, and had long ceased to exist at the time in which he wrote. The facts do not warrant us in limiting his theme or his aim more than this, and therefore prevent us from charging him with any inconsistency which an imaginary limit of a narrower kind might create. The temple and its ordinances of worship become a prominent matter of fact in the kingdom of God, and its ministers and services claim a corresponding place in the history of this kingdom, without any motive in the writer more special than zeal for the glory of the true and living God.—J. G. M.]

## § 5. SOURCES OF THE CHRONIST.

From a closer examination of the contents of the several sections, it appears an indubitable fact that the peculiar stamp of our history depends on the nature of certain sources used by the author, which must have been in great part different from the historical books contained in the canon, and must have included many other accounts in addition to these.

I. Of the genealogical tables and registers, and the geographical terms in the first or genealogical part (1 Chron. i.–ix.), only the introductory data referring to the patriarchs and the posterity of Edom, which are contained in 1 Chron. i.–ii. 2, appear to be wholly and without exception taken from Genesis (see the special proof above, § 4, p. 11). A derivation of these data from any other source than Genesis is improbable, for this reason, that they follow very exactly the order of this book (extracting and recapitulating from Gen. v., x., xi., xxv., xxxvi., and xxxv. 22 ff.), and they do not present a single supplementary notice. A quite different impression is made by a comparison of the following genealogies and historical notices with the corresponding data of the Pentateuch, the book of Joshua, and the other historical books. These matters occur in those older books neither as continuous series of names, nor as genealogical lists interwoven with shorter or longer historical data (as, for example, ch. iv. 22 f., iv. 39–43, v. 10–19). So far as they occur in them, they appear in quite a different connection, seldom forming longer series running through many generations; not leaving the impression of genealogical registers, or dry lists of names with occasional historical statements, but rather as integral moments of pragmatic narrative; while, in our book, they bear throughout the character of a genealogical register. In many deviations also, which are found in the number of generations, the genealogical materials of our book appear independent of the older histories; such as in the diverse spelling of many names, which may rest partly on mere errors of writing (which might easily creep in, especially in lists of names; compare the collection of notorious errors of this kind in Movers' *Krit. Unters.* p. 66 ff., and see beneath, in our exeg. explanations, *passim*), but in no small part owe their origin to a different tradition; as so many differences regarding geographical data (for example, regarding the names of the Levitical cities, 1 Chron. vi. 39–66, compared with Josh. xxi. 10–39) must be referred to diverse old traditions, and, therefore, to peculiar sources. And such must be those of his sources that had in great measure prepared the way for his collecting and arranging propensity, in so far as they themselves contained longer genealogical series, composed in like manner, and interwoven with like historical data, and so were not pragmatically-fashioned historical works from which he must have artificially constructed his lists. He himself testifies in some places, that what he presents in genealogies and other lists of names is not the fruit of his arranging and editing care, but is derived from sources of a genealogical kind. For at the tribe of Gad, 1 Chron. v. 17, he refers to a list of the families of this tribe that was prepared in the time of Jotham, king of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel; at Issachar, 1 Chron. vii. 2, he refers to a census of this tribe made in the time of David; and it is said, ix. 1, that a census of "all Israel," that is, of the whole northern kingdom, had been made. And as in the second or historical portion reference is several times (xxiii. 3, 27, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 24) made to a census in the reign of David, and as the book of Nehemiah, which so nearly resembles our work in contents, mentions a list of the heads of the Levitical houses prepared in the time of the high priest Johanan (xii. 23), and a register found by Nehemiah of the families that returned with Zerubbabel from the

exile (vii. 5; comp. also Ezra ii. 59, 62), it appears not only highly probable, but absolutely certain, that there were ample and authentic genealogical sources from which our author took his lists. And it certainly appears from 1 Chron. xxiv. and ix. 1 (comp. Neh. xii. 23) as if a part at least of these sources had been a constituent part of a greater historical work, namely, that old chronicle of the kingdom which is entitled, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, *Dibre hajjamim* (the book of the chronicles of King David), and, ix. 1, as "the book of the kings of Israel." In particular, the short lists in 1 Chron. v. and vii. of the ten tribes according to their families and houses, may be extracts from the genealogical and statistical part of these old annals of the kingdom; while the lists of a purely chronological kind, which refer to celebrated families or to single persons, of public or of eminent private character, may have come rather from the old family archives, to which our author, or other collectors before him, had found access. It is at all events natural to suppose that the endeavours of the times of Zerubbabel and Ezra to enter into relation with the time before the exile, and to make the most diligent use of the connection with it, prepared the way for his hunting up and making use of these genealogical registers. "In the endeavour of the new community to restore the old relations, the divisions of the tribes, being connected with the whole remnant of the old community, must have acquired a new importance, and Chronicles is itself a proof of the attention that was paid to them. Its author gladly admits lists into his work, because he himself in this respect moves in the direction prevalent in his time. In short, from various sides comes to us the certainty, that the author of Chronicles was able to draw older lists of the divisions of the tribes and their number from other sources perhaps, but also, according to his own showing, from historical works in which the results of the registration and numeration of the families were collected. And his lists themselves point to a derivation from historical works; for they contain brief historical accounts standing in the closest connection with the recited names, and in them occurs the remark that something has continued "unto this day" (1 Chron. iv. 41, 43, v. 26),—a remark which, it is evident, cannot proceed from him who was charged with making out the lists, and is not added by the author of Chronicles, because it refers not to his time, but to the date of the work used by him, and is taken thence along with the other data" (Bertheau, p. xxxi. f.). Even an approximately exact determination of the date of these lists can scarcely be given, because often an old list may have been carried on some steps, either by our author or by some earlier investigators or collectors before him, so that its original closing point can no longer be clearly ascertained. Meanwhile, the fact that there were older or younger genealogical sources on which he rested in ch. ii.–ix., is by no means disturbed or rendered doubtful by the partial uncertainty of their age, or the impossibility of sharply separating them from one another.

II. A still more ample array of ancient sources and accounts must have been accessible to our author for his second or historical part; for at the death of almost every king he refers to writings in which his acts and the events of his reign are recorded; only in Joram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, and in the later kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, are these references to older sources wanting. He cites in all the following sources:—

1. In David, the "words" (*dibre*) of Samuel the seer, of Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer ("spier"), 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2. In Solomon, the "words" of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy (נְבוּאַת) of Ahijah of Shilo, and the "visions" (חֲזוֹת) of Iddi the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat, 2 Chron. ix. 29; 3. In Rehoboam, the "words" of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, xii. 15; 4. in Abijah, the "Midrash" of Iddo the prophet, xiii. 22; 5. In Asa, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, xvi. 11; 6. In Jehoshaphat, the "words" of Jehu the son of Hanani, which were inserted in the book of the kings of Israel, xx. 34; 7. In Joash, the "Midrash" of the book of the kings, xxiv. 27; 8. In Amaziah, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, xxv. 26; 9. In Uzziah, a "writing" (כְּתָב) of Isaiah the prophet, xxvi. 22; 10. In Jotham, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, xxvii. 7; 11. In Ahaz, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, xxviii. 26; 12. In Hezekiah, the "vision" (חָזוֹן) of Isaiah the prophet, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, xxxii. 32; 13. In Manasseh, the "words" of the kings of Israel, as well as the words of Chosai, xxxiii. 18, 19; 14. In Josiah, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, xxxv. 27; 15. In Jehoiakim, the same work, xxxvi. 8.

That this list of sources admits, nay demands, a considerable number of reductions, appears indubitable, if we reflect that the thrice quoted "book of the kings of Judah and Israel" can hardly have been different from the as often quoted "book of the kings of Israel and Judah," and also bear in mind the obvious identity of the "book of the kings of Israel" mentioned in No. 6, and the "words of the kings of Israel" quoted in No. 13, with that Israelito-Jewish book of Kings. For the name "Israel" in the latter two references can only be the collective designation of the whole people (as it deals, in both cases, with accounts of the kingdom of Judah, and not of the northern kingdom); and the phrase "book," or "words,"—that is, events, history of the kings of Israel,—appears to be merely an abbreviation of the more complete title. According to this well-ascertained assumption, which is shared by almost all recent writers (Movers, Ewald, Bertheau, Dillm., Keil, Graf, and Fürst, *Gesch. der bibl. Liter.* ii. p. 214), the sources here quoted of a properly historical (not prophetical) character reduce themselves to one chief work—a great annalistic history of the kingdom of all Israel. It remains doubtful whether the book used by the author for the reign of Joash, which he calls the "Midrash" of the book of Kings, was identical with this great work, or different from it. For the identity, Keil had formerly maintained (*Einl.* 1 Aufl. p. 494) that the history of Joash agrees as exactly with 2 Kings as the history of those kings for which the book of the kings of Israel and Judah is quoted; but he has recently acknowledged the objections raised to this by Bertheau to be on the whole plausible, or at all events difficult to refute. Accordingly, it would be hazardous to hold the phrase מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר as at once equivalent to the simple סֵפֶר, even if we wished to take מִדְרָשׁ, after 2 Chron. xiii. 22, in the sense of essay, treatise (so Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 295), and not rather, as appears more obvious, and creates no tautology with סֵפֶר, in that of exposition, commentary (Gesen., Thenius, Fürst, etc.). And the assumption appears not far-fetched, that "the connection in which the apostasy of the king, the prophecy of Zechariah, and the victory of a small number of Syrians over the numerous host of the Jews stand in Chronicles, was set forth prominently in a Midrash or exposition of the book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (Bertheau, p. xxxiii.). The weight of these grounds for assuming the diversity of the "Midrash" of the book of the kings quoted 2 Chron. xxiv. 27 from that book itself, cannot be mistaken. Yet it still remains uncertain whether we are to regard it as an explanatory work referring to the whole book of Kings, that might be used even elsewhere without express mention by our author, or as consisting of elucidations or digressive additions referring merely to the reign of Joash and its relations. The first view is that of Fürst (in p. q.), who, on the ground of Talmudic usage, explains the term Midrash by "enlargement of the history from oral or written tradition," and transfers this process of legendary enlargement of the old book of Kings, or embellishment of it with historical "Midrash," to the first Persian period, without being able, however, to adduce definite grounds for this course.

It is difficult, also, to decide the question concerning the relation of the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, so often quoted by our author, to the works often adduced in the canonical books of Kings, which are there separately designated as "the book of the chronicles (*dibre hajjamim*) of the kings of Israel," and the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah. In contents, these annalistic sources of the canonical book of Kings must be identical with the chief written source of our Chronist, as the mostly verbal agreement of the accounts concerning the same transaction in that, as in this, shows. But what was to the author of the book of Kings two distinct works, one referring to the north and one to the south kingdom, this the Chronist must have had before him in the shape of one single work; for he quotes it under the name of the book of the kings of Israel for several of the southern kings, and for such even after the downfall of the northern kingdom as Manasseh, Josiah, and Jehoiakim. It is now a question, however, whether this single source of the Chronist was a later elaboration or combination of the *dibre hajjamim*, or old annals, quoted separately by the author of the book of kings of Israel and Judah, which were no longer extant, or was to be held as nothing else than our present book of Kings, so that the wavering manifold way of designating it was to be set down merely to the account of the defect of our author in diplomatic accuracy. Against the latter assumption (still not unfavourably discussed by Keil, p. 20 of his *Comment.*) speaks decidedly, *a*, the circumstance that the Chronist often refers to the book of the Kings, etc., as a source presenting full details, whereas the canonical

books of Kings present not at all a fuller, but quite a briefer statement (comp. for example, his account of Jotham 2 Chron. xxvii. with 2 Kings xv. 32–38); *b*, the circumstance that the Chronist presents a mass of accounts for which we look in vain in the books of Kings; and *c*, the statement contained in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18 concerning Manasseh, that his prayer to God, and the words of the seers that spake to him, are written in the words of the kings of Israel, by which our canonical book of Kings, with its very meagre account of Manasseh, cannot possibly be meant. Equally impossible is, however, also the supposition of the identity of the annalistic sources of the Chronist with the double *dibre hajjamim* of the books of Kings (Keil, Bleek, Davidson, etc.); for these are uniformly quoted as two different works, the one referring to Israel, the other to Judah. On the other hand, the Chronist never uses the name *dibre hajjamim* for his source; for it could only be in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24 that he referred to it under this name, which, however, cannot be called probable, and if it were the case, would of itself prove nothing. In short, the apprehension of the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah" as a later combination of the *dibre hajjamim* mentioned in the books of Kings (Ewald, Bertheau, Dillm., Graf, Nöldecke, etc.) remains alone probable. Scarcely anything more definite can be ascertained concerning the form and date of these two annalistic sources, of which the older, twofold in form, forms the basis of the books of Kings; the younger, parallel to this, that of Chronicles. Only so much appears, that they bore not a political-official, but rather a prophetical character,—that is, they were not at once identical with the official records of the acts and events of the several reigns made by the royal chancellors or historiographers (מַזְכִּירִים) (as Jahn, Movers, Stähelin, and others thought), but *annalistic representations of the history of the kingdom derived from these official records*, composed by *prophetic writers*, and, therefore, conceived in a prophetic spirit, and like our books of Kings and Chronicles, founded upon them, breathing a prophetic pragmatism. Farther, with respect to the date of these old annalistic histories of the kingdom, this at least appears certain, that the older works used by the author of the books of Kings were composed before the fall of the two kingdoms, as the oft-recurring formula "unto this day" presumes clearly the existence of the kingdom in question, and that the new elaboration of those old annals used as the chief source of the Chronist must have originated at least before the exile, because this also sometimes presents the phrase under circumstances that forbid the dating of the collection after the exile (see 2 Chron. v. 9, viii. 8, x. 19, xxi. 10, and therewith comp. 1 Kings viii. 8, ix. 13, 21, xii. 19, 2 Kings ii. 22, viii. 22, x. 27, xiv. 7, xvi. 6). Comp. Keil, *Comment.* p. 21 ff., who justly infers the composition of the sources in question before the exile from the double circumstance—"that, on the one hand, the references to these annals in both kingdoms continue not to the last kings, but (so at least in the book of Kings, 2 Kings xv. 31, xxxiv. 5) close for the kingdom of Israel with Pekah, for that of Judah with Jehoiakim; on the other hand, in several events the formula 'unto this day' occurs, which, because it mostly refers not to the time of the exile, but to the times of the still existing kingdom, cannot proceed from the authors of our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, but is taken over from the sources used, and in these can only then be rightly conceived, if they were written a more or less brief time after the events." How completely arbitrary are, therefore, such dates as those of Nöldecke (*Die Alttestamentl. Literat.* p. 59), namely, that the *dibre hajjamim*, or "old lost chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah," were first composed about 550 B.C., during the exile, and the head source of the Chronist thence derived (the book of the kings of Israel and Judah), like the parallel canonical books of Kings, were of still later origin,—this needs no special proof. And again, that the latest times before the exile might very well be the date of the prophetic annals serving the Chronist as chief source, must be evident enough, when we think of the efforts of a king like Josiah, and the learned literary labour of a prophet like Jeremiah. Against Bähr's opinion (*Die Bücher der K.* vol. vii. of the *Bibelw.* p. ix. ff.), that for the activity of an annalistic collector such as is now under consideration, the time shortly before the fall of the kingdom, the time of complete disorder, seems to be the least adapted, Keil appears to be justified in mentioning the prophet Jeremiah, who belongs precisely to this time, and must have been particularly occupied with the older sacred writings. And like the writings of this prophet, an annalistic historical work such as that in question might very well escape the destructive catastrophes of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and by some means come into the hands of its later extractors and

redactors (namely, the author of the canonical book of Kings, who, according to Bähr, p. viii., wrote still during the exile and in Babylon, and then our author after the exile).

Further, with regard to the prophetical writings above enumerated under Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 12, and 14, it is a question whether we are to see in these independent historical works, or mere constituent parts of the before-mentioned "book of the kings of Israel and Judah." Against the independence affirmed by most older writers, and recently by Bleek, Davidson, Fürst, Keil, etc., and for the hypothesis that they were merely sections of the great annalistic book of Kings, named after certain contemporary prophets, Ewald, Berth., Dillm., Nöldecke, and even Bähr in p. q., mainly urged the circumstance, that of two of these prophetic writings, the *dibre* of Jehu (No. 6) and the "vision" of Isaiah (No. 12), it is expressly said by the Chronist that they were in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, or what amounts to the same thing, were inserted in it (No. 6). But, 1. What is said of these two writings can scarcely be transferred at once to all other writings of this kind; the notice referring to their incorporation into the greater historical work, or their belonging to it, must have been repeated oftener than once or twice, if serious doubt of their independence were to be justified. 2. The "Midrash" of the prophet Iddo mentioned 2 Chron. xiii. 22 (No. 4), even because it is called a *Midrash*, cannot possibly be regarded as a separate section or integral part of the great book of Kings; rather might it have been a separate part of the after-mentioned (xxiv. 27) "Midrash of the book of Kings," but would still even then be considered distinct from that older historical work. 3. The statement made regarding Isaiah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 22, that he "wrote (כָּתַב) the acts of Uzziah, first and last," may certainly refer to a historical book composed by him, and incorporated at once into the great book of Kings, and so be understood in the sense of that hypothesis; but by the prophecy (נְבוּאַת) of Ahijah of Shilo, and the visions (חֲזוֹת) of Iddi against Jeroboam (2 Chron. ix. 29, No. 2), it is highly improbable that we are to understand historical works. These writings, as well as the incidentally-mentioned vision of Isaiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32), appear to have been rather books of prophecy, with occasional historical notices; writings which, from their predominant character, were little fitted for incorporation in a great historical work, and of which, therefore, if such incorporation took place, it needed to be expressly mentioned (as in the vision of Isaiah above). 4. And where these writings of prophets are introduced with the term *dibre*, "words," as in Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (No. 1), in Nathan (No. 2), in Shemaiah and Iddo (No. 3), in Jehu (No. 6), and in Chozai (No. 10), it is at least as natural, after the analogy of the superscriptions in Amos i. 1, Jer. i. 1, etc., to think of books of prophets as of historical notices; and it is at all events significant, that only of one of these prophetic works, the *dibre* of Jehu son of Hanani, is its insertion in the book of the kings of Israel expressly mentioned, whereas of the remainder nothing of the kind is stated. 5. The *dibre* Chozai (דִּבְרֵי חוֹזָי), indeed, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19, are named along with "the words of the kings of Israel" (as in ver. 18) as historical sources for the reign of Manasseh, and thus plainly distinguished from the book of Kings, and by no means represented as part of it. Whether these *dibre* Chozai were actually the writing of an otherwise unknown prophet, Chozai or Chazai (possibly an abbreviation of חֲזָיָה; comp. Fürst, ii. 216), or the phrase be rather identical with דִּבְרֵי הַחֹזִים in the previous verse, so that an error in writing is to be assumed, and the original reading, according to the λόγοι τῶν ὁρώντων of the Sept., restored,—in any case, here is an independent prophetic book, distinct from the old book of Kings, which is not very favourable to the hypothesis that all these various writings belong to that historical work. 6. And the somewhat obscure and ambiguous phrase לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ after the form of quotation, "Are they not written in the words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer" (2 Chron. xii. 15; see above, No. 3), can afford no proof of the dependence of the two works to which it refers. For whether we interpret this enigmatical phrase by "on genealogy," or, supplying דָּוִד or בֵּית דָּוִיד, by "on the genealogy of the house of David,"[1] in no case does it appear an addition from which the dependence of the "words of Iddo the

[1] The latter assumption is rendered probable by the rendering of the Targumist: "in the genealogy of the house of David." It has, at all events, far more for it than the unmeaning καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῦ of the Sept. (which Movers, p. 179, labours in vain to reduce to a various reading of the original), or the no less unintelligible *et diligenter exposita* of the Vulg. Comp. also Fürst in p. q., p. 215, and in his Hebrew Lexicon under התיחש.

seer," that is, their belonging to a greater work of another kind, must be concluded; for not the place where those words of Iddo are to be found (Ew., Berth., etc.), but rather the end they are to serve,—their purpose, namely, to be a genealogy,—appears to have been intended by the preposition ל. 7. Further, from the circumstance that "reference is made for the whole history of David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Jehoshaphat (as well as Uzziah) to prophetic writings, and likewise for the whole history of Asa, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Josiah to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (Berth. p. xxxvi.), no argument can be drawn for the assumption of one connected historical work of which those prophetic writings were only separate facts. From that circumstance, it merely follows "that in some kings the prophetic writings, in others the history of the kingdom, contained everything important on their life and reign, and that the history of the kingdom presented also accounts concerning the action of the prophets in the kingdom, as the prophetic writings concerning the affairs of the kings" (Keil, p. 23). What grounds determined the Chronist to refer for the one king to the royal annals, and for the other to the prophetic writings, it is impossible to conjecture, and it would be equally impossible to ascertain, in the case of the dependence of both kinds of writing (so if the question were about only two ways of quoting one and the same greater work). 8. Lastly, if (by Bähr, in p. q., p. viii. ff.) the verbal agreement of certain sections declared by our Chronist to be taken from the writings of particular prophets, as Nathan, Shemaiah and Iddo, Isaiah and Chozai, with the sections of the books of Kings that are quoted as taken from the old royal annals of Israel or of Judah, is urged to make it probable "that the book of the kings of Judah consisted of the historical writings of several prophets or seers," this line of argument cannot be admitted as cogent. For Chronicles exhibits in the reigns of Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Uzziah, and Manasseh, along with some things verbally agreeing with the books of Kings, whole series of accounts exclusively its own, for which the prophetic writings in question must have formed the source. And that a partly verbal accordance of their accounts with those of the old book of Kings takes place, only proves that this work was composed by the use of still older prophetic writings, to which a very high value belonged as contemporary records, but not that those prophetic writings formed integral parts of the book of Kings. It may be that the words of Nathan the prophet were taken in great part into his work by the later compiler of those *dibre hajjamim* from which the author of the canonical book of Kings mainly drew, and likewise the words (*res gestæ*, note-books) of Gad, Shemaiah, Iddo, etc. But must the independent existence of these old prophetic sources forthwith cease? Might not these prophetic books, also, like the *dibre hajjamim* or the "history of the kings of Israel and Judah" derived from them, if not collectively, yet in great part, have been preserved through the storms of the exile, to serve the collectors after the exile as sources and helps for their annalistic compilations? Where so many and so variously named sources are adduced, as in our author, it is most natural to suppose him actually to have access to a very rich field of original materials. The contrary supposition, which refers the constant change in his citations partly to unnecessary parade of literary knowledge and unmeaning fondness for a piebald multiplicity of terms, partly to inaccuracy or negligence, encounters far greater difficulties, and makes such a variety of hypothetical helps necessary, that it cannot be regarded as moving on the soil of sound historical investigation.

Moreover, it must be, and is confessed by the opponents of our hypothesis, for example by Bertheau, p. xxxviii., that our author, besides the sources actually cited, may have used an indefinite number of such works as he did not find it necessary to adduce. Thus, for his list of David's heroes (1 Chron. xi. 10–47), David's worthies in Hebron (xii.), the military and civil officers of this king (xxvii.), the families and divisions of the Levites, priests, singers, etc. (xxiii.–xxvi.), he certainly used old documents, which, however, he does not think it necessary expressly to adduce, perhaps because it was understood of itself that they were of an official kind, and therefore trustworthy (comp. for example, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, where the author makes Josiah mention at the feast of the Passover a כְּתָב of David and a מִכְתָּב of Solomon concerning the services of the Levites and priests, or the temple liturgy,—documents, without doubt, which he himself had used in those sections of his first book [xxiii.–xxvi.]), or which he did not cite, "because he had taken them wholly into his work" (Keil), so that there was no place for a reference to them for further details. That our canonical books of Samuel and Kings belong to these rich sources used by our author is still possible; for the frequent verbal

coincidence of his accounts with those of these books, may in some cases rest on the direct use, as well as on the copying, of a common ancient source; and it would not be impossible that by the words of Samuel the seer (דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הָרֹאֶה) cited in 1 Chron. xxix. 29 our books of Samuel were meant. Yet the pretty numerous material as well as formal and verbal variations, which the parallel texts present almost everywhere, form a weighty counterpoise against this supposition; and what Movers, p. 95 ff., de Wette (*Einl.* § 192*a*), Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 238), Bleek (*Einl.* § 167, p. 400), and recently Graf (*Die geschichtl. Bücher*, p. 114 ff.) have adduced in its favour, appears, from the replies produced by Hävernick, Bertheau, and especially by Keil (*Einl.* § 144, 2), to be, if not quite refuted, yet shaken in such a degree, that far the greater probability lies on the side of those who exclude our books of Samuel and Kings from the sources used by the Chronist.

## § 6. CREDIBILITY OF THE CHRONIST.

The question of the credibility of our author would be simply answered by the remarks already made on his historical sources, and would admit of no unfavourable answer, if throughout and in every respect a faithful use of his sources may be presumed. That this praise can only be conceded to him in a limited sense, has been recently asserted, after the example of K. H. Graf (in p. q. p. 114 ff.), again by several critics, as Ed. Riehm (*Stud. und Krit.* 1868, ii. p. 376 ff.), H. Schultz (*Alttestamentl. Theol.* ii. p. 274 f.), H. Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. iv. part 2, p. 12 ff.), and even Bertheau (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1866, p. 159 f.). The latter had formerly defended the substantial credibility of the author, as one employing good old sources, and using them with sedulous care, against the blunt attacks of de Wette and Gramberg (who made the Chronist merely copy the books of Samuel and Kings, but in all places deviating from them, distorting them in an arbitrary manner, misinterpreting, embellishing, or supplementing by invented additions[1]), and thus almost without reserve accepted that which J. G. Dahler (*De libr. Paralip. auctoritate atque fide hist.*, Argentor. 1819), Movers (*Krit. Untersuch.*, etc.), Keil (*Apol. Versuch* and *Einl. ins A. T.*), Hävernick (*Einl.* 1839), Ewald, and others had brought forward on behalf of the Chronist.[2] On the contrary, he is now (*Jahrbücher f. d. Theol.* in p. q., in a review of Graf's work, and in art. "Chronik" in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.*) gone over to the modified reproduction of the de Wette-Gramberg view attempted by Graf, at least so far as to confess that he had not formerly estimated highly enough, nor duly considered, the proper action of the author of Chronicles; he had taken him for a more trustworthy and objective extractor from his sources than he really was. Th. Nöldecke has gone still farther, in his treatise on *Die Alttestamentl. Literat.* (1868, p. 59 ff.). By such sentences as, "All great wars mentioned only in Chronicles must be very suspicious," "his narrative is therefore very defective," "he proceeds very negligently, and often contradicts himself," and so on, he has almost wholly returned to the position of Gramberg, and has thereby incurred the severe censure even of F. Hitzig. The latter not long ago (in a conversation on Nöldecke's paper concerning the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, in the Heidelberg *Jahrb. der Literat.* 1870, p. 437) expressed his surprise to hear Mr. Nöldecke assert that "the account 2 Chron. xx. is a strange story, only a transformation of 2 Kings iii., with the removal of difficulties, and the addition of a great deal of edifying matter." He further remarks: "This is the strangest thing that has occurred to the writer since Volkmar wished to see the Apostle Paul in the false prophet of the Apocalypse. Has Mr N ever thought of the origin of the valley of Jehoshaphat in Joel iv. 2? Has he

[1] De Wette, *Beitr. zur Einl. ins A. T.* i., Halle 1806, and *Lehrb. der hist.-krit. Einl.*, etc., 1817, 6th ed. 1845; C. P. W. Gramberg, *Die Chron. nach ihrem geschichtl. Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit neu geprüft*, Halle 1823. Comp. also Gesenius, *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift*, 1815, § 12, p. 37 ff., and *Komment. zu Jes.*, 1821, i. 268 ff.

[2] *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb.*, Einl. p. xliii.: "That the author of Chronicles ever intentionally distorted the sense or made false statements does not appear from the comparison of the sections parallel with Samuel and Kings. The parallel sections rather warrant the assumption, that even where he imparts accounts and statements that are not found in the other books of the O. T., he adhered most closely to his sources," etc. Quite similar to this is the language of Dillmann in the art. "Chronik" in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* p. 693.

read Movers on Chronicles? And is he always so bright, that he should stain the hypotheses of others? *Quis tulerit Gracchos?*" etc.

We cannot but see in this venomous onslaught of the Heidelberg theologian a chastisement on the whole deserved; for even in the more moderate and more carefully supported views of Graf there is expressed, in our opinion, a great deal of hypercritical arrogance and vehement prejudice against our author. Accordingly he appears as a biassed historian going to work in an unconscionable manner, idealizing, embellishing, and often capriciously transforming on a narrow Levitical principle, moved by the desire to write the history of the Jews, so that it shall be an impressive admonition to keep the commandments of God, especially to observe the ordinances of worship, and at the same time a solemn warning against apostasy from God. Instead of adhering closely to that which is found in his sources, he stamps on his work (which is a history of the Church more than of the people or kingdom) throughout his Levitical-priestly tendency, along with the characteristic spirit of his late age; he writes the history so as the variously-distorting and colouring mirror of the fourth century B.C. reflects it, and on behalf of the tastes and requirements of his contemporaries, seizes glaring colours, institutes striking contrasts, and handles the original material capriciously after his manner (comp. Berth. in the *Jahrbüchern für deutsche Theol.* in p. q.). Thus he makes use of the books of Samuel and Kings as if not the only, yet the principal sources, leaves out what appears to have no interest for his time and tendency, and alters their reports in various places as he requires, by means of enlarging insertions, various changes of meaning, and recastings, so that the number of passages borrowed by him from these books appears much smaller than it really is. Such is, above all, his whole history of David (1 Chron. x.–xxix.), a work formed by the manifold transformation of the corresponding account in the books of Samuel; only the lists of names inserted therein, especially those in ch. xxiii.–xxvii., are derived from special sources,—by no means, however, more respectable nor earlier than the exile; and the words of Samuel the seer, of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer, mentioned 1 Chron. xxix. 29, are not special prophetic writings of a high age, but mere sections of our canonical books of Samuel. Thus it cannot be determined how far those sources are only freely and inaccurately used by him; and this applies as well to the sources of the history of David as to the genealogical sources used by him in the time before David (in 1 Chron. i.–ix.). Farther, our Chronist's representation of the history of Solomon (2 Chron. i.–ix.) is merely elaborated on the basis of 2 Kings i.–xi., with the omission of Solomon's secular doings, his palace building, and idolatry; only in viii. 36 gleams forth a peculiar source different from 1 Kings ix. 17–19, which is used by him. Such sources also, differing from the text of the book of Kings, are used in the sections on Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 5–xii. 18-23), Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah, Joash, Uzziah, Jotham, and Hezekiah. Throughout the Chronist has made use of these sources, which are all to be referred to the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah" lying at the root of the canonical books of Kings, in accordance with his object. This transforming bias of the Chronist appears most surprising in the narrative of the fall of Athaliah by the co-operation of the priests and Levites (xxiii.); as also in the embellished accounts of the successful wars of Abijah against the northern kingdom (xiii.), in which, at the most, the statement of the three cities conquered by him (ver. 19) rests on old written sources; and likewise in the account of Solomon's ascending the throne (1 Chron. xxviii. 29), the deviations of which from 1 Kings i. are due to the inventive turn of the Chronist, and not to any written or oral traditions whatever; as well as in the accounts concerning the divisions of the priests, Levites, and singers in David's preparation for the temple, and in the building and consecration of it by Solomon, wherein it is evidently the design of the writer to represent the relations of these religious officials as already existing at the time of the founding of the temple.

The πρῶτον ψεῦδος of Graf's accusations and suspicions of the historical character of our work consists in the totally unfounded presupposition, that the author made use of the canonical books of Samuel and Kings almost alone, as sources, and that his deviations from them are to be ascribed to the caprice of the redactor. We have already shown it to be extremely probable that our author made no use whatever of these books (§ 5). The number of passages in which there is a verbal coincidence of his accounts with those of the older historical books is comparatively small, and even these may without much difficulty be regarded as flowing from a common source, so that the assumption that they belong to the

sources of our author appears by no means necessary. But even if it were proved, both that he drew from the historical books of the canon, and that he made a free use of them with an occasional departure from them, his credit as a trustworthy historian in all essential matters would suffer no more than it would from a similar use of his other materials.

1. For his parenetic tendency permitted him, if he did not interfere with the objective historical fact, in numerous cases to transform the old accounts to suit his peculiar Levitical-ecclesiastical pragmatism, to which, in respect of the times of our author, as full a privilege must be conceded as to the theocratico-prophetic pragmatism of the older historians (comp. the examples to be adduced under No. 4). And that the non-subjective mode of our historian, compared with the more objective fashion of the books of Kings, led to no distortions, falsifications, or arbitrary transformations of facts, is manifest from the circumstance already noticed, that he has not kept back all that was at his command on behalf of his pragmatic tendency, and has often omitted matters of consequence for his point of view, so that he may be justly charged with a certain degree of inconsistency (comp. § 4).

2. A quite harmless and allowable class of alterations, that our author makes in his materials, refers to the genealogical lists, especially those of the first part, where he in part arranges anew and groups in certain proportions the lists of names taken from the Pentateuch, not so much to aid the memory as to exhibit the numerical law and symbolic import of these parts of sacred history. Thus he not only in ch. i. keeps apart the ten patriarchs from Adam to Noah and the ten from Noah to Shem, but derives, certainly without defining or marking this by giving express prominence to the number, 70 nations from Noah, 70 families from Abraham, and 70 descendants from Judah (i. 28, ii. 25), refers the eight sons of Jesse to the sacred number seven, and leaves out, partly from a religious and symbolic consideration, the tribe of Dan repeatedly in his enumeration of the tribes (see on vii. 12). It is obvious that by none of these idealizing changes of the genealogical matter that come to hand is a proper distortion of the historical relations effected, and still less by so many other less intentional alterations, such as the transpositions and reductions in the series of names in Genesis; for example, iv. 1 ff.

3. Another class of alterations, which proceed as little from caprice or culpable negligence, belongs to the linguistic department. It consists in the exchange of many phrases and turns belonging to the old Hebrew for the corresponding phrases of the later language, and has in most cases no deeper ground than such orthographic changes as the *scriptio plena* instead of the *defectiva*, and the reverse—the introduction of later, Aramaizing forms instead of the older ones. To this belong the change of older formations, as מַמְלָכָה, תְּחִנָּה, עוֹלָם, etc., into the later מַלְכוּת, תַּחֲנוּן, עֵילוֹם; the change of the construction by omission of the *infin. absol.* with the verb *finit.*, or by the use of the preposition אֶל or of ה *loc.* in verbs of motion, as בּוֹא, הָלַךְ, עָלָה; the avoiding or paraphrasing of certain pregnant constructions of the older language, and the like (comp. the collection of numerous examples of all these in Movers, p. 200 ff.; and after him, in Hävernick and Keil, *Einl.* § 142, p. 482 ff.).[1] These deviations from the old forms of the sources are of the less importance, as they are carried to a very small extent, and the character of the original may almost always be clearly distinguished from that of the chronicle.

4. Of scarcely more importance are those changes occasioned by the religious and dogmatic views of the author, which, without touching the facts, bring out new aspects of the religious side of the history. For example, in the account of David's numbering of the people, where the author (1 Chron. xxi. 1) refers that which in the older account (2 Sam. xxi. 1) is represented as the direct effect of the divine wrath to the subordinate activity of Satan, and where he represents God's "being entreated" at the end of the older account (2 Sam. xxiv. 25) in a more concrete and pictorial manner as an "answering from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering" (comp. also 2 Chron. vi. 1 with 1 Kings viii. 54 f.); or as in such pragmatic reflective additions as 2 Chron. vii. 11 ("all that he wished to do in the house of Jehovah and in his own house was successful," for which the older parallel 1 Kings ix. 1 has only "what he wished to do," etc.); likewise 2 Chron. viii. 11 (the ground on which Solomon built a separate house for Pharaoh's daughter; comp. 1 Kings ix. 24); 2 Chron. xxii. 7 (giving prominence to the divine dispensation occasioning the death of king Ahaziah; comp. 2 Kings

viii. 29); 2 Chron. xviii. 31 ("And Jehovah helped him, and God drove them from him;" comp. the account omitting all such remarks, 1 Kings xxii. 32 f.); also 1 Chron. x. 13 f. (remark on Saul's deserved death; comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 12), and xi. 3 (reference to Samuel's prophetic announcement of the coronation of David at Hebron; comp. 2 Sam. v. 3).

5. A further class of deviations from the older parallel accounts involves a number of actually erroneous statements, that are mostly to be ascribed to old corruptions of the text either found in the sources of the Chronist or introduced into his work by the fault of negligent transcribers, and therefore cannot affect the character and credibility of the author. The only nearly certain example of an error on his part, arising apparently from geographical ignorance, is the explanation of the Tarshish ships of the Red Sea as being designed to trade to Tarshish (2 Chron. ix. 21 and xx. 36). This appears, according to 1 Kings x. 22, xxii. 49, to be a real misinterpretation, which can be removed no more by an identification of Tarshish with Ophir than by the supposition that our author was acquainted with a place of the name of Tarshish (thus, an eastern Tartessus) in Ophir or its neighbourhood (comp. Bähr on 1 Kings x. 22, and the exeg. expl. given on 2 Chron. ix. 21). If we except this one passage, all else of an erroneous nature in his text is most probably to be reduced to errors in copying, that either existed in his sources or were introduced into his text. Under this head come especially the numbers which deviate from those in the books of Samuel and Kings, on account of which it has been thought necessary (by de Wette, Gramberg, etc.) to impute to him arbitrary exaggeration of the greatness of Israel before the exile, of his armies, population, treasures, offerings, etc., without considering that the older historical books often exhibit notorious corruptions of the text in numbers (for example, the 30,000 chariots of the Philistines in 1 Sam. xiii. 5, or the 70 men and 50,000 men of Bethshemesh in 1 Sam. vi. 19; comp. more examples of this kind in Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, etc., pp. 20, 66, 81, 133, 219, etc.), and that in some cases Chronicles gives the smaller and more credible number; for example, 2 Chron. ix. 25, where it mentions 4,000 stalls for Solomon's horses, which is certainly more correct than the parallel text 1 Kings v. 6, where the number of these horses and stalls amounted to 40,000 (comp. Bähr's crit. note on the p., p. 26). As notorious instances of textual corruption in numbers not due to the author, are to be noted 1 Chron. xxi. 5, where the 1,100,000 men in Israel rests on a simple clerical error for 800,000; 2 Chron. xvi. 1, where, instead of the 36th, the 16th year of Asa is to be read (as in the previous verse instead of the 35th the 15th); 2 Chron. xx. 2, where the 42 years of King Ahaziah's age, instead of the 22 of 2 Kings viii. 26, appear to have arisen from the exchange of מ and כ. That the use of the letters for numbers is very ancient, and was adopted long before the Masoretic recension, is proved by the circumstance that the Sept. exhibits in its text a great deal of the errors in numbers arising from the exchange of letters, and indeed not merely in Chronicles, but in various other books; for example, in Ezra ii. 69, where it reproduces the error of 61,000, instead of 41,000, Darics from the Hebrew text (comp. Neh. vii. 70–72), and often also in the books of Samuel, etc. Along with these numerical errors resting on the corruption of the text, there are a great many cases in which the Chronist himself or his source before him shows decided differences in his numbers from the other canonical books; and these are by no means at once to be ascribed to the boastful and exaggerating bias of the author. Rather, as Keil (*Komm.* p. 30) justly points out, are we to bear in mind, with regard to these different numbers, *a.* "That they are generally round numbers determined only to thousands, depend therefore not on actual numbering but on loose estimates of contemporaries, and assert nothing more than that the size of the army and the number of the slain or the captives was rated very high;" and *b.* "That in the quantity of gold and silver collected by David for the building of the temple,—100,000 shekels or hundredweight (כִּכָּרִים) of gold and 1,000,000 hundredweight of silver, 1 Chron. xxii. 13,—the actual amount cannot be ascertained, because we know not the weight of the shekel of that day,"—a circumstance that must be taken into account in many other differences, as the exegesis of the several passages will show.

6. Actual deviations from the older historical works, but still none that can be charged to our author as wilful distortions or falsifications, are contained in many of the speeches ascribed to David, Abijah, Asa, and other kings, or even to private persons, especially prophets; for example, the speeches of David given in 1 Chron. xiii. 2 f., xv. 12 f., xxviii. 2–10, xxix. 1 ff., 10 ff., which have little or no parallel in the books of Samuel; that of Abijah, 2 Chron.

xiii. 4–12; of Asa, 2 Chron. xiv. 11; of Azariah son of Oded, 2 Chron. xv. 1–7; of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxxii. 7 f., etc. That the greater number of those speeches, if not all, were contained in the sources of our author, may be concluded with sufficient certainty from the one circumstance, that three speeches of Solomon which he communicates (2 Chron. i. 8–10, vi. 4–11, 12–42) occur in almost the same words in the book of Kings, whence his fidelity and care in the reproduction of such pieces are manifest. Here the speeches of different persons distinguish themselves in a characteristic manner by their line of thought, their figures and turns; the peculiar speech and style of the Chronist is stamped upon them only in a comparatively small degree. This is very striking in three of David's speeches, namely, in the longer addresses relating to the future building of the temple by Solomon (1 Chron. xxii. 7–16, xxviii. 2–22, xxix. 1–5). Here the author appears, as the manifold conformity of that which is put in the mouth of David with his peculiarities in thought, speech, etc., shows, to have acted pretty freely, and without resting on sources to have attempted an ideal reproduction of the thoughts moving the soul of the aged king and uttered by him. But the prayer of David annexed to the last of these addresses, 1 Chron. xxix. 10–19, proves itself to be derived from ancient sources by its manifold coincidence with the Psalms of David (see on vers. 11 and 15), especially ver. 18, with which it agrees in the characteristic accumulation of predicates of God. And all the other speeches in question show similar traces of old original peculiarities foreign or remote from the Chronist's manner of thought, speech and style; for example, that of Abijah, 2 Chron. xiii. 4–12, that, among other accordances with our author, exhibits in the phrases אֲנָשִׁים רֵקִים and בְּנֵי בְלִיַּעַל clear marks of their connection with the usage of the time of David and Solomon; that of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxxii. 7 f., in which the phrase זְרוֹעַ בָּשָׂר reminds us of his intercourse with the prophet Isaiah (Isa. xxxi. 3); lastly, the shorter or longer utterances handed down by various prophets, which generally contain much that is original, especially that of Azariah son of Oded addressed to King Asa, 2 Chron. xv. 1–7, which, by its remarkable coincidence with parts of the *Oratio eschatologica* of Christ, as Matt. xxiv. 6 f., Luke xii. 19, proves itself to be an old independent creation of the genuine prophetic stamp (comp. C. P. Caspari, *Der syrisch-ephraim. Krieg*, Christiania 1849, p. 55 ff.). Thus it is essentially the same with the speeches given by our historian as with those in the other historical books, from the Pentateuch and Judges down to the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of John. The original and subjective proper to the late reporter appears in them connected as matter and form, as seed and shell, without any sharp distinction of the reporter's addition from the original text. But a certain formative influence of the original type proper to the old source appears in the diction and style of the younger writer. And as the glass transmits no light without imparting its peculiar hue, or the instrument conveys no tone without its own individual modification, so the physiognomy of the speeches in our book exhibits that mutual influence of the proper individuality of the author and of the materials that have come down to him from the past, that interchange of subjectivity and objectivity, which displays itself in a similar way in the speeches of Judges and Kings (especially the prophetical; comp. Delitzsch, *Komm. zu Jesaja*, Einl. p. xiv. f.), and also in the New Testament, in the speeches of Christ in John, and of Peter, Stephen, and Paul in the Acts of the Apostles.

7. The last class of deviations chargeable to the subjectivity of the Chronist relates to the descriptions of religious festivals, particularly in the history of David (1 Chron. xv., xvi.), Solomon (2 Chron. v.–vii.), Hezekiah (xxix.–xxxi.), and Josiah (xxxv.), where the same circumstantial description of certain acts of worship, especially of the playing and singing of the Levites and priests, constantly recurs, and always in essentially the same rhetorical dress, and with the same phrases and liturgical formulæ (comp. § 2 above). It may seem at first sight that the author in such descriptions dates back the liturgical usages and ceremonies of his own age, and transfers not only his Levitical and priestly mode of thought, but the religious customs and performances of his time, uncritically to the worship of the reigns of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, etc. But the suspicions in this direction expressed by de Wette, Gramberg, and recently by Graf, Nöldecke, Holtzmann, and others, rest on a twofold misconception—(1) That the sacrificial worship, according to the rules of Leviticus, or the introduction of music and singing of psalms, dates from the exile; and (2) that our author, whenever he treats of the occurrence of such usages, writes wholly without ancient

sources, and so lays himself open to the charge of arbitrary falsifications of history in favour of his own views and times. On the contrary, the essentials of the form of worship undoubtedly go back to the times of Moses, or at all events, long before the exile; and the modification which our author makes in his accounts of the festivals consists only in individual touches and details, whereby he endeavours to trace out for himself and his readers a clear picture of the actual events. That he herein allowed himself a certain drawing together of far-separated times and customs, a presentation of earlier usages in the light of the current times,—in short, a modernizing process in minor particulars,—does not on the whole mar the credibility of his narrative. It may be that in 1 Chron. xvi. 8-36, in describing the solemn conveyance of the ark to Jerusalem, he lets a psalm be introduced by Asaph and his brethren which David had not literally composed for this solemnity, but which was an ideal reproduction of the psalm then sung, but springing from a later time; that he allowed himself here the same sort of substitution as if a modern historian were to set back Luther's "Ein feste burg," etc., from the year 1530, or from the time of the Augsburg Diet, to which its origin was really due, till the year 1521, or the time of the Diet of Worms. In like manner, what is said (1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19) of the several materials and vessels of the future temple which David reckoned up and handed over to Solomon may involve a proleptic idealizing and altering of the transaction, which forms a deviation not only from the far simpler and shorter account in the book of Kings, but from that which lay before the author regarding the last acts of the reign of David. And so it may be with several other details of religious action in the statements of our author; for example, his notice of the temple gates and porticos under David (1 Chron. xxvi. 16–18), of the reform of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix. ff.), etc. On the whole, these freer combinations of historical events, corresponding with the priestly Levitical pragmatism and parenetic tendency of the author, derogate nothing from the credibility of his narrative. It remains, therefore, highly probable, that much if not most of these modifications of the history before the exile had its root in the sources before the author, particularly in the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah," the harmony of which, with his views and predilections, must neither be exaggerated nor underrated (comp. Del. in p. q., p. xvi.).

On the whole, a marked subjective colouring of his narrative in the direction of the priestly-Levitical standpoint may be ascribed to our author; he may be charged with having less aptitude for quiet, strictly objective conception and presentation of his materials than his predecessors, the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, and with putting forward his didactic-moralizing bent often too strongly, and not always free from a legal externality of thought and intuition. But it appears unwarranted to reproach him with a want of love for the truth or an uncritical levity in dealing with facts, or to charge him with wilful invention or falsification of history; for the solid foundation of old original tradition gleams forth at every step of his narrative, and conveys, even where he goes farthest from the parallel text of the books of Kings, and brings in the most important supplements to their report, the impression of the highest trustworthiness: for example, in the accounts of Rehoboam's building of forts and his domestic concerns (2 Chron. xi. 5 ff., 18 ff.); in the statements concerning the three cities conquered by Abijah, and concerning his family (xiii. 19–21); in the history of Jehoshaphat, so full of concrete details of the most trustworthy kind (xvii.–xx.); in the surprisingly exact yet obviously authentic statements concerning Amaziah's troops hired from Israel, and the plundering raid in which they engaged after they were discharged (xxv. 5 ff.); in the history of Manasseh, for the details of which he certainly, not without grounds, refers to older sources, as the book of the kings of Israel and the words of Chozai (xxxiii.), etc. The Levitical-priestly and legal external stamp of his history may be regarded as a characteristic mean between the prophetic pragmatism of the older historians, as the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, and the pharisaic pragmatism of the writers after the canon, as the author of the 2 Maccabees, or Josephus.[1] Yet he stands incomparably nearer to his prophetic predecessors of the time of or immediately before the exile, than to these Epigoni of all Old Testament history; and not a trace is to be discovered in him, either

[1] Comp. H. Schultz, *Alttestamentl. Theol.* ii. p. 274 f., and Oehler's remark on this passage (*Allg. liter. Anzeig.* 1870, Nov., p. 340): "The way in which here (in Chron.) the doctrine of retribution comes forth, forms the transition to the pharisaic rejection of it, as the comparison of the second book of Maccabees exhibits also in this point the partition between Judaism in the canon and after it."

of the spiritless externality or fanatical rigorism of the doctrine of retribution as it appears in such apocryphal books as Judith, 2 Maccabees, etc., or of the Rome-favouring, and therefore anti-national and untheocratic, pragmatism of the Pharisee Josephus.

*Remark.*—With respect to the text of Chronicles, Jerome perceived that the greatest critical care must be taken, especially on account of the many names which are presented in it, and have been variously corrupted and distorted in the Sept. and the Itala: "*Ita et in Græcis et Latinis codicibus hic nominum liber vitiosus est, ut non tam Hebræa quam barbara quædam et Sarmatica nomina congesta arbitrandum sit.*" Thus he speaks in his *Præf. in lib. Paralip. juxta Sept. interp.* (Opp. t. x. p. 432, edit. Vall.); and he relates there that he employed a learned Jew of Tiberias, and with him compared the text, "*a vertice ut aiunt usque ad extremum unguem.*" In the relative fidelity and accuracy that otherwise notoriously exists in this part of the Alexandrine version (and the Itala, which agrees with it word for word),[1] this observation, which he was compelled to extend on further examination to the numerical data of Chronicles, and to many other details, is certainly remarkable. In a still higher degree must he have been surprised, on a more extended knowledge of languages and an exacter method of critical investigation, by the state of the text of another old version of our book, the Syriac version or Peshito (with its omissions of whole series of names, its various gaps and interpolations, its transpositions and occasional arbitrary deviations from the original).[2] The acknowledgment of no small uncertainty of the original Hebrew text itself is forced upon us in view of this serious corruption of the oldest versions, in which the later of necessity participate; for example, the Arabic version derived from the Peshito, likewise the comparatively young Targum originating scarcely before the seventh century (published, with a Lat. vers., by M. F. Beck, *Augustæ Vindel.* 1680, and with greater critical care by Dav. Wilkins, *Amstelædam.* 1715, 4); and hence arises for expositors the equally important and difficult problem of a frequent correction of the Masoretic text, to be cautiously executed and wisely limited, according to those versions, as well as the p rallel passages in the older books of the canon. This necessity of an occasional amendment in numbers and names, imposed by the peculiarity of the text of Chronicles, was acknowledged by J. Alb. Bengel; for on 2 Chron. xxviii. 1 (comp. xxix. 1) he adds the marginal note, *Hic videtur lectio Græca, quæ viginti quinque annos Achazo tribuit, præferenda Hebrææ.* "Errors may have more easily crept into the books of Chronicles, because they were not publicly read as the books of Moses," etc. (Contributions to Bengel's exposition, and his remarks on the *Gnomon N. T.* from manuscript notes, published by Dr. Osk. Wächter, Leips. 1865, p. 18.) To this well-grounded conjecture regarding the very numerous textual errors of our book Bertheau also points (*Komm.* p. xlvii.): "It appears as if the same careful regard was not paid to the text by the Jews in older times, to which we owe the faithful transmission of that form of the text of most other books of the Bible that came into general acceptance about the time of Christ; comp. for example, 1 Chron. xvii. 18, 21; 2 Chron. ii. 9, x. 14, 16, xx. 25, xxvi. 5." That, moreover, the endeavour to refer the deviations of the Chronist from the other historical books of the Old Testament to mere corruptions of the text may be carried too far, and has been carried too far perhaps by Movers (p. 50 ff.), at all events by Laur. Reinke in his *Beiträgen zur Erkl. des Alten T.*, Abhandl. I., has been justly pointed out by Davidson, *Introd.* ii. p. 114 sq.

[The only error here traced to the Chronist, and supposed to arise from his ignorance of ancient geography, is the statement that ships of Tarshish (1 Kings x. 22, xxii. 49) were ships trading to Tarshish (2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36). It may turn out, however, that the error

[1] Movers (p. 93) calls the translation of Chronicles in the Sept. "a careful, skilfully-performed, and strictly literal version;" he praises it as "one of the best efforts of these translators," and as "by far surpassing that of the books of Samuel and Kings proceeding from another author." On the close adherence of the old Itala to the text of the Sept., comp. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata* (Marb. 1869); Fr. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata* (Mainz 1868), p. 137 ff.; and Ernst Ranke, *Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, etc., Vindob. 1871.

[2] As examples of omission of long series of names, comp. 1 Chron. ii. 45, 47–49, iv. 7 ff.; also of leaving out other long sections, 1 Chron. xxvi. 13–27, 2 Chron. iv. 11–17, xxix. 10–19; of interpolations, 1 Chron. xii. 1, 17–19, xvi. 3, 42; of transpositions, 1 Chron. xii. 15, 2 Chron. xxviii. 23–25; of deviations from the text or very free translations, 1 Chron. ii. 52, iv. 12–18, iv. 33–39, 2 Chron. xxii. 19, etc. Comp. Bertheau, p. xlviii.; and for the like peculiarities of the Arabic version derived from it, Roediger, *de orig. et indole Arab. librorum V. T. historic. interpretationis*, Hal. 1829, p. 104.

lies with the modern critic rather than with the ancient chronicler. It is recorded that Pharaoh Neko (617–601 B.C.) employed Phœnician mariners to sail from the Arabian Gulf round Africa, and return by the Pillars of Hercules (Herod. iv. 42),—a voyage which was accomplished *in three years*. Herodotus accepts the fact, though he discredits the statement that in sailing round Africa they had the sun on the right,—a statement which goes to prove the veracity of the reporters. And until it is proved that the Phœnicians were not acquainted with this way of reaching Tarshish by hugging the shore of Africa, and bartering as they went along for ivory and other African commodities, the geographical error has not been brought home to this ancient and otherwise accredited writer. (See further on the passages in the *Comm.*) We merely add to what has been here so ably and thoughtfully said on the general question of credibility, that the supposed bias or leaning of the writer of Chronicles is due not to any real narrowness or onesidedness, but to the necessity of having some distinct and important end in going over the same ground as the former historical works. This end is that which justifies the production of another history of the past times. The chronicler, we have no doubt, had the Pentateuch and the former prophets before him, containing the history of the dealings of God with man from the beginning, to the fall of the kingdom of Judah by the capture of the city of David and the burning of the temple of Solomon. He could have no reason for going over any part of this ground, unless he had some new aspect of the history to signalize, and some new lesson to convey to the people of God on returning from the captivity. This new thing is the distinct and exclusive history of the kingdom of David, with its peculiar arrangements for the worship of the temple, in which the orders of priests and Levites were established, and the masters of song took a prominent part. This is to be the system of things until it has given birth to a new economy or development of the kingdom of God on earth. And the new lesson, which is indeed an old lesson, is the uniform dependence of national prosperity and progress on intelligent and voluntary walking with God in all His ordinances and commandments. Chronicles therefore stands to the older history as Deuteronomy to the preceding four books of Moses, or as John to the synoptical Gospels. It would have no warrant for its place in the canon, if it did not show an object distinct from that of the older history; and instead of ascribing its peculiar characteristic to the idiosyncrasy of the author, it behoves us to discern in it the special purpose for which it was appended to the previous record. We do not expand this hint at present, but leave it to the consideration of the reader. With regard, moreover, to the psalm committed by David to Asaph, 1 Chron. xvi. 7, for thanking the Lord, see on the passage.—J. G. M.]

## § 7. LITERATURE.

Neither the exegetical nor the critical literature of this book is very rich; indeed, there is scarcely one portion of the Old Testament that has found fewer labourers either in the one respect or the other. The older Jewish commentators shrank from the many difficulties which the genealogies of the first chapters presented. Yet a tolerably full commentary on our book has been ascribed to Rashi (R. Solomon Isaaki, † 1105), which, however, according to J. Weisse in *Kerem Chemed* (Prague 1841; comp. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* ii. 85), cannot proceed from this celebrated Rabbinical scholar of the Middle Ages. Other Rabbinical commentaries are those of Joseph ben David Aben Jechija (comp. the edit. of D. Wilkins, *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in ii. lib. Chron. auctore R. Josepho*, Amstel. 1715), and of Isaac ben R. Sol. Jabez; comp. Carpzov. *Introd. in Vet. T.* p. 298; also R. Simon's *Hist. Critique du V. Test.*, Par. 1680, p. 30.

Of the Church Fathers, Jerome (only in a cursory and meagre way in his *Quæstiones Hebr. in Chron.*, Opp. t. iii. 851 sq.), Theodoret, and Procopius of Gaza have commented on Chronicles; comp. *Theodoreti* ἐρωτήσεις εἰς β. α΄κ. β΄ Παραλειπ., Opp. edit. Schulze, t. i. p. 554 ff., and *Procopii Gaz. scholia in libb. Reg. et in Paralip.*, edit. Jo. Meursius., Lugd. Bat. 1620, 4.—A "Latin commentary on Chronicles of the 9th century" has been published by Abr. Rahmer, Thorn 1866.

Modern expositors since the Reformation.—None of the Reformers have treated Chronicles exegetically, not even Brenz, by whom there are commentaries on the collective historical books of the Old Testament. The expository writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries are mostly collected in M. Pole, *Synopsis criticorum*, etc., Lond. 1669 ff.—Special prominence is merited by *Lud. Lavateri Comment. in Paralip.*, Heidelb. 1599, on account of the very careful treatment of the genealogical lists. Comp. also Victorin Strigel, *Comm. in libb. Sam., Reg., et Paralip.*, Lips. 1591; Erasm. Sarcerius, *Comm. in lib. Chron.*, Basil. 1560; and the Catholic commentaries of Nic. Serrarius (*Comm. in lib. Reg. et Paralip.*, Lugd. Bat. 1618), Casp. Sanctius (*in Paralip. ll. ii.*, Antw. 1624, Lugd. 1632), Jac. Bonfrère (*Comm. in libr. Reg. et Paralip.*, Tornac. 1643). Likewise M. Fr. Beck, *Paraphr. Chaldaica ii. libr. Chron.*, Aug. Vindel. 1680, 83.

Of the eighteenth century: Aug. Calmet's *Commentaire litéral sur tous les livres de l'anc. et nouv. Test.*, Par. 1707 ff.—Jo. Clerici, *Comment. in Hagiogr.*, Amstel. 1731.—Joh. H. Michaelis, *Uberiores adnot. in Hagiographos V. T. libros*, Hal. 1720, vol. iii. (the first book of Chronicles treated by J. H. Michaelis, the second by J. J. Rambach).—H. B. Stark, *Notæ selectæ in Pent., Jos., Jud., Sam., Reg., Chron., Esr., et Neh.*, Lips. 1714.—Chr. Starke's *Synopsis*, part iii. 2d edit., Leipz. 1756.—J. D. Michaelis, *Uebers. des Alt. Test. in Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, part xii., 1785.

Of the nineteenth century: J. B D. Maurer, *Comm. gram. crit. in V. T.* vol. i., Lips. 1835.—E. Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik erklärt* (fifteenth issue of the *Kurzgef. exeget. Handbuch zum A. T.*), Leipz., Brockhaus, 1865.—C. F. Keil, *Bibl. Komm. über die nachexilischen Geschichtsbücher: Chron., Ezr., und Esth.* (part v. of the *Bibl. Komment. über das A. T.*), Leipz., Dörffl., and Franke, 1870 [translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library].—B. Neteler, *Die Bücher der biblischen Chronik, übersetzt und erklärt*, Münster, Coppenrath, 1872 (second issue by this publisher of the General Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament on Catholic Principles).

Introductory critical monographs:—*a.* Of destructive tendency: De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.*, part i., Leipz. 1806 (comp. above, § 6).—C. P. W. Gramberg, *Die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtlichen Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit geprüft*, Halle 1823.—K. H. Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.*, two historico-critical discussions, Leipz. 1866, p. 114 ff.

*b.* Of apologetic tendency: J. G. Dahler, *De libr. Paralip. auctoritate et fide historica*, Argentor. 1819.—E. F. Keil, *Apol. Versuch über die Bücher der Chronik und über die Integrität des Buches Esra*, Berl. 18 3.—F. C. Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die bibl. Chronik*, Bonn 1834.—M. Stuart, *Critical History and Defence of the O. Test. Canon* (concerning especially the Pentateuch, the writings of the prophets, and of Solomon, Esther, and Chronicles), Andover, U. S., 1845.—Bertheau, Art. "Chronik" in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, vol. i. p. 528 ff. (also in his critique of Graf's monogr. in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* 1866, p. 158 ff.).

Exegetical and critical monographs on particular passages: B. Kennicott, *Comparatio capitis undecimi libri* 1 *Chron. cum. cap. quinto libri* 2 *Samuelis*, in *Diss. super ratione textus Hebraici V. T., ex Angl. Lat. vertit G. A. Teller*, Lips. 1756.—Jul. Wellhausen, *De gentibus et familiis Judæis, quæ* 1 *Chron. ii.-iv. enumerantur*, Göttingen 1870.—Seb. Schmid, *De literis Eliæ ad Joramum*, Argentor. 1717 (on 2 Chron. xxi. 12-15).—C. P. Caspari, *Der syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg unter Jotham und Ahas*, Christiania 1849 (especially on 2 Chron. xxvii., xxviii.).—K. H. Graf, *Die Gefangenschaft und Bekehrung Manasse's* 2 Chron. xxxiii., *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, part iii. p. 467 ff.—Against him: E. Gerlach, *Die Gefangenschaft and Bekehrung Manasse's ebendas.*, 1861, part iii. p. 503 ff., and L. Reinke, *Die Geschichte des Königs Manasse und die darin liegende angebliche Schwierigkeit* (in vol. viii. of his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des A. T.*, 1872, p. 115 ff.).—Comp. also Eberh. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, Giessen 1872, pp. 238-243; which excellent work, like the papers on this subject by the same author in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, and in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* (1869, 70, 71), contains rich monographic contributions to the exposition as well of the other historical books of the Old Testament as especially of Chronicles.

# THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

## FIRST BOOK.

### § 1. GENEALOGICAL TABLES OR PEDIGREES, WITH SHORT HISTORICAL STATEMENTS INTERSPERSED.—Ch. i.-ix.

#### a. Genealogies of the Patriarchs from Adam to Isaac's Sons Israel and Edom, with the Posterity of the Latter till the Times of the Kings. Ch. i.

1–3 Adam, Sheth, Enosh. Kenan, Mahalalel, Jered. Henoch, Methushelah,
4, 5 Lamech. Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The sons of Japheth: Gomer,
6 and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And
7 the sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, and Riphath,[1] and Togarmah. And the sons of
8 Javan: Elisha, and Tarshishah, Kittim, and Rodanim.[2] The sons of Ham:
9 Cush and Mizraim, Put and Kanaan. And the sons of Kush: Seba, and
Havilah, and Sabta, and Rama, and Sabtecha. And the sons of Rama: Sheba
10 and Dedan. And Kush begat Nimrod; he began to be a hero on the earth.
11 And Mizraim begat the Ludim,[3] and the Anamim, and the Lehabim, and the
12 Naphtuhim. And the Pathrusim, and the Kasluhim, of whom came the
13 Pelishtim, and the Kaphtorim. And Kanaan begat Zidon, his first-born, and
14, 15 Heth. And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite. And the
16 Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite. And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite,
17 and the Hamathite. The sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpakshad,
18 and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Meshech.[4] And
19 Arpakshad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Heber. And to Heber were
born two sons; the name of the one was Peleg [division]; for in his days was
20 the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. And Joktan begat
21 Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah. And Hadoram, and
22, 23 Uzal, and Diklah. And Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba. And Ophir, and
Havilah, and Jobab. All these are sons of Joktan.
24–27 Shem, Arpakshad, Shelah. Eber, Peleg, Reu. Serug, Nahor, Terah. Abram;
28, 29 that is, Abraham. The sons of Abraham: Isaac and Ishmael. These are their
generations: Ishmael's first-born was Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and
30, 31 Mibsam. Mishma, and Dumah, Massa, Hadad, and Tema. Jetur, Naphish,
32 and Kedemah: these are sons of Ishmael. And the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian,
33 and Ishbak, and Shuah; and Jokshan's sons: Sheba and Dedan. And the
sons of Midian: Ephah, and Epher, and Henoch, and Abida, and Eldaah: all
34 these are the sons of Keturah. And Abraham begat Isaac; the sons of Isaac:
35 Esau and Israel. The sons of Esau: Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jalam,
36 and Korah. The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and Omar, Zephi, and Gatam,
37 Kenaz, and Timnah, and Amalek. The sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah,
38 Shammah, and Mizzah. And the sons of Seir: Lotan, and Shobal, and

39 Zibon, and Anah, and Dishan, and Ezer, and Dishan. And the sons of
40 Lotan: Hori and Homam; and Lotan's sister was Timnah. The sons of
Shobal: Aljan,[5] and Manahath, and Ebal, Shephi,[6] and Onam; and the sons
41 of Zibon: Ajah and Anah. The sons of Anah: Dishon; and the sons of
42 Dishon: Hamran,[7] and Eshban, and Ithran, and Keran. The sons of Ezer:
Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Jaakan; the sons of Dishan: Uz and Aran.
43 And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before the sons of
Israel had kings: Bela, son of Beor; and the name of his city was Dinhabah.
44, 45 And Bela died, and Jobab, son of Zera of Bozrah, reigned in his stead. And
Jobab died, and Husham, of the land of the Temanites, reigned in his stead.
46 And Husham died, and Hadad, son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the land
47 of Moab, reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Ajuth.[8] And
48 Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. And Samlah
49 died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead. And Shaul
50 died, and Baal-hanan, son of Hakbor, reigned in his stead. And Baal-hanan
died, and Hadad[9] reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Pahi;
and the name of his wife was Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of
51 Mezahab. And Hadad died; and the dukes of Edom were: the duke of
52 Timnah, duke of Aljah,[10] duke of Jetheth. Duke of Oholibamah, duke of
53 Elah, duke of Pinon. Duke of Kenaz, duke of Teman, duke of Mibzar.
54 Duke of Magdiel, duke of Hiram: these are the dukes of Edom.

[1] דִּיפַת is certainly an error of the pen for רִיפַת, Gen. x. 3, which is found here in many MSS. and editions, as well as in the Sept. and the Vulg.

[2] רוֹדָנִים appears to be an error of the pen or an arbitrary amendment for דֹּדָנִים, Gen. x. 4, which many MSS. and older editions present here also. But comp. the exposition.

[3] So (לוּדִים) the *Keri* in our passage, which, however, may rest on a confirmation with Gen. x. 13. The *Kethib* has לוּדִיִּים, a long plural form, which is to לוּדִים as in English Lydian would be to Lydan, or as in Hebrew כּוּשִׁיִּים, Am ix 12, to כּוּשִׁים, 2 Chron. xxi. 6.

[4] On מֶשֶׁךְ instead of מַשׁ, Gen. x. 23, see the Commentary.

[5] Instead of Aljan (עַלְיָן) many MSS. have Alvan (עַלְוָן), in accordance with Gen. xxxvi. 23.

[6] For שְׁפִי some MSS. have שְׁפוֹ, as in Gen. xxxvi. 23. So in ver. 36, where the name צְפִי is in a number of MSS. changed into צְפוֹ, as in Gen. xxxvi. 11.

[7] For חַמְרָן a considerable number of MSS. have חֶמְדָּן, as in Gen. xxxvi. 26.

[8] For the *Kethib* עֲיוּת the *Keri* has עֲוִית, as in Gen. xxxvi. 35.

[9] For הֲדַד some MSS. read הֲדַר, which is the usual reading in Gen. xxxvi. 39, while there also several MSS. present הדד. Hadad's city פָּעִי, which, in the same parallel, is פָּעוּ, some good codices here also change into פָּעוּ.

[10] For עַלְיָה the *Keri* gives עַלְוָה, according to Gen. xxxvi. 40.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—The whole of these patriarchal forefathers of the house of David down to Israel and Edom, sons of Isaac, appear to be divided into two nearly equal parts, to the second of which is added an appendix on the descendants of Edom till the times of David. The first part, vers. 1–23, enumerates the 10 antediluvian patriarchs from Adam to Noah, the 3 sons of Noah, and the 70 nations descending from them (on this number 70, see the Remark under ver. 23). In the second part, vers. 24–42, are given the 10 generations from Shem to Abraham, the sons of Abraham by Hagar, Keturah, and Sarah, and the stocks derived from them, which again amount to 70 (see under ver. 42). The appendix, vers. 43–54, mentions the kings of the Edomites before David, that are also given in Gen. xxxvi., as well as the 11 there named dukes of Edom. In all these genealogical and ethnological statements the author adheres closely to the matter, and where he does not merely abbreviate, as several times in the second part, and partly also in the appendix, even to the words of Genesis, of which ch. v. and x. (the table of nations) serve him till ver. 23, and ch. ii., xxv., xxxvi. till the end as sources and models. He reports in the briefest manner concerning the patriarchs before Noah, and concerning Noah himself, and his sons (vers.

1–4), of whom he merely gives the names, 13 in number, without even remarking that the first 10 of these names denote successive generations and the last 3 brothers. He might certainly presuppose in his readers sufficient knowledge of the relations of these holy and venerable names from the earliest foretime. He knew that to them as well as to himself belonged "the faculty to perceive in all these names the indications and foundations of a rich ancient history" (Berth.). And it was scarcely otherwise with the names of the following series, reaching further into the more known history, which he also brings together in a brief and bare report. Even where we are unable to perceive the historical importance of the prominent names, and the grounds on which they must have been of interest to every pious Israelite, the fact of such importance is to be presumed in every case, and for every single name. Comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, 2d edit. i. 479: "These dry names from a hoary antiquity, when we know how to awaken them from their sleep, do not remain so dead and stiff, but announce and revive the most important traditions of the ancient nations and families, like the petrifactions and mountain strata of the earth, which, rightly questioned, tell the history of long vanished ages."[1]

§ I. *The Patriarchs before Noah, the three Sons of Noah, and the* (70) *Nations descending from them:* vers. 1–23.

1. *From Adam to Noah's Sons:* vers. 1–4.—On the stringing together of the bare names, without any explanation, see Preliminary Remark. The names are all taken from Gen. v.: the rich contents of this oldest genealogy of primeval history is here reduced to the shortest possible form of an abstract. For the conjectural etymology of the several names (Adam = man; Sheth = substitute; Enosh = weak, frail man; Kenan = gain or gainful, etc.), see vol. i. p. 121 f. of the *Bibelwerk*.—The order of the names of the three sons of Noah is Shem, Ham, and Japheth; as always in Genesis also, though Ham (Gen. ix. 24) was the youngest of the three. Comp. our Introductory Remarks on the prophet Daniel (*Bibelwerk*, part xiii. p. 11), where it is made probable that this order, like that of the names Noah, Daniel, and Joab (in Ezekiel), depends on euphonic principles (so Delitzsch, *Komm. über die Genes.*, 4th edit. 1872, p. 22?).

2. *From Noah's Sons to Abraham; the Table of Nations:* vers. 5–23.—This abstract from the Mosaic table of nations Gen. x. has abridged this larger genealogical ethnographic account to the present narrow limits, chiefly by omitting the opening and closing notes, and passing over the remarks on the kingdom of Nimrod at Babel, and the spread of the Shemites and Hamites in their countries (vers. 5, 9–12, 18–20). Here, again, there is that abbreviating and condensing process which is characteristic of the author. For the ethnological and geographical import of the several names, comp. the commentary on Genesis by the editor (vol. i. p. 171 of the *Bibelwerk*), and the monographs on the table of nations there cited.

*a. The Japhethites:* vers. 5–7.—The names of the descendants of Japheth, 14 in number (7 sons and 7 grandsons), open the series in Gen. x. of stems and nations to be enumerated, perhaps because they represented the strongest and most widely-spread body (Japheth = "enlarging," Gen. ix. 27), scarcely because he passed for the first-born of Noah; for Shem, who is always placed before Japheth, even when only the two are named together, is to be regarded as such; see especially the decisive passages, Gen. ix. 23, 26 (against Starke, Bertheau, etc.). [These texts are not decisive; and Shem was born in the 503d year of Noah, Gen. xi. 11, and therefore two years at least after Japheth, Gen. v. 32.—J. G. M.]—The view recently again maintained with ingenuity and learning by J. G. Müller (*Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Chamiten und Japhetiten*, Gotha 1872), that the so-called Shemites are nothing but Japhethites or Indogermans Hamitized in language, is in any case at variance with the Biblical genealogy of the sons of Noah, whether Shem or Japheth be the first-born.—Ver. 6. *Riphath.* This form, rejected by the Masoretes in favour of the probably erroneous (resting on an old clerical error) דִּיפַת, has not only the weight of so old witnesses as the Sept. and Vulg. for it (see the Crit. Note on ver. 6), but also the circumstance that plausible ethnographic explanations can be adduced for Riphath, but not for Diphath; comp. the name Ῥιφαταῖοι = Παφλαγόν in Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6, and the ὄρη Ῥίπαια, on the ground of which Knobel has attempted to show in Riphath the ancestor of the Kelts (against which the Paphlagonian cities Tibia and Tobata [Bochart, *Geogr. Sacra*, p. 198 seq.], produced by the ancients in defence of the reading דִּיפַת, cannot, from their smallness and insignificance, be taken into account).—Ver. 7. *Tarshishah* (תַּרְשִׁישָׁה), a later form for תַּרְשִׁישׁ, which is usual in Gen. (x. 4) and elsewhere in the O. T. (also 2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36), the *ah* of motion having in this form melted into one word with the name itself. "With this are to be compared the modern Greek names, obtained by the wearing away of the proposition εἰς and the article, Stalimene = Lemnos, Stambul = (Konstantino)polis, Satines = Athenæ, Stanko = Kos," etc. (Berth.).—*Rodanim*, רוֹדָנִים; many transcribers and older editors wish to change this into the דֹּדָנִים of Gen. x. 4, although even there some old authorities (Sam., Sept., Jerome, *Quæst. in Gen.*) read רֹדָנִים. The decision is difficult, because, on the one hand, Knobel's reference of Dodanim to the Dardani is verbally doubtful; on the other hand, the Rhodians (= Rodanim) appear too unimportant a part of the Hellenic race to be put on the same footing with Æolians (= Elishah), Etruscans (= Tarshish), and Cyprians or Karians (= Kittim). And yet the placing of Kittim and Rodanim together, and the consideration that the sea trade of the Rhodians might have become very important for such oriental nations as the Phœnicians and the Hebrews, appear to speak more for the reading of our book than for the original (comp. Berth.).

[1] Comp. also Wellhausen, *De gentibus et fam. Judæis*, etc., p. 4, where, with respect to the genealogical lists in the beginning of Chronicles, it is well remarked: *Quo fit, ut cœmeterii quasi speciem nobis præbeant hæc capita cipporum pleni: fuit ætas, cui breves sufficere tituli ad resuscitandam sepultorum memoriam;—interjectis sæculis, nedum millenniis, leguntur tituli, sed quo referantur, quid sibi velint, nescitur.*

And if Dodanim were to pass for the original form, and yet the application to the Dardani be untenable, the reference to Dodona would be internally still less probable than that to the Rhodians.

*b. The Hamites:* vers. 8-16.—Of these are named 4 sons, 24 grandsons, and 2 great-grandsons, being 30 descendants in all. Nimrod, ver. 10, does not count among the grandsons, as he appears only as a famous individual (hero), not as a head or founder of a people (patriarch). His introduction, therefore, is different from that of those previously named, not by וּבְנֵי (see vers. 5-9; and comp. Gen. x. 2-7), but by יָלַד, as Gen. x. 8, which verse is literally transcribed by the Chronist. By the formula: "he began to be a hero on the earth," the nature and import of Nimrod are briefly and pithily expressed, so that a repetition of the further statements of Genesis concerning him (x. 9-12) is not necessary. Comp. as a parallel from the New Testament: ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν (or ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν), with which the evangelists are wont to characterize Judas Iscariot.—On לוּדִיִּים, ver. 11, see Critical Note.

*c. The Shemites,* particularly the non-Hebrews: vers. 17-23.—Of them are named in all 23 members, namely (as the parallel passage Gen. x. 23 more exactly shows), 5 sons, 5 grandsons, and 16 other descendants. That in ver. 17 the names Uz, Hul, Gether, Meshech, which properly denote grandsons of Shem by Aram, are appended at once to the 5 sons of Shem (so that they appear to be his sons, and thus the number of his sons would be 9, and that of his grandsons only 1), is a circumstance sufficiently explained, as the similar case in ver. 4 of Noah's sons: the author presumed the relation of the 4 as sons to Aram to be sufficiently known, and therefore thought it unnecessary to repeat the words וּבְנֵי אֲרָם before עוּץ from Gen. x. 23. Less probable is the supposition that the words in question fell out by a mistake of the copyist, or that the Chronist, deviating from the Pentateuch, really took the nations Uz, Hul, Gether, and Meshech to be sons, not grandsons, of Shem (as Knobel, *Völkertafel*, p. 252).—Moreover, almost all manuscripts give the last name in ver. 17 מֶשֶׁךְ; only a few conform to the reading in Genesis (מַשׁ), for which also the Sept. there presents Μοσόχ = מֶשֶׁךְ; and so might the Chronist have read in the text of Genesis. It is also in favour of Meshech being the original name, that Mash as a national name is quite unknown, while Meshech occurs as the name of a Shemite or Arabic tribe along with Kedar in Ps. cxx. 5.—Ver. 22. *Ebal,* עֵיבָל, is called in the parallel Gen. x. 28 rather Obal, עוֹבָל; yet the Sept. seems to have read עֵיבָל, for it gives the name as Εὐάλ. Comp. the similar but reverse case of Homam (=Hemam) under ver. 39.—The 14 descendants of Japheth, 30 of Ham, and 26 of Shem, amount to 70 nations descended from Noah. This number the author intended to bring out; for with him, or before him, other Jewish expositors might have discovered the symbolic number 70 in the Mosaic table of nations (it may, in fact, be gathered from it; comp. J. Fürst, *Gesch. der bibl. Liter. und des jüdisch-hellenischen Schriftthums*, i. p. 119); and this number of the nations of the globe, occasionally enlarged to 72, plays otherwise an important part in the Jewish circle of thought. This is shown by its frequent mention in the Talmud, and its occurrence in the Gnostic writings and the Pseudo-Clementine (*Recogn.* ii. 42). To this belong also such biblical passages as Num. xi. 16 and Luke x. 1 ff.; for the 70 elders appointed by Moses in the wilderness (with the 70 members of the Jewish Sanhedrin on this model), as well as the 70 disciples chosen by Jesus, appear to be due to a symbolic reference to the 70 nations of the globe (comp. Godet, *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Luc*, 1870, ii. p. 21). And there is actually a deeper sense in the view, that the total number of the nations of the earth is = the sacred ideal number 70 (7 × 10, the humanly complete, elevated and multiplied by the power of the Divine Spirit; comp. my *Theol. naturalis*, i. p. 716). And why should we not have as good a right, in the popular phraseology of Hebrew antiquity, to speak of the "70 nations of the world," as of the 4 winds, the 4 quarters of heaven, the 12 signs of the zodiac, without uttering anything untrue or against nature, though such expressions may have no exact scientific basis? There seems then to be no reason to hesitate, from a dogmatic-apologetic point of view, to acknowledge that the number 70 was intended by the author to apply to the descendants of Noah. The only thing that can be said against it is, the absence of an express intimation, such as Matthew gives at the close of his genealogy of Jesus, in the form of a recapitulation of the several groups of numbers (i. 17). Yet the pedigree by Luke (iii. 23-38) wants also such a recapitulation, though its symbolic construction out of 77 = 7 × 11 members is no less certain than that of Matthew. If Keil objects to our view, which is that of almost all recent expositors, that the number 70 is only obtained by making, "in the sons of Shem, the personal names Arpakshad, Shelah, Heber, Peleg, and Joktan to be names of nations, contrary to the view of Genesis, in which the five names denote persons, the ancestors of the nations descending from Heber through Peleg and Joktan," this refutes nothing. For the number 70 is obtained throughout, and not merely in the case of Arpakshad, etc., by the addition of all names, those of the patriarchs, who only became nations in their sons, as well as these sons themselves, and their descendants. In other words, it is quite reasonable, and corresponds entirely with the spirit and method of the genealogizing ethnography of the Hebrews, to regard all higher or lower members of old pedigrees as *in abstracto* equivalent factors and representatives of definite co-ordinate races in the subsequent history, though this view may be *in concreto* impracticable. Comp., moreover, the evangelical-ethical principles under ch. ix.

§ II. *The Patriarchs from Shem to Abraham, and the Descendants of the latter through Ishmael, Keturah, Edom* (70 *stems in all*): vers. 24-42.

1. *From Shem to Abraham:* vers. 24-27.—The 10 members of this line are exactly coincident with Gen. xi. 10-32, though with the omission of

all historical details. And the Chronist follows the genealogical account of the Masoretic text, which represents Abraham himself as the tenth of the line, not that of the Sept., which inserts a Kenan (Καϊνάν) between Arpakshad and Shelah, thus following a tradition that regarded Terah, the father of Abraham, as the tenth from Shem. Bertheau (in the annual report of the "Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellschaft," 1845-46) has attempted to make it probable that this tradition was the older, and that the name קֵינָן stood originally in the text of Genesis.—Ver. 27. Abram, perhaps for the sake of brevity, and to avoid all needless accumulation of names, afterwards (from Gen. xvii. 5) Abraham, in which the author, in his brief manner, notices the change of name, is alone named as a son of Terah, Nahor and Haran and their posterity being omitted.

2. *Abraham's Sons and their Descendants*: vers. 28-34.—They fall, like those of Noah and Terah, into three stocks or branches under Ishmael, Keturah, and Isaac. The Chronist places the former groups first, because, like the genealogists in the primeval history, he wished first to enumerate the remote stocks, and then to take up the people of God. The same process from without to within placed the genealogy of the Japhethites and Hamites before the Shemites, and determines, further, that of Isaac's posterity the Edomite branch is first treated, and then the Israelite.

*a. Ishmael and his Twelve Sons*: vers. 29-31.—The twelve names agree exactly with the list in Gen. xxv 12-16, with respect to the order as well as the words. And the introductory אֵלֶּה תֹּלְדוֹת, ver. 29, the predicate בְּכוֹר, "the first-born" before Ishmael (comp. Gen. xxv. 13), and the closing formula, "These are the sons of Ishmael" (ver. 31; comp. Gen. xxv. 16), show how closely the author adheres to the Mosaic record. The designation of Ishmael as the "first-born" is only to be explained by this faithful adherence to the original, not by the wish of the author to justify his placing the Ishmaelites before the descendants of Israel (as Bertheau seems to think); for this position needed no justification, because it necessarily followed from the genealogical method of our author (see on ver. 28). [In our author's version of ver. 29, "the first-born" is made to refer to Nebaioth, and not to Ishmael, as above. This seems to be correct.—J. G. M.]

*b. The Descendants of Keturah*: vers. 32, 33.—The six sons and seven grandsons of Abraham by Keturah are not given literally as in Gen. xxv. 1-4. On the contrary, the Chronist has left out three great-grandsons there named—Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim, descendants of Dedan—whether intentionally, on account of the plural form of the names, or because he did not find them in his copy of Genesis, must remain undetermined. That Medan and Midian, ver. 32, are only different pronunciations of the same name (comp. Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36), the number of the sons of Keturah was originally and properly five, and the total number of her descendants only twelve, is an arbitrary conjecture of Bertheau, while pushing too far the endeavour to find certain symbolic numbers everywhere.

*c. The Two Sons of Isaac, Esau, and Israel, and the Descendants of the former*: vers. 34-42.—*And Abraham begat Isaac.* This notice, leading back to the statement in ver. 28, appears occasioned by Gen. xxv. 19, where the same words (only with הוֹלִיד for וַיּוֹלֶד) occur immediately after the enumeration of the sons of Keturah. This reference to Abraham was not in itself necessary here; but comp. also the reference to Shem above in ver. 24.—Ver. 25. Esau's sons, enumerated exactly after Gen. xxxvi. 4, 5 (though without naming their mothers, the three wives of Esau), as in general the author henceforth reports very closely from Gen. xxxvi., following which also he annexes the Seirites or aborigines of Idumæa to the proper Edomites, and treats both as belonging to one and the same family of nations.—Ver. 36. *Sons of Eliphaz.* These, five in number, are given exactly as in Gen. xxxvi. 11; for the name of the third, Zephi, is only a by-form of Zepho, as in ver. 40 a Shephi appears in place of the Shepho, Gen. xxxvi. 23; comp. the Crit. Remark. But if the names Timnah and Amalek are annexed, apparently as sons of Eliphaz, this is probably a similar breviloquence to that in vers. 4 and 17; the author presumes it sufficiently known to his readers, that Timnah, Amalek's mother, was not a son, but rather a concubine of Eliphaz (another wife besides Adah, the mother of those five sons first named); comp. Gen. xxxvi. 12. So have the Sept. (in the cod. Alex.) and numerous older Jewish and Christian expositors solved the difficulty, and of the moderns, J. H. Michaelis, Starke, Keil, etc.; whereas Bertheau, having regard to vers. 39 and 51, where actually a separate stem and then a stem-prince Timnah are counted, prefers to assume that "the Chronist, interpreting the genealogical language, and perceiving in the family names the stem-relations that lie at their root, has explained the statements of Genesis concerning Timnah, so that by them the connection of two stems Timnah and Amalek with the other stems of Eliphaz shall be indicated, and they are accordingly counted in the same line with these stems as sons of Eliphaz." This assumption seems to us too artificial, and ascribes to the Chronist a higher degree of bold independence and wilfulness in his operations than is admissible or consistent with his evident piety and conscientiousness in recording the facts of primeval history that were handed down to him.—Ver. 37. *Sons of Reuel.* These are entered four in number, exactly as in Gen. xxxvi. 13. There are thus in all 10 grandsons (6 sons of Eliphaz and 4 of Reuel) who are assigned by our author to Esau, and who, with the three sons of Jeush, Jalam, and Korah (sons of Oholibamah), form the 13 family or stem chiefs (φύλαρχοι, Sept. Gen. xxxvi. 15) of the Edomites. Against Bertheau, who would here make out a 12 from the 13 families, by reducing Amalek, ver. 36, to a secondary place, comp. Keil, p. 36: "Neither Chronicles nor Genesis knows 12 tribes of Edom, but both books give 13 grandsons (rather descendants) of Esau; and these 13 grandsons are, by the report of Genesis, the 13 phylarchs of Edom which are distributed among the 3 wives of Esau, so that the 13 families may be reduced to 3 stems. And in Genesis, Amalek is not placed in a looser connection with the re-

maining tribes, but on the contrary, is not only, ver. 12, counted with the sons of Adah, perhaps because Timnah stood to Adah, the wife of Esau, in the same relation as Hagar to Sarah, but also in ver. 16 is reckoned to the dukes of the sons of Eliphaz. Thus Genesis counts not 5, but 6 stems of Eliphaz; and Chronicles has not fully effaced the number 12, as Bertheau further asserts, but the 13 sons and grandsons of Esau, who became phylarchs, are fully entered, and only their designation as אַלּוּפֵי בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו left out, because unnecessary for the genealogy of the descendants of Esau."—Vers. 38-42. The 7 sons of Seir and their descendants, or the (mingled since Esau's invasion with his descendants) Seirite or Horite aborigines of Idumæa according to their tribes. These aborigines of the mountains of Edom, though not of Abrahamic descent, yet, from their gradually formed connection and intermingling with the descendants of Esau, are so reckoned as if they belonged to the Edomite family of nations. And this occurs not only here in Chronicles, where they are introduced as בְּנֵי שֵׂעִיר, but also in Gen. xxx. 20-30, where they are called חֹרִי, "dwellers in caves, Troglodytes." Comp. also on these Horites, our exp. of the book of Job, vol. x. of the *Bibelw.* p. 238.—The names of the seven sons of Seir, that is, the seven Seirite chiefs, agree exactly with Genesis; and likewise their descendants, in number 18 men and 1 woman, Timnah, ver. 39. Only Oholibamah, a second Seiritess named in Gen. xxxvi. 25, has been passed over by the Chronist, according to his wont in general to reckon only male members in his genealogical lists. On the deviations of some forms from the text of Genesis, as Homam, ver. 39, for Hemam; Aljan, ver. 40, for Alwan, etc., see Crit. Note.—The total names enumerated from Abraham amount to about 70, whether the two Timnahs, the mother of Amalek, ver. 36, and the sister of Lotan, ver. 39, or the Edomite and the Seirite Timnah be included, in which case there are exactly 70, or both or one of them be excluded from the number, and so then be only 68 or 69. Bertheau (whom Kamphausen, in Bunsen's *Bibelw.*, follows), counting in the former way, finds 12 descendants of Esau, 13 of Keturah, 2 of Isaac, 16 of Esau, and 27 of Seir, and so obtains the number 70; Keil, in the latter way, regards the Seirite Timnah as only mentioned by the way, and therefore excluded, and consequently reckons only 26 descendants of Seir, and in all, only 69 descendants of Abraham. Though the latter be right in many of his objections to Bertheau's mode of reckoning (for instance, its exclusion of Ishmael, and inclusion of Esau and Israel), yet he certainly goes too far when he utterly denies the design of the Chronist to follow up his list of 70 descendants of Noah with the same number of those of Abraham. This design, though not carried out with mathematical exactness, and therefore not expressly mentioned here (any more than in ver. 5 ff.), appears in fact to have had a distinct influence on the selection and arrangement of his genealogical lists. The incidental agreement of the number in vers. 29-42 with that in vers. 5-23 shows this, just as the decade of the patriarchs between Noah and Abraham, in its agreement with that of the patriarchs before Noah (comp. vers. 24-27 with vers. 1-4), points to design.

APPENDIX.—*The Edomite Kings and Chiefs till the beginning of Kingdom of Israel:* vers. 43-54.

1. *The Kings:* vers. 43-51*a*.—A nearly literal repetition from Gen. xxxvi. 31-39; only the words וַיִּמְלֹךְ בֶּאֱדוֹם (ver. 43) before בֶּלַע, and in ver. 51 after בַּעַל חָנָן, the words בֶּן־עַכְבּוֹר are left out, which, however, many MSS. here also supply. On the variants in Ajuth, ver. 46, and in Hadad and Pai, ver. 50, see Crit. Notes.—Ver. 51. *And Hadad died.* This statement (וַיָּמָת הֲדַד) is wanting in the parallel texts of Genesis, where, after entering Hadad (or rather Hadar) as the last king, the formula וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת serves to introduce the then following list of the phylarchs and their seats. By the sentence "and Hadad died," along with the following, "and there were" (וַיִּהְיוּ), this list of phylarchs is here brought into a far closer connection with the foregoing register of kings than in Genesis,—into a connection, indeed, which at first sight looks as if the Chronist intended to represent the dukes as successors of the kingdom terminated by Hadad's death, and so report a transition from the monarchic to the aristocratic form of government in Edom. This supposition, however, which Bertheau, Kamph., and others defend, is not absolutely necessary; the ו *consec.* in וַיִּהְיוּ "may express merely the order of thought; that is, may connect the mention of the dukes only in thought with the enumeration of the kings, or intimate that besides the kings there were also dukes, who could govern the nation and country" (Keil). The latter supposition is the more probable, as the following list is owing to a statistical and chronographic rather than a genealogical tendency, as will presently be shown.

2. *The Dukes:* vers. 51-54.—This list agrees in the order and form of the 11 names given exactly (on the variant Aljah for Alwah, ver. 51, see Crit. Note) with Gen. xxxvi. 40-43. Yet it has received from the Chronist another superscription and subscription, of which the former runs thus: "and there were the dukes of Edom" (אַלּוּפֵי אֱדוֹם instead of א׳ עֵשָׂו, Gen. xxxvi. 40, the name of the people and land taking the place of the *n. propr.* of the patriarch), and the latter: "these are the dukes of Edom" (for which that of Genesis is more circumstantial: "These are the dukes of Edom according to their habitations in the land of their possessions: this is Esau, the father of Edom"). And the list treats not so much of the enumeration of certain persons as of that of the seats of certain (perhaps hereditary) dukes of the nation or phylarchs, according to which they are briefly named, "the duke of Timnah," etc. The list has thus a geographical, not a genealogical import; it is a list of neighbouring principalities of Edom, not of Edomite princes. The number eleven of these principalities forms an approximative parallel with the number twelve of the tribes of Israel; it agrees also nearly with the number of the descendants of Esau above named (ver. 36 ff.); but it could only by violent means and arbitrary hypotheses be made to agree with this number, or reduced to the number twelve (comp. the remarks against Berth. on ver. 37).

### b. The Sons of Israel, and the Generations of Judah down to David, with David's Descendants to Elioenai and his Seven Sons.—Ch. ii.–iv. 23.

#### 1. *The Twelve Sons of Israel and the Descendants of Judah:* ch. ii. 1–41 (*with an Appendix relating chiefly to the Posterity of Caleb:* vers. 42–55).

Ch. ii. 1. These are the sons of Israel: Reuben, Simeon (Shimon), Levi, and Judah,
2 Issachar, and Zebulun. Dan, Joseph and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, and
3 Assher. The sons of Judah: Er, and Onan, and Shelah; three were born to
him of the daughter of Shuah, the Canaanitess; but Er, the first-born of
4 Judah, was evil in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. And Thamar his
daughter-in-law bare him Perez and Zerah: all the sons of Judah were five.
5, 6 The sons of Perez: Hezron and Hamul. And the sons of Zerah: Zimri, and
7 Ethan, and Heman, Calcol, and Dara:[1] five of them in all. And the sons
of Carmi: Achar, the troubler of Israel, who transgressed in the accursed
8 thing. And the sons of Ethan: Azariah.
9 And the sons of Hezron, that were born to him: Jerahmeel, and Ram, and
10 Celubai. And Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon,
11 prince of the sons of Judah. And Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma begat
12, 13 Boaz. And Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse. And Jesse begat his
14 first-born Eliab, and Abinadab the second, and Shima the third. Nathanael
15, 16 the fourth, Raddai the fifth. Ozem the sixth, David the seventh. And their
sisters, Zeruiah and Abigail: and the sons of Zeruiah: Abishai, and Joab, and
17 Asahel, three. And Abigail bare Amasa; and the father of Amasa was Jether
the Ishmaelite.
18 And Caleb, son of Hezron, begat with Azubah his wife,[2] and with Jerioth;
19 and these are her sons: Jesher, and Shobab, and Ardon. And Azubah died;
20 and Caleb took to him Ephrath, and she bare him Hur. And Hur begat
21 Uri, and Uri begat Bezalel. And afterwards Hezron went in to the daughter
of Machir, father of Gilead; and he took her when he was sixty years old,
22 and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair, who had twenty and three
23 cities in the land of Gilead. And Geshur and Aram took the towns of Jair
from them, with Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities. All these are sons
24 of Jair, the father of Gilead. And after the death of Hezron, in Caleb-
ephrathah, Abiah, Hezron's wife, bare him Ashur (Ashchur), father of Tekoah.
25 And the sons of Jerahmeel, the first-born of Hezron, were Ram, the first-
26 born, and Bunah, and Oren, and Azem of Ahijah. And Jarahmeel had another
27 wife, and her name was Atarah; she was the mother of Onam. And the
sons of Ram, the first-born of Jerahmeel, were Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker.
28 And the sons of Onam were Shammai and Jada; and the sons of Shammai:
29 Nadab and Abishur. And the name of Abishur's wife was Abihail,[3] and she
30 bare him Ahban and Molid. And the sons of Nadab: Seled and Appaim;
31 and Seled died childless. And the sons of Appaim: Ishi; and the sons of
32 Ishi: Sheshan; and the sons of Sheshan: Ahlai. And the sons of Jada,
33 brother of Shammai: Jether and Jonathan; and Jether died childless. And
the sons of Jonathan: Peleth and Zaza. These were the sons of Jerahmeel.
34 And Sheshan had no sons, but only daughters. And Sheshan had an
35 Egyptian servant, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to
36 Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him Attai. And Attai begat Nathan,
37 and Nathan begat Zabad. And Zabad begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed.
38, 39 And Obed begat Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah. And Azariah begat Helez,
40 and Helez begat Elasah. And Elasah begat Sismai, and Sismai begat Shal-
41 lum. And Shallum begat Jekamiah, and Jekamiah begat Elishama.

*Appendix: Three Series of Descendants of Caleb:* vers. 42–55.

42 And the sons of Caleb, brother of Jerahmeel, were Mesha, his first-born;
he was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Hebron.[4]

43, 44 And the sons of Hebron: Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema. And
45 Shema begat Raham, father of Jorkeam;[5] and Rekem begat Shammai. And
the son of Shammai was Maon; and Maon was father of Bethzur.
46 And Ephah, Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and Moza, and Gazez; and
47 Haran begat Gazez. And the sons of Jehdai: Regem, and Jotham, and Geshan,
48 and Pelet, and Ephah, and Shaaph. Caleb's concubine Maacha bare[6] Sheber.
49 and Tirhanah. And she bare Shaaph the father of Madmannah, Sheva,
father of Machbenah, and father of Gibeah; and Caleb's daughter was Achsah.
50 These were the sons of Caleb the son[7] of Hur, first-born of Ephrathah:
51 Shobal, father of Kiriath-jearim. Salma, father of Bethlehem, Hareph, father
52 of Bethgader. And Shobal, father of Kiriath-jearim, had sons: Haroeh,
53 and the half of Menuhoth.[8] And the families of Kiriath-jearim were the
Ithrite, and the Puthite, and the Shumathite, and the Mishraite. From
54 these came the Zorathite and the Eshtaolite. The sons of Salma: Bethlehem,
and the Netophathite, Ataroth of the house of Joab, and half of the Mena-
55 hathite, the Zorite. And the families of the scribes dwelling at Jabez were
the Tirathites, Shimathites, Suchathites: these are the Kenites that came
from Hammath, father of the house of Rechab.

[1] For דָּרַע many mss., as well as the Syr. and the Chald., give דַּרְדַּע, as in 1 Kings v. 11.

[2] אִשָּׁה (for which אִשְׁתּוֹ was to be expected) is wanting in two mss., according to de Rossi, *Var. Lect.*—The Pesh. and Vulg. appear to have read אִשְׁתּוֹ אֵת for אִשָּׁה וְאֵת.

[3] Instead of אֲבִיהַיִל, a number of mss. and printed editions have אֲבִיחַיִל. The same vacillation is also found in 2 Chron. xi. 18, in the like-named wife of Rehoboam.

[4] Instead of מָרֵשָׁה might possibly (after the proposal of Keil) be read מֵישָׁע, and instead of אֲבִי חֶבְרוֹן rather the *nom. composit.* אֲבִי־חֶבְרוֹן. Comp. the Exeg. Expl.

[5] For יָרְקֳעָם the Sept. exhibits Ἰεκλάν; and so for the following רֶקֶם.

[6] Instead of the unexpected masc. יָלַד, some mss. present the fem. יָלְדָה.

[7] Instead of בֶּן־חוּר, the Sept. appears to have read בְּנֵי־חוּר, which is perhaps the original form. Comp. Exeg. Expl.

[8] On the probably corrupt words הראה חצי המנחות, see Exeg.

### EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—The author here begins to enroll his detailed genealogies of the tribes of Israel, extending to the end of ch. viii. After premising a list of the 12 sons of Jacob as the general basis of the whole, vers. 1, 2, he begins with the enumeration of the generations and families of the tribe of Judah, which he then pursues in ch. iii. and iv. 1–23, and completes in several parts. No order, regulated by definite historical, geographical, or any systematic principles, lies at the base of this enumeration; he seems rather to have combined into a whole, as far as possible, the more or less fragmentary genealogies of certain branches and families of the house of Judah as they came down to him from antiquity; but this whole is very defective in the unity and homogeneity of its several parts. For of the five immediate descendants of Judah, that founded the tribe of Judah by a numerous posterity, his three sons Shelah, Perez, and Zerah, and his two grandsons Hezron and Hamul, only Zerah (ii. 6–8), Hezron (ii. 9–iii.), and Shelah (iv. 21–23) have their genealogies given with any fulness; Hamul is entirely passed over, and Perez is only followed out in the line of Hezron. This line (under which the Chronist sums up all that was known of the descendants of Caleb and of the Jephunnite Calebites) is treated with special care and fulness: to it belongs the whole series of the descendants of David till the times after the captivity (ch. iii.), and at least the more considerable part of the genealogical fragments in ch. iv. 1–23, which serve as a supplement to ch. ii. 9–55, and of which it is often doubtful which of the members previously named they continue or supplement.

1. *The Twelve Sons of Israel:* vers. 1, 2.—These are given in an order deviating from Gen. xxxv. 23 ff., so that the 6 sons of Leah stand first, then the son of Rachel's maid, Dan; after that the 2 sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and lastly, the 3 remaining sons of the maids (Naphtali, Bilhah's son; Gad and Asher, Zilpah's sons). This separation of Dan from his full brother Naphtali is surprising, and can hardly be satisfactorily explained. For if we suppose that Rachel (see Gen. xxx. 3 ff.) regarded Dan, born of her maid Bilhah, as in a sense her own son, and so he is named before Joseph and Benjamin, yet still it is a question, why not also Naphtali, who was likewise born before her own sons. The procedure of the Chronist in regard to Dan is in several respects enigmatical; comp. on ch. vii. 12. [It is probable that Naphtali was born about the same time with Gad, and is therefore classified with him.—J. G. M.]

2. *The Descendants of Judah:* vers. 3–41.—*a.* The 5 sons of Judah, the 2 sons of Perez, and the descendants of Zerah: vers. 3–8.—Vers. 3, 4. *The sons of Judah*, etc. The five sons of Judah, three legitimate, born of the daughter of Shuah

the Canaanite, Er, Onan, and Shelah, and two born in incest of Tamar, his daughter-in-law, Perez and Zerah, are given in accordance with Gen. xxxviii., and in the same order (comp. also Gen. xlvi. 12). The author recalls this his source by taking over word for word the remark on Er in Gen. xxxviii. 7: "But Er the first-born of Judah was evil in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him."—Ver. 5. *The sons of Perez*, etc. (Hezron, perhaps the "blooming, fair;" Hamul, the "forgiven," or the "tender, weak;" comp. *Bibelw.* i. p. 432). These occur in two registers of the Pentateuch, the list of the children of Israel who went down to Egypt with Jacob, Gen. xlvi. 12, and in that of the families of Judah in the Mosaic age, Num. xxvi. 21.—Vers. 6-8. *And the sons of Zerah.* Five such are named: Zimri, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara. On the first of these names, which might possibly be wrongly written (זִמְרִי for זַבְדִּי, Josh. vii. 1), see under ver. 7. The four following names, especially if we read for the last, Darda, with a great number of old witnesses (see Crit. Note), agree surprisingly with the four men compared with Solomon in 1 Kings v. 11: Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the the sons of Mahol. The assumption of an identity of these four wise men with the four younger sons of Zerah is very natural; it has been already asserted by Grotius, Clericus, Lightfoot (*Chronol. V. T.* p. 24), Hiller (*Onom. Sacr.*), and others, and recently by Movers (p. 237) and Bertheau, who insisted on the circumstance, that in 1 Kings v. 11 contemporaries of Solomon were not intended (no more than in Ezra xiv. 14, xviii. 20, contemporaries of Daniel); further, on the probable identity of Zerah with Ezrah the father of Ethan mentioned in 1 Kings v. 11 (אֶזְרָח=זֶרַח); and lastly, on the statement of the Rabbinical book *Seder Olam*, which says (p. 52, ed. Meyer) of the sons of Zerah named in our passage: "These were prophets who prophesied in Egypt," and thus appears to confirm expressly their being of the class of Hakamim. But the argument raised of late, especially by Hengstenberg (*Beiträge zur Einl.* ii. 61 f., and on Ps. lxxxviii.), Keil (*Apol. Vers.* p. 164 ff.; comp. *Comment.* p. 39 ff.), as well as Bähr (on 1 Kings v. 11, *Bibelw.* vii. p. 30), against the identity of these persons, seems to be more weighty and decisive. For, 1. The variant "Darda" for "Dara" in our passage, however old, appears clearly to have arisen from the endeavour to harmonize; 2. To this endeavour the notice in the *Seder Olam* owes its origin; 3. That at least near contemporaries of Solomon are named in 1 Kings v. follows from the manifest and undeniable identity of Ethan the Ezrahite with the so-named composer of Ps. lxxxix., and from the very probable identity of Heman with "Heman the Ezrahite," the composer of Ps. lxxxviii.; 4. If the Ethan and Heman of 1 Kings v. 11 be identical with the composers of these Psalms, they are also probably to be regarded as Levites of the family of the sons of Korah (see the superscr. of these Psalms), who are in 1 Chron. xv., xvii., and xix. called masters of song, and belong not to the family of Judah, and might at the most have found admission into it as adoptive sons of Zerah (Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Einl. ins A. T.* ii. 71),—an assumption, however, which is too artificial; 5. The express designation of Calcol and Darda in Kings as "sons of Mahol" makes it difficult to assume their identity with the sons of Zerah, as the latter must be regarded not as immediate sons, but later descendants of Zerah; 6. Of the pre-eminent wisdom of the sons of Zerah, neither the canonical Old Testament nor the apocryphal literature has anything to report; even such passages as Jer. xlix. 7, Baruch iii. 22 ff. are silent on the subject. The assumption of the identity of these with the names in 1 Kings v. can only be maintained on the presupposition that בְּנֵי in our passage means not strictly sons, but later descendants of Zerah (so recently Keil, in *Comment.* p. 41). But this expedient has its difficulty, and by no means suffices to destroy the force of most of the arguments here adduced against the identity. We must therefore take the surprising coincidence of the names to be accidental, or assume with Movers (*Chron.* p. 237) that we have in the present passage the peculiar genealogical combination of a later author. For the conjecture of Ewald, that Heman and Ethan, "the two great singers of the tribe of Judah, were taken by the Levitical music schools into their company and family, and therefore were afterwards (in the superscriptions of Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix.) reckoned to the tribe of Levi" (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iii. 1, p. 84), is no less artificial than that of Hengstenberg. [But of these considerations, Nos. 1 and 2 contain a mere subjective assumption. No. 3 assumes, without necessity, that the Ethan of 1 Kings v. and the composer of Ps. lxxxix. are one, since two Ethans may descend from the one patriarch. No. 4 assumes that the composers of Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix. were Levites, whereas the epithet Ezrabite appears to be added expressly to distinguish them from the Levites of those names. No. 5 assumes that Mahol is a proper name, which remains to be proved. No. 6 assumes that the wisdom of Zerah's sons is not probable, because it is not elsewhere mentioned. This argument of itself has little if any weight. On the other hand, one motive to insert these sons of Zerah in the list was probably their occurrence in 1 Kings v., and the Chronist, according to his wont, is silent on their wisdom, for the sake of brevity, as it was elsewhere recorded.—J. G. M.]—Ver. 7. *And the sons of Carmi: Achar;* that is, Achar was descended from Carmi. Comp. the oft-recurring use of the plural בְּנֵי, where only one descendant is named (vers. 8, 30, 31, 42, and Gen. xlvi. 23). By Achar, as the addition, "the troubler of Israel" (עֹכֵר, properly "the troubled"), shows, is meant the Achan of the book of Joshua (vii. 1 ff., xxii 20), whose name must have been known to the author of this book in the by-form Achar, as he puts the valley of Achor in etymological connection with it (vii. 26, xv. 7). The link that connects Carmi, the father or ancestor of this Achar, with Zerah is wanting; but from Josh. vii. 1, where he is called a son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, it is highly probable that he springs from Zimri, the first named of the sons of Zerah, whether Zimri in our passage be an error of the pen for Zabdi, or the reverse, or Zabdi be a son of Zimri, and thus several links of the series from Zerah to Achar have been omitted. On Carmi, comp. also ch. iv. 1 and Num. xxvi. 6, where a family of Reuben bears the name.—Ver. 8. *And*

*the sons of Ethan: Azariah.* This Ethanite Azariah is not otherwise known: no probable reason can be assumed why he only of the sons of Ethan is mentioned.

*b. The Descendants of Hezron:* vers. 9-41.—*a.* His three sons, ver. 9.—*And the sons of Hezron that were born to him.* The passive נוֹלַד stands "for the indefinite active, so that the following accusatives with אֵת depend on the virtual notion of the active 'one bare him;' comp. Gen. iv. 18, xxi. 5, xlvi. 20, and the sing. נוֹלַד in a similar position, 1 Chron. iii. 4, xxvi. 6" (Berth.). The name Ram is, in the New Testament genealogies of Jesus, Matt. i. 3, 4, Luke iii. 33, Aram; comp. רָם, Job xxxii. 2, with אֲרָם, Gen. xxii. 21. The name כְּלוּבַי is undoubtedly a by-form of כָּלֵב, ver. 18, or, as this name is written in iv. 11, of כְּלוּב: it is an *adject. gentil.*, that stands to its stem כְּלוּב, as צוֹפַי, 1 Chron. vi. 11, to צוּף, vi. 20 (Ewald, *Lehrb.* § 164, *c*), or as in Greek Μανιχαῖος (the *n. pr.* of the well-known Persian sectary) to Μάνης. Accordingly, the celebrated forefather of Bezaleel had of old three names—Caleb, Celub, the Celuban. Comp. underneath on ver. 18 ff. and on ver. 40. The three here named, Jerahmeel, Ram, and Celubai, appear to have been actual sons or immediate descendants of Hezron, whereas the sons of Hezron afterwards appended,—Segub, ver. 21, and Ashur, ver. 24,—as they are co-ordinated with his later descendants, may possibly be sons in a wider sense. At all events, they did not belong to the aforesaid founders of the three celebrated lines of Hezronites, which are analyzed in the following passage, though in an order different from the present enumeration, the family of Ram being placed first, and that of Jerahmeel transferred to the end (comp. on ver. 18).

*β.* The family of Ram, as first of the three Hezronite lines. His precedence is explained by the circumstance that the house of David sprang from him. The posterity of Ram is therefore carried down to David in seven members. The six members to Jesse, the father of David, are found also in the book of Ruth iv. 19-21; comp. the genealogies in Matt. i. and Luke iii.—Ver. 10. *Nahshon, prince of the sons of Judah.* This distinguishing epithet, which is wanting in Ruth, points to Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, where Nahshon is named as the prince of Judah at the exodus. As this date, according to the most probable interpretation of the number 430, Exod. xii. 40, is to be placed fully four centuries after the time of Judah, several members must have fallen out between Hezron, the grandson of Judah, and Nahshon, as well as between Nahshon and Jesse, as the series Salma, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse is not sufficient to fill up the interval of 400 years between Moses and David. [If the 430 years count from the call of Abraham, which has not yet been disproved, the exodus was only 210 years after the descent of Judah into Egypt, instead of four centuries.—J. G. M.]—Ver. 11. *Salma.* Instead of שַׂלְמָא, the book of Ruth has, iv. 20, שַׂלְמָה, but in the following verse שַׂלְמוֹן, which has passed into the New Testament (Luke iii. 32, Σαλμών, and so Matt. i. 4, 5, where Luther has Salma).—Vers. 13-15. The seven sons of Jesse. According to 1 Sam. xvii. 12 (comp. ch. xvi. 6 ff.), Jesse had 8 sons,—a difference which is most easily explained by the supposition that one of the eight died without posterity, and therefore was not included by later genealogists.—*His first-born Eliab.* So is the eldest called in the books of Samuel; on the contrary, in 1 Chron. xxvii. 18 the form Elihu appears to have come into the place of Eliab. The Peshito has in our passage 8 instead of 7 sons of Jesse, of whom it calls the seventh Elihu, the eighth David; the first 6 agree with the Masoretic text.—*And Shima the third.* The name שִׁמְעָא, occurring thus in 1 Chron. xx. 7, is in 2 Sam. xiii. 3 and xxi. 22 in the Keri שִׁמְעָה; on the contrary, in the Kethib of the latter passage שִׁמְעִי, and in Samuel (xvi. 6, xvii. 13) twice שַׁמָּה. The latter is merely an abbreviated form of שִׁמְעָה.—The names of the next three brothers occur nowhere else.—Vers. 16, 17. *And their sisters, Zeruiah and Abigail.* Both sisters obtained great celebrity through their heroic sons,—Zeruiah, as the mother of Abishai, Joab, and Asahel (1 Sam. xxvi. 6, 2 Sam. ii. 18, iii. 39, vi. 16, etc.), who are always named after their mother, never after their less celebrated father; Abigail, as mother of the commander Amasa, who was involved in Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, xx. 10), whom she bare to Jether the Ishmaelite. This יֶתֶר is called 2 Sam. xvii. 25 יִתְרָא, with the epithet הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִי, for which, according at least to our passage, the correct form is הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִי; for the Israelitish descent of the man would have needed no distinct notice. Abigail herself appears, besides, according to 2 Sam. xvii. 25, as a daughter of Nahash and sister of Zeruiah, and therefore not a full, but only a half sister of David.

*γ. The family of Caleb,* as second of the three Hezronite lines: vers. 18-24.—The question, how this first list of his descendants is related to the second in vers. 42-49, Wellhausen (p. 13 seq.) has endeavoured to answer by regarding the Caleb in ver. 42 as corresponding to the Celubai in ver. 9, designating the order in which the special genealogies of the three Hezronite lines occurred, by the names Ram (ver. 10 ff.), Jerahmeel (ver. 25 ff.), and Caleb (ver. 42 ff.), and considering the genealogy of Caleb (vers. 18-24) as a later insertion, whereby the Chronist has disfigured the original and normal development of his genealogy of the Hezronites. He holds that, indeed, this insertion itself is again a conglomerate of genealogical fragments of various origin, as appears most clearly from the reference of vers. 21-23 to Hezron himself, the father of Caleb.[1] Indeed, even vers. 10-17 are probably an interpolation, whereby the Chronist has endeavoured to extend the pedigree of the Hezronites originally beginning with Jerahmeel ("the first-born of Hez-

[1] "... *Quæ ver. 18 sqq. leguntur, ex variis fontibus hausta a Chronicographo demum et Chesronæorum catalogo interposita sunt, qui quasi fundamentum est totius structuræ hujus genealogiæ*" (*l.c.* p. 13).—Comp. p. 16: "... *farrago sunt omnia* (vers. 18-24), *ex meris congesta fragmentis.*"

ron," ver. 25), on the basis of the book of Ruth, the Ram of which (Ruth iv. 19) appears to him as a son of Hezron and a brother of Jerahmeel and Caleb, whereas he is in truth, according to ver. 25, a son of Jerahmeel and grandson of Hezron. Accordingly, the old genealogical table before the Chronist had only two lines of Hezronites (Jerahmeelites and Calebites), and his supplementing action had extended this register, so that he first added a Ram son of Hezron, with his posterity (vers. 10–17), different from Ram son of Jerahmeel, and then a second Caleb (vers. 18–24), with many other descendants than those of the younger brother Jerahmeel, ver. 42 ff. It cannot be denied that many reasons appear to recommend this bold hypothesis. It explains in a satisfactory way the circumstance that the first-born Jerahmeel, whose genealogy we should expect first, appears after those of his two younger brothers, and also the surprising duplication of the names Ram and Caleb. But the hypothesis comes short of absolute certainty in many points which require to be adduced for confirmation. And especially it still remains doubtful which of the different old traditions concerning the descendants of the old prince of Judah, Caleb the companion of Joshua, whether that in ver. 18 ff., or that in ver. 42 ff., or that in iv. 11, 15 ff., is to be pronounced the oldest and most trustworthy, and whether we are entitled to reject for one of them all the others at once as totally untrustworthy, and containing no element of historical truth. If it were to be assumed that originally there were two persons of this name, a Caleb son of Hezron (ii., iv. 11 ff.) and a Caleb son of Jephunneh (iv. 15 ff.), this duplication would warn us to be so much the more cautious in the reception or rejection of this or that one of the various traditions that are attached to these honourable names: the still greater complexity of the collective genealogies of Caleb would all the more favour the conjecture that each of the series referred to him must be accounted in the one or the other way as authentic, as containing in itself elements of the genuine posterity of Caleb.—Ver. 18. *Begat with Azubah his wife.* הוֹלִיד אֶת, either "begat with" (as elsewhere הוֹלִיד מִן, ch. viii. 8, 9) or "caused to bring forth" (comp. Isa. lxvi. 9). The following words, אִשָּׁה וְאֶת־יְרִיעוֹת, appear to be corrupt. If we translate (with D. Kimchi, Piscat., Osiand., and others), "with Azubah, a wife, and with Jerioth," two things are strange: the indefinite designation of Azubah as a wife, אִשָּׁה (for which we should expect "his wife," אִשְׁתּוֹ), and the circumstance that of the second wife no son is named. If we regard (with Hiller, J. D. Mich.) וְאֶת as explicative, with Azubah a wife, that is, Jerioth, we establish a mode of expression which is without a parallel in our book. It is impossible to render "And Caleb begat Azubah and Jerioth" (B. Striegel). We must either hold אִשָּׁה, which is, moreover, wanting in two MSS. (see Crit. Note), with Berth. and Kamph., as a marginal note that has crept into the text, designed to prevent the translation "begat Azubah," or adopt the reading of the Pesh. and the Vulg., אִשְׁתּוֹ אֶת, which gives the sense, "begat with Azubah his wife Jerioth, and these are her (Jerioth's) sons." The latter appears the most satisfactory (comp. Keil). The names of her three sons occur nowhere else in the Old Testament.—Ver. 19. *And Azubah died, and Caleb took to him Ephrath,* namely, to wife. To this second wife of Caleb, whose name in ver. 50 (comp. iv. 4) is Ephrathah, belongs Hur, who is also mentioned Exod. xxxi. 2 as the grandfather of Bezalel. By this we are scarcely to understand that Ephrathah was properly a local name equivalent to Bethlehem (Gen. xxxvi. 16, 19; Micah v. 1), so that Hur would be designated a descendant of Caleb, born at Bethlehem, or originating thence (an assumption to which Bertheau seems inclined).—On ver. 20, comp. Exod. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30.—Ver. 21. *Afterwards Hezron went in to the daughter of Machir.* "Afterwards," וְאַחַר, that is, after the birth of those three sons mentioned ver. 9, whose mother is not named. The whole notice, extending to ver. 24, of Hezron's descendants, born in his old age of the daughter of Machir the Gileadite, and of a son Ashur, born after his death of a third wife Abiah (ver. 24), is undoubtedly surprising, and unsuitable to the present place: the series of Hezron's sons and their descendants is thereby violently interrupted, and the above-mentioned interpolation theory of Wellhausen has in this case a very strong support. If we hold the present order to be original, we must assume, with Keil, that the here mentioned descendants of Hezron "were somehow more closely connected with the family of Caleb than with that of either Ram or Jerahmeel." On Machir the first-born of Manasseh, to whom Moses gave the land of Gilead, comp. Gen. l. 23; Num. xxxii. 40; Deut. iii. 15. As he is here and ver. 23 called "father of Gilead," so is it said Num. xxvi. 29 that he begat Gilead. Comp. Num. xxvii. 1, from which it follows that, by this paternal relation of Machir to Gilead, more must be meant than the bare notion of a descent of the Israelitish population of Gilead from Machir, and that there must have been a definite person, Gilead, son of Machir and grandfather of Zelophehad. By the designation father of Gilead, the present Machir is distinguished from later persons of the same name; comp. 2 Sam. ix. 4, xvii. 27.—Ver. 22. *And Segub begat Jair.* This Jair, the grandson of Hezron through Segub, belonged on the mother's side to the tribe of Manasseh, and occurs therefore elsewhere, as Num. xxxii. 41, Deut. iii. 14, as a Manassite. His family, after the conquest of Og king of Bashan under Moses, received the territory of Argob, and gave to the conquered cities which Moses handed over to him the name Havvoth-Jair (חַוֺּת יָאִיר), "tent-villages of Jair," or "life of Jair" (comp. Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30; 1 Kings iv. 13), with which designation the name "Judah on Jordan," Josh. xix. 34 (that is, the colony of Jews in Gilead east of the Jordan), is most probably identical; comp. v. Raumer, *Palæst.* 4th edit. p. 233; Hengstenb. *Gesch. des Reichs Gottes im A. T.* ii. p. 258; Hoffm. *Blicke in die früheste Gesch. des gelobten Landes,* i. (1870) p. 114.—Ver. 23. *And Geshur and Aram,* the Geshurites and Aramæans, which is scarcely a hendiadys for "the Aramæans of Geshur," but rather points to an alliance of the Geshurites with the neighbouring Aramæans. For Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xv. 8) was a

region in Aram or Syria, lying on the north-west border of Bashan near Hermon and the eastern bank of the Jordan, that in David's time (comp. on ch. iii. 2) had a king of its own, and formed at that time an independent kingdom, not subject to Israel,—in the opinion of Hitzig (*Gesch. d. Volks Israel*, i. p. 28 ff.), an Amorite kingdom of Arian (?) origin, though Moses in the distribution of the country had assigned it to Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 13; comp. xii. 5).—*With Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities.* So should the "אֶת־קְנָת וגו be most probably taken, as a farther district, besides the villages of Jair, which the Geshurites and Aramæans took, and not as an explanatory apposition to these (comp. Berth.). For the preceding statement, that the villages of Jair amounted to twenty-three (ver. 22), is much too definite to allow it to be supposed that the now named sixty daughter towns of Kenath form an inexact repetition of the same designation. Much rather the difference of the two districts: "the villages of Jair" and the "daughters of Kenath," appears in the clearest manner from Num. xxxii. 41, 42, according to which, of the two Manassites Jair and Nobah, the former conquered the "Havvoth Jair," the latter the "Benoth Kenath." Only in their sum total were these places sixty in number, and only to this sum total does the present שִׁשִּׁים עִיר apply. Whether, therefore, the group of towns designated by "Kenath" (now Kanwat, on the western slope of Jebel Hauran) and her daughters numbered exactly thirty-seven towns (as Keil thinks), remains uncertain; and the number sixty may very probably be a round number (comp. also Deut. iii. 12-14; Josh. xiii. 30). On the time when the Geshurites and Aramæans took the sixty towns, nothing can be ascertained from our passage. Certain it is that the later Judge of Israel, Jair (Judg. x. 4), possessed again at least thirty of these towns under the name of Havvoth-Jair, which must have survived to still later times. *All these are sons of Jair,* not the sixty towns, but the afore-mentioned Segub and Jair and their descendants and correlatives. It may be conjectured that the genealogical source used by the Chronist was originally more full, so that כָּל אֵלֶּה referred not merely to these two names.—Ver. 24. *And after the death of Hezron in Caleb-ephrathah.* This place, which does not elsewhere occur, might possibly be the same as Ephrathah or Bethlehem-ephrathah (see on ver. 19); the name of Caleb's second wife Ephrath might be somehow connected with this her place of abode and death. "In 1 Sam. xxx. 14 a part of the south of Judah is called 'Negeb Caleb,' because it belonged to the family of Caleb; in analogy with which the town or place, in which Caleb and his wife Ephrath dwelt, might be called 'Caleb of Ephrathah,' if Ephrath had brought it as a dowry to him, as in Josh. xv. 18 f." (Keil). Or from the Negeb Caleb, as the southern part of Caleb's territory, 1 Sam. xxx. 14, "possibly the northern part might be distinguished by the more definite name 'Caleb of Ephrathah,' that is, of Bethlehem" (Berth.). None of these interpretations of this obscure phrase is perfectly satisfactory; and there is therefore much plausibility in the emendation of Wellhausen, founded on a various reading presented by the Sept. (ἦλθε Χαλὲβ εἰς Ἐφραθά = בָּא כָלֵב אֶפְרָתָה), "And after Hezron's death Caleb went to Ephrath, the wife of his father Hezron." Here for בְּ is read בָּא; for וְאֵשֶׁת ,אֵשֶׁת; and for אֲבִיו ,אֲבִיָּה—a change which is certainly somewhat radical; but the resulting sense is not improbable (comp. Gen. xxxv. 22). As the text stands, here is a third wife of Hezron, called Abiah (comp. vers. 9 and 21), who bears to him "Ashur, father of Tekoa" (comp. iv. 5-7), as a *fil. postumus* after his death. This Ashur (whom Wellhausen is disposed to change into an אִישׁ־חוּר, and to identify with Hur, Caleb's son by Ephrath, ver. 19) is called father of Tekoa, as lord and chieftain of the town Tekoa, the home of the prophet Amos, two hours south of Bethlehem (comp. Josh. xv. 59), where this place still exists under the name Tekua (comp. Robinson's *Pal.* ii. p. 406).

3. The family of Jerahmeel, the third line of Hezron: vers. 25-41.—*Of Jerahmeel* (he whom God pities, whom He loves = θεόφιλος) *the first-born of Hezron:* ver. 9. As there was a negeb Caleb (ver. 24) and a negeb of the Kenites, so there was a negeb of the Jerahmeelites, 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; comp. xxx. 29. This is a proof of the strength and power of this line springing from the oldest Hezronites.—*Ram the first-born.* Wellhausen, perhaps without ground, takes this Ram to be originally identical with the Ram of ver. 10, the founder of the Ramite family, from which David sprang; comp. on iv. 21.—*And Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem of Ahijah.* The last of these names, אֲחִיָּה, should not apparently designate a fifth son of Jerahmeel, because in that case the ו should not be wanting. It appears rather to be the name of the mother of the four sons, and a מֵ before אֲחִיָּה appears to have fallen out before the ם of the foregoing וְאֹצֶם (comp. viii. 9). This conjecture, thrown out by Jun., Tremell., Clericus, J. H. Mich., J. Lange, and approved by all the moderns, appears the more probable, as in the following verse mention is made of a second wife of Jerahmeel, and the Syr. and the Sept. in our verse have reckoned only four sons, the latter rendering אֲחִיָּה by ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.—Ver. 26. *Atarah; she was the mother of Onam,* whose family is traced out vers. 28-33. The name עֲטָרָה appears to signify "crown," a name not unsuitable for a female, Prov. xxxi. 10. Yet it might signify "wall, fort," as the sing. of עֲטָרוֹת, the city (comp. Num. xxxii. 3, 34 f.; Josh. xvi. 5, 7, xviii. 13; and Wellhausen, p. 25).—Vers. 28-30. Onam's family continues itself in pairs of sons to Abishur and Nadab, his grandsons, and to their sons. On the name "Abihail," comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 31. *And the sons of Sheshan* (descendants; see on ver. 7), *Ahlai.* This Ahlai must have been a daughter, not a son, of Sheshan, great-grandson of Nadab, ver. 29; for (ver. 34) Sheshan had no sons, but only daughters: Ahlai was therefore his heiress; but whether the same daughter who (ver. 35) married the Egyptian Jarha must remain uncertain. The remark of Hiller (*Onom. S.* p. 736), therefore, on Sheshan: *Quicquid habuit liberorum, s. nepotum, sustulit ex unica filia Achlai,* is not

quite correct.—Ver. 33. *These were the sons of Jerahmeel.* This subscription (going back to ver. 25) includes 23 descendants of Jerahmeel. It deserves notice, that 23 descendants of Jerahmeel, with the preceding descendants of Judah (from ver. 3), make up the sum of 70 members of the house of Judah, namely, sons of Judah, 5 ; of Perez, 2 ; of Zerah, 5 ; Carmi, Achar, and Azariah, 3 ; Ram and his descendants (including the 2 daughters of Jesse, and Jether father of Amasa), 21 ; Caleb and his descendants, 10 ; and Jerahmeel and his descendants, 24. This new number 70 of the ancestors of the Jews, made out by Bertheau, loses weight and certainty, because it includes several females, against all genealogical rule reckons the father and mother of Amasa as two members, and excludes the 13 descendants of Sheshan, which sprang from the Egyptian servant Jarha (vers. 34-41), treating them as a mere offshoot (comp. Keil, p. 46). And would not the Chronist, if he had actually wished to represent the posterity of Judah, after the manner of that of his father Israel, Gen. xlvi. 26 f., as 70 souls, have overturned this reckoning again by his later additions, and especially the supplements given in iv. 1-23, and altogether effaced the impression made thereby? Wellhausen's interpolation theory, even if only approximately true, by no means agrees with this assumption of a tendency in the writer to symbolic numbers in his enumerations in vers. 3-33. —Vers. 34-41. The family of Jarha, the Egyptian servant. This Jarha occurs nowhere else ; he may have served Sheshan during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt ; for the latter branched off from Judah in the ninth generation, and belonged thus to the time before Moses. Most of the old expositors, perhaps rightly, presume that Jarha, only after he was made a free man and a proselyte by Sheshan (comp. Ex. xxii. 20, xxiii. 9), married his daughter ; comp. the law concerning intermarriage between Israelites and Egyptians, Deut. xxiii. 8 ; also David's Egyptian servant, 1 Sam. xxx. 13 ff. Of the 13 here named descendants of Jarha, none occur elsewhere in the history of the Old Testament. Their names, indeed, recur several times, some of them, for example, in ch. iii., among the descendants of David ; but it is not in the remotest degree probable that any of these belong to the list of the descendants of Jarha.

*Appendix to the Genealogy of the House of Judah: Three Series of Descendants of Caleb, with Names chiefly of Geographical Import:* vers. 42-55.

*a.* The first series : Mesha's posterity : vers. 42-45.—*And the sons of Caleb, brother of Jerahmeel.* This introduction leaves no doubt that the same Caleb is meant as in ver. 18, and that this is an appendix to his genealogy already communicated. *Mesha his first-born ; he was the father of Ziph.* Though almost all the following names : Ziph, Mareshah, Hebron, appear to be local names, yet Mesha (מֵישָׁע) sounds decidedly like a personal name ; comp. the Moabitish king of this name, who has recently become celebrated by his monument of victory (2 Kings iii. 4). As, on the other hand, Ziph (זִיף) appears to be the town adjacent to Hebron which is mentioned Josh. xv. 55, the same that gave its name to the wilderness of Ziph known to us from the history of David, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14 ff., xxv. 2, and which Robinson has recognised (ii. 417 ff.) in certain ruins on a hill south-east of Hebron, nothing is more natural than to perceive in Mesha the father of Ziph a lord or chieftain, or even the founder, of the town of Ziph (comp. on ver. 24). By Ziph might also be meant the place mentioned Josh. xv. 24, pretty far from Hebron in the plain (Shephelah) situated not far from Marash, the ancient Mareshah (so thinks Keil against Bertheau).—*And the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron.* Mareshah is scarcely the name of that town mentioned Josh. xv. 44 and 2 Chron. xi. 8 along with Ziph, which occurs in the times of the Maccabees and the Romans under the name of Marissa, and is preserved in the ruins of Marash in the Shephelah, half an hour south of Beit-jibrin (v. Raum. *Palæst.* 3d edit. p. 192 ; Robinson, ii. 693 ; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, pp. 129, 142). The expression "father of Hebron" makes the reference to this town very improbable ; for at no time is any dependence of the ancient Hebron (Num. xiii. 23) on that very remote Mareshah recorded. We must rather, as the reading of the Masoretic text now runs, regard Mareshah as the proper name of some old tribe chief, and hold the Hebron signalized among his sons as most probably a person or tribe distinct from the well-known city Hebron (comp. v. 28 and Ex. vi. 18, where חֶבְרוֹן is likewise a personal name). So, justly perhaps, Wellhausen and Keil, who is, moreover, disposed to consider the text corrupt, and proposes the following emendation (see Crit. Note): "and the sons of Mesha were Abi-Hebron." This conjecture is supported by the analogy of such compounds as Abidan, Abiezer, Abinadab ; the simple Hebron in ver. 43 might very well be an abbreviated form of Abihebron (comp. En-tappuah, Josh. xvii. 7, with the shorter Tappuah, Josh. xvi. 8). [It is simpler and easier to regard Hebron as a person, named, if you will, after a former Hebron.—J. G. M.]—Ver. 43. *And the sons of Hebron: Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema.* These four names also must rather be names of persons or tribes than of towns. For Korah and Shema occur only as personal names ; Rekem once indeed as the name of a city, Josh. xviii. 27, but belonging to Benjamin, and several times as a personal name : in Num. xxxi. 8 as the name of a Midianite prince ; and 1 Chron. vii. 18 as the name of a descendant of Manasseh. Only Tappuah ("apple") recurs merely as the name of a city (Josh. xii. 17, xv. 34, xvi. 8 ; comp. xvii. 7), which, however, proves nothing for the case in point, and by no means establishes a reference to this or that so-called city.—Ver. 44. *And Shema begat Raham, father of Jorkeam.* For יָרְקְעָם, which occurs nowhere else, the Sept. exhibits 'Ιεκλάν ; whence Bertheau concludes that it was originally יָקְדְעָם, as in Josh. xv. 56. But this name "Jokdeam' the Sept. renders by 'Ιεκδαάμ, and here it reads twice in succession 'Ιεκλάν. It exhibits the same also for רֶקֶם, and thereby obscures the original relation of the genealogical data in our passage ; some of the four sons of Hebron (ver. 43), first Shema and then

the penultimate Rekem, have their genealogy traced. With Shammai the son of this Rekem comp. the so named persons above ver. 28 and below iv. 17, and also the celebrated leader of the Pharisees of this name, the antagonist of Hillel in the time of Jesus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9 4).—Ver. 45. *And Maon was father of Beth-Zur.* Both Maon and Bethzur are cities in the hill country of Judea; comp. for the former, which is now called Main, and is pointed out as a castle in ruins, with cisterns, etc., on a hill in Carmel south of Hebron, Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xxiii. 24 f., xxv. 2; Robinson, ii. 421; for the latter, the site of which is to be sought north of Hebron on the road to Jerusalem, Josh. xv. 58; 2 Chron. xi. 7; v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 163. There is no decisive reason for excluding a reference to these places. Maon the son of Shammai may be regarded as the founder of the city so called (comp. Judg. x. 12, where Maon is the name of a non-Israelitish tribe, along with Amalek and the Zidonians); Bethzur may then have been founded as a colony from Maon, a genetic relation, which is here expressed in a manner not quite usual by "father of Bethzur" (for above in vers. 24, 42, and below in vers. 50, 51, it is not descent of a colony from its mother city, but government of cities by their princes or lords, that is designated in this manner).

*b.* The second series: posterity of Ephah and Maachah, the two concubines of Caleb: vers. 46–49.—*And Ephah, Caleb's concubine.* The name עֵיפָה, occurring elsewhere (ver. 47 and i. 33) as a man's name, seems here, where it designates a secondary wife of Caleb, to point to a non-Israelitish origin of its possessor, whether she be regarded as a person or a race. Of the latter opinion is Wellhausen, p. 12, who takes this non-Israelitish *gens* mingling with the Calebites to belong to Midian; and on the contrary, the second concubine of Caleb, designated as Maachah, ver. 48, to be a *gens* belonging to Canaan. Of the three sons of Ephah, Haran and Gazez are not otherwise known. The middle name Moza occurs Josh. xviii. 26 as the name of a city of Benjamin; but this can scarcely be connected with the son of Caleb and Ephah. That Gazez (Sept. Γιζουέ) is first named as a third son, and then as a grandson of Caleb, may be explained in two ways,—either so that the statement: "and Haran begat Gazez" (which is omitted in the Sept.), be taken as a more exact addition to the foregoing mention of Gazez, or that there were really two descendants of Caleb of the same name, a son and a grandson (uncle and nephew; comp. ch. iii. 10). The former is the more probable assumption. —Ver. 47. *And the sons of Jehdai.* It is not clear how this Jehdai (יָהְדַּי) is genealogically connected with the foregoing. Hiller in the *Onom. S.* conjectures without ground that he was one and the same person with Moza, ver. 46; Jehdai might as well be a second concubine of Caleb. Of the six sons of Jehdai also, of whose names only some (Jotham; comp. Shaaph, ver. 49) occur elsewhere, we know nothing more.—Ver. 48. *And Caleb's concubine Maachah bare Sheber and Tirhanah.* Though this name מַעֲכָה occurs often (comp. iii. 2, vii. 16, viii. 29, xi. 43; also the *nom. gentilic.* הַמַּעֲכָתִי, 2 Kings xxv. 23; 1 Chron. iv. 19), yet nothing certain can be conjectured concerning its present bearer; that she was a Canaanitess is a mere conjecture of Wellhausen. The two sons of Maachah occur nowhere else. The masc. יָלַד (for which some MSS. have יָלְדָה; see Crit. Note) may arise from the writer thinking of the father, whom he does not name. —Ver. 49. *And she bare* (besides the two already mentioned) *Shaaph, the father of Madmannah.* This city of Judah, mentioned Josh. xv. 31, may be preserved in the present Miniay or Miniah south of Gaza. Its "father" Shaaph, clearly different from him who is so named ver. 47, may be regarded as its prince or founder (comp. on ver. 42): even so Sheva (on which name comp. 2 Sam. xx. 25, Keri) in reference to Machbenah, and the unnamed father in reference to Gibeah. Machbenah, belonging no doubt to Judah, is no further known. Joshua also, xv. 57, names a Gibeah in the mountains of Judah, whether the same with the village Jeba mentioned by Robinson and Tobler, on a hill in Wady Musur, remains a question; comp. Keil on Josh. xv.—*And Caleb's daughter was Achsa.* This closing notice puts it beyond doubt that the Caleb hitherto (from ver. 46) spoken of is the same as Caleb the son of Jephunneh and father of Achsa (whom he promised and gave to the conqueror of Debir as a reward, Josh. xv. 16 ff.; Judg. i. 12). This is Caleb son of Jephunneh, the contemporary of Moses and Joshua; and therefore it seems difficult to identify him at once with the brother of Jerahmeel and son of Hezron mentioned in vers. 18 and 42 (comp. on ver. 18). For this Hezronite, a great-grandson of Judah through Perez, appears to have been older than Moses and Joshua; but our passage, as also ch. iv. 15, refers clearly to that contemporary of Joshua who is mentioned in the books of Joshua and Judges. That this younger Caleb is a descendant of the Hezronite is highly probable, because in the descendants of one and the same stock it is easy for the collateral genealogies to intermingle, as they have done here and in iv. 15 ff. (comp. besides, the remarks on ch. iv. 11, 13, 15). If we assume accordingly two Calebs, an older, the Hezronite, of whom we read vers. 9 (under the name Celubai), 18, 42–45, and then again vers. 50–55, and a younger, whose genealogy is given in our verses (46–49) and in ch. iv. 15 ff., we do not go so far as some older expositors (even Starke), who assume with a double Caleb a double Achsa, a daughter of the Hezronite Caleb (supposed to be here mentioned), and a daughter of the Jephunnite Caleb (Josh. xv.; Judg. i.). As little do we approve of Movers' conjecture (*Chron.* p. 83), that the words, "and Caleb's daughter was Achsa," are a spurious interpolation of a later hand. But Keil's conjecture, also, that the expression "daughter" denotes here "grand-daughter, descendant," that it is the Achsah of Josh. xv. 16 that is here spoken of, but as a later descendant of the old Hezronite Caleb, and not a daughter of the Jephunnite, we cannot accept, as it obviously does violence to the term "daughter." Finally, we reject also Bertheau's attempt to admit only one Caleb, and to refer the diversity in the accounts of him here and before to the inexact manner of the genealogical terms that express also geographical relations; as well as Ewald's opinion, that Caleb in vers. 42–49 is

the Caleb of the book of Joshua; the Caleb in vers. 9, 18–20, and 50–55, on the contrary, is a quite different person, whose real name was Celubai. (On the somewhat different, and at all events more probable hypothesis of Wellhausen, see above on ver. 18.)

*c.* The third series: posterity of Hur, son of Caleb: vers. 50–55.—As Hur is doubtless the grandfather of Bezaleel mentioned ver. 19, we have here again a line going back to Caleb the Hezronite.—*These were the sons of Caleb.* This introductory sentence, the generality of which does not suit the following statement, giving a genealogy of only one son of Caleb, appears to indicate that the whole section is taken from an originally different connection.—*The son of Hur, first-born of Ephrathah* (comp. ver. 19): *Shobal.* As, after Shobal in the following verse, Salma and Hareph are also named as sons of Hur, it appears more correct to read for בֶּן־חוּר, with the Sept., the plur. בְּנֵי־חוּר. In the Masoretic pointing, indeed, the names Salma and Hareph follow Shobal, father of Kiriath-jearim, without close connection by וְ; and בֶּן־חוּר appears in some measure as a superscription. Whether Shobal be the same with the brother of Hur and son of Judah mentioned ch. iv. 1, must remain doubtful. The town of Kiriath-jearim, of which he is here called the father, that is, founder or chief, is that old Gibeonite town which is otherwise called Kiriath-baal or Baalah (comp. Josh. ix. 17, xv. 9, 60), and lay in the north-west corner of Judah, on the border of Benjamin, probably the present Kureyet el Enab (wine town), on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa (Robinson, ii. 588 ff.; Keil on Josh. ix. 17).—Ver. 51. *Salma, father of Bethlehem.* The coincidence of name with the Bethlehemite ancestor of David of the house of Ram mentioned ver. 17 is perhaps only accidental; comp. on ver. 54.—*Hareph, father of Beth-gader,* of the same place, which in Josh. xii. 13 is Geder, and in Josh. xv. 36 Gederah; comp. ch. xii. 4, xxvii. 23. Keil thinks rather of Gedor (גְּדוֹר), Josh. xv. 58, 1 Chron. iv. 4, xii. 7, but with less ground. The name Hareph does not occur elsewhere, though חָרִיף, Neh. vii. 24, x. 20 (comp. הַחֲרוּפִי, 1 Chron. xii. 5), may be only a variation of the same name.—Ver. 52. *Haroeh and the half of Menuhoth.* These words, unintelligible to the old translators: הָרֹאֶה חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחוֹת, for which the Sept. gives three proper names: 'Αραὰ καὶ Αἰρὶ καὶ 'Αμμανίθ, and the Vulg. the unmeaning words: *qui videbat dimidium requietionum,* are obviously corrupt. Let us read after ch. iv. 2, where a Reaiah son of Shobal occurs, for הָרֹאֶה רְאָיָה (for to regard the former as a mere by-form of רְאָיָה, as many old expositors do, is inadmissible), and for חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחוֹת according to ver. 54: וַחֲצִי הַמָּנַחְתִּי or וַחֲצִי הַמָּנַחַת. The text thus amended (according to Bertheau's conjecture) gives Reaiah and Hazi-hammanahath, that is, half of the Manahathite, as sons of Shobal, two Jewish families, of which the latter may be part of the inhabitants of the town Manahath, ch. viii. 6. The situation of this place is determined by ver. 54, where Zorah is mentioned as a neighbouring town, to be near the border of Judah, towards Dan. Reaiah seems from ch. iv. 2 not to have continued as a local name, but to have been the ancestor of the citizens of Zora; so that his former seat is also to be sought in the north-west of Judah.—Ver. 53. *And the families of Kiriath-jearim were the Ithrite,* etc. These families of Kiriath-jearim are annexed to the already named sons of Shobal as other sons, descendants of the same ancestor. The four families are adduced in the fundamental text as singulars: the Ithrite, the Puthite, etc. The three last named occur nowhere else; on the contrary, to the family of the Ithrites, ch. xi. 40 (2 Sam. xxiii. 38), belonged Ira and Gareb, two of David's heroes.—*From these came the Zorathite and the Eshtaolite.* Zorah, the home of Samson (Judg. xiii. 2, xvi. 31), now Sura, between Jerusalem and Jabneh; Eshtaol, a town on the border of Judah and Dan, near Zorah (comp. Judg. xvi. 31, xviii. 11), probably the present Um Eshteijeh.—Ver. 54. *The sons of Salma: Bethlehem* (the family of Bethlehem; comp. ver. 51) *and the Netophathite.* The town Netophah must, as follows from the reference of its inhabitants to Salma, be sought close by Bethlehem; comp. ch. ix. 16; 2 Sam. xxiii. 28 f.; 2 Kings xxv. 23; Ezra ii. 22; Neh. vii. 26, whence appears the comparative celebrity of this town, whose site has not yet been discovered.—*Ataroth of the house of Joab.* This is certainly the name of a town, which is to be interpreted, not "crowns," but rather "walls, forts," of the house of Joab; comp. on ver. 26. The site is as uncertain as that of the following Hazi-hammanahath (half Manahath); comp. ch. viii. 6. On the contrary, הַצָּרְעִי at the close points certainly to the known border city Zorah mentioned in the foregoing verse; for צָרְעִי is only formally different from צָרְעָתִי, being derived from the masc. of צָרְעָה, which may have been used along with the feminine as the name of the town, although this cannot be proved. The Zorites of our verse must have formed a second element of the inhabitants of Zorah, along with the Zorathites of the previous verse descended from Shobal.—Ver. 55. *And the families of the scribes dwelling at Jabez.* This Jewish town of Jabez (יַעְבֵּץ), whose name recurs ch. iv. 9 f. as that of a descendant of Judah, is quite unknown in site, but must apparently be sought, like all the places mentioned from ver. 53, in the north of Judah, on the borders of Benjamin or Dan. Of the families of scribes in Jabez, however, three are mentioned: the Tirathites, Shimathites, and Suchathites. These three names the Vulg. has applied appellatively to the functions of these three classes of learned men, translating: *canentes et resonantes et in tabernaculis commorantes.* It is possible that the Jewish doctors consulted by Jerome in the translation of our book (perhaps the rabbi from Tiberias, with whom he collated the text from beginning to end; comp. Introd. § 6, Rem.) had presented an etymological basis for this interpretation, in seeking to refer—1. תִּרְעָתִים to תְּרָעָה, "jubilee song, trumpet sound;" 2. שִׁמְעָתִים to שְׁמָעָה, "report, echo" (or perhaps to שְׁמָעָה, Aram. שְׁמַעְתָּא, *traditio legis;* comp.

Wellhausen, p 30); 3. שׁוּכָתִים to שׁוּכָה = סֻכָּה. "hut, booth;" comp. Lev. xxiii. 34 ff. If the etymology here were correct, and it commends itself at all events more than the partly deviating one which Bertheau (by reference of the first term to the Chald. תְּרַע, door, and thus making תִּרְעָתִים a synonym of שֹׁעֲרִים, porters) has attempted, the functions assigned to the three classes of Sopherim, and giving origin to their names, would belong to divine worship, and resemble those of the Levites. And this seems to agree very well with the closing remark: *these are the Kenites, that came from Hammath, father of the house of Rechab*, as a certain connection or spiritual relationship may be shown, as well of the Kenites as of the Rechabites, with the Levites, if we think on the one hand of Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, the priest of the Midian-Kenites in the region of Sinai (Ex. ii. 15, iii. 1; comp. Judg. i. 16, iv. 11, 17), and of his influence on the legislative and religious activity of Moses (Ex. xviii.); on the other hand, of the priestly fidelity of the family of the Rechabites, as Jer. xxxv. (comp. 2 Kings x. 15) describes them, of their constant "standing before the Lord," and, moreover, of the ancient tradition still surviving among the nominal descendants of the Rechabites in Yemen, that the house of Rechab descended from Hobab or Keni (Judg. i. 16), the father-in-law of Moses (comp. A. Murray, *Comment. de Kinæis*, Hamb. 1718; Nägelsbach on Jer. xxxv., vol. xv. p. 254 of *Bibelwerk*). On a fair examination of these circumstances, it appears highly probable that the certainly foreign (1 Sam. xv. 6) yet highly honoured Kenites, in like manner as the Gibeonites, ministered of old in the sanctuary of Israel, and that the Rechabites of the times of the Kings and after the exile (Neh. iii. 14) were descendants of these old Kenite temple ministers, who, by adherence to one part of their ancient wont and use, kept themselves distinct from the great mass of the people. The naming of Hammath also, as "father of the house of Rechab," agrees very well with this hypothesis; for if Jonathan the Rechabite that met with Jehu king of Israel, and was honoured by him (2 Kings x. 15, 23), was a son of Rechab, so may Hammath have been father or forefather of this Rechab, and so ancestor of the whole family. Though all this rises little above the range of the hypothetical, and though in particular the question remains dark and unanswerable, why this Kenite family of Sopherim from Jabez is directly attached to Salma the father of Bethlehem, and through him to Hur the son of Caleb (whether on account of some intermarriage having taken place between a Kenite and an heiress of the house of Salma?), yet it is on the whole probable that those three names are really designations of three classes of ministers in the sanctuary, and not proper names of families, as the Sept. ('Αργαθιίμ, Σαμαθιίμ, Σωκαθιίμ) held, and a majority of recent expositors still hold. Besides, Wellhausen's attempt to refer that which is stated, both in our verse concerning the Kenites or Rechabites of Jabez, and generally from ver. 50 on concerning the posterity of Hur and their settlements in the north of Judah to the time after the exile, and so ascribe these statements to bias and fancy, and to admit only the foregoing genealogy, vers. 42–49, which assigns to the Calebites settlements in the south of Judah around Hebron, as historically reliable, that is, referring to the time before the exile,—this whole attempt (pp. 29–33) falls short of satisfactory proof. There is no ground for holding that which is reported of the Calebites as inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim, Bethlehem, Netophah, Zorah, etc., to be a collection of later traditions than the foregoing accounts of Calebite families in Tappuah, Maon, Bethzur, etc. Neither do we know the geographical position of the several places mentioned in the two sections (vers. 42–49 and 50–55) so well, as to be able to assert that the former refers only to the south, the latter only to the north, of Judah. Respecting Jabez, for example, the seat of the Kenites, it is by no means determined that it is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem and Kiriath-jearim (comp. above). In short, it is advisable to avoid such violent attempts to solve the problem here presented as the assumption of a genealogy of Calebites before and after the exile, and to approve the more cautious remark of Bertheau: "We can easily imagine the motive which led the Chronist to communicate this verse, though we are unable completely to perceive its contents."

[The term כְּלוּבַי, ver. 9, seems to be, if not a patronymic, at least a virtual plural, and may well indicate more than one Caleb. The name was famous and frequent in the tribe of Judah. The first of the name appears in vers. 18–24. He is designated "the son of Hezron," though Ram is not, evidently to distinguish him from others of the name. He may have been born 50 or 58 years after Jacob came down to Egypt, as his father was born shortly before that event. He has by his wife Azubah three sons, or perhaps grandsons; and after her death he marries Ephrath, and by her has a well-known son Hur, who was the contemporary of Moses, Ex. xvii. 10. The episode about his father Hezron marrying again when sixty years old, is brought in partly from the concurrence in the foregoing paragraph of the two names Caleb and Ephrath, which are combined in the name of the place where he died, and partly from the high antiquarian interest which it possesses. Ḥezron was born before Jacob went down to Egypt, and therefore most probably died within 110 years from that date. He died, not in Egypt, but in Caleb-Ephrathah. This implies the presence and power of Caleb in the region of Hebron as a sheik giving name to a place in his estate. In this quarter Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had resided and acquired some property in land, Gen. xxiii. Caleb of the line of Judah held possession of this estate during the early period of Israel's residence in Egypt, when they were still a free and honoured people. And there his father died in a town called after the united names of himself and his wife. After the Israelites, however, were reduced to slavery by the Pharaoh that knew not Joseph, the occupation of this region by the descendants of Judah was rendered precarious or entirely interrupted. In this paragraph, then, we have a most unexpected and interesting glimpse of what was taking place in the time of the first Caleb; and in this view of the passage we see that it occupies its right place.

A second Caleb is presented to us in vers. 42–49. He is distinct from the former in everything

but the name: 1. In the mode in which he is introduced, namely, in an appendix after the three sons of Hezron have been brought forward in order; 2. In his sons and wives, which are all quite different from those of his namesake; 3. In his time, as he is the father of Achsah, and therefore lived in and after the 40 years of the wilderness, two or three generations later than the former Caleb; 4. In his place, as a careful examination of the two paragraphs will show; 5. In his designation as "the brother of Jerahmeel," while the former is called "the son of Hezron;" for this phrase cannot mean the son of the Jerahmeel already mentioned, as this would be a superfluous addition, and would not square with the time of this Caleb. Some will conceive that the term "brother" is here used in a wide sense to denote a kinsman of Jerahmeel, a member of the family. But it is more simple to consider Jerahmeel here to be a descendant of the former Jerahmeel, not otherwise mentioned, just as Celub in ch. iv. 11 is said to be a brother of Shuah, who is not previously mentioned. This appendix is thus in its right place, as it signalizes an important member of the Jerahmeelite clan, 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

A third Caleb comes before us in a second appendix: vers. 50–55. He is clearly different from each of the others, as he is "the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephrathah," and therefore not a Jerahmeelite like the second, but the grandson of the first.

There is nothing to hinder us taking this view of the whole passage, and it might be supported at much greater length. It deals fairly with the author, as it presumes him to observe order, and endeavours not to import confusion into his narrative by a preconceived theory. We submit it to the judgment of the reader.—J. G. M.]

2. *The Descendants of David to Elioenai and his Seven Sons:* ch. iii.

CH. III. 1. And these were the sons of David, that were born to him in Hebron:
the first-born Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; the second Daniel, of
2 Abigail the Carmelitess. The third Absalom,[1] the son of Maachah, daughter
3 of Talmai king of Geshur; the fourth Adonijah, son of Haggith. The fifth
4 Shephatiah of Abital; the sixth Ithream, by Eglah his wife. Six were born
unto him in Hebron, and he reigned there seven years and six months; and
5 he reigned thirty and three years in Jerusalem. And these were born to him
in Jerusalem: Shima, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, four, of Bath-
6, 7 shua daughter of Ammiel. And Ibhar, and Elishama,[2] and Eliphelet. And
8 Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia. And Elishama, and Eliada, and Eliphelet, nine.
9 All the sons of David, except the sons of the concubines, and Tamar their sister.
10 And the son of Solomon: Rehoboam, Abiah his son, Asa his son, Jehosha-
11, 12 phat his son. Joram his son, Ahaziah his son, Joash his son. Amaziah his
13 son, Azariah his son, Jotham his son. Ahaz his son, Hezekiah his son,
14, 15 Manasseh his son. Amon his son, Josiah his son. And the sons of Josiah:
the first-born Johanan, the second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth
16 Shallum. And the sons of Jehoiakim: Jechoniah his son, Zedekiah his son.
17, 18 And the sons of Jechoniah the captive: Shealtiel his son. And Malchiram,
19 and Pedaiah, and Shenazzar, Jecamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah. And the
sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shimei; and the son[3] of Zerubbabel:
20 Meshullam and Hananiah, and Shelomith their sister. And Hashubah, and
21 Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushabhesed, five. And the son[4] of
Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons[5] of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan,
22 the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shechaniah. And the sons of Shechaniah:
Shemaiah; and the sons of Shemaiah: Hattush, and Igal, and Bariah, and
23 Neariah, and Shaphat, six. And the son of Neariah: Elioenai, and Hezekiah,
24 and Azrikam, three. And the sons of Elioenai: Hodaiah,[6] and Eliashib, and
Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Delaiah, and Anani, seven.

[1] For לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם many mss. and most old prints read אַבְשָׁלוֹם. Comp. Exeg. Expl.

[2] וֶאֱלִישָׁמָע in this first place is perhaps an error of the transcriber for וֶאֱלִישׁוּעַ, which appears not only in the two parallel passages xiv. 5 and 2 Sam. v. 15 (after וְיִבְחָר), but also in *cod. Vat.* of the Sept., as it gives Ἐλισά.

[3] For וּבֶן before זְרֻבָּבֶל some mss., as well as the old translators, read וּבְנֵי, an unnecessary amendment (comp Exeg. Remark on ii. 7).

[4] The same variation as in ver 19 (see Note 2).

[5] For בְּנֵי "sons of," the Sept. reads from this to the end of the verse בְּנוֹ, "his son," so that from Hananiah to Shechaniah it yields a series of seven successive generations. So also R. Benjamin in R. Azariah de Rossi in *Meor Aenajim* (comp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, p. 31).

[6] *Keri:* הוֹדַוְיָהוּ (for which, according to the Hebrew law of sounds, we should expect הוֹדִיָּהוּ). The *Kethib* הודויהו cannot be so pronounced, and appears to arise from a confusion of the forms *Hodavjahu* and *Hodijahu*.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—After the family of Ram, the middle son of Hezron was carried down, ii. 10–17, only to Jesse the father of David, and the genealogies of Caleb and Jerahmeel were interposed, ii. 18–55, the line of Ramites, starting from David, is resumed and traced from David to the time after the captivity. This is given in three paragraphs, of which the first registers all the sons of David except those born of concubines, vers. 1–9; the second, the series of kings of the house of David from Solomon to Jechoniah and Zedekiah, vers. 10–16; and the third, the descendants of Jechoniah to the seven sons of Elioenai, vers. 17–24. The names in the second of these paragraphs mostly recur, those in the third, at least partly, in the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew (whereas Luke iii. 23 ff. presents a totally different series of names from David to Shealtiel, and again from Zerubbabel to Joseph).

1. *The Sons of David:* vers. 1–9. *a.* The six sons born in Hebron: vers. 1–4.—These six senior sons of David are, with one exception, enumerated literally as in 2 Sam. iii. 2–5.—*The first-born Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess;* literally, "to Ahinoam." The ל before אחינעם designates the wife to whom the son belonged. Comp. on this Ahinoam, 1 Sam. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3, and on Amnon, who is also called Aminon (2 Sam. xiii. 20), 2 Sam. xiii.—*The second Daniel, of Abigail the Carmelitess.* Instead of שֵׁנִי, properly "a second," stands in the parallel 2 Sam. iii. 3 מִשְׁנֵהוּ, "his second," with which הַמִּשְׁנֶה, 1 Chron. v. 12, is to be compared. A more important difference from 2 Sam. iii. 3 is כִּלְאָב, quite another name, which stands there for דָּנִיֵּאל. This other designation of the second son of David may be explained by the supposition of a real double name, as in Uzziah Azariah (comp. on 2 Chron. xxvi. 1), Jehoiakim Eliakim, Mattaniah Zedekiah (comp. also on ver. 15). The variant Δαλουία (perhaps = דְּלָיָה) presented by the Sept. in 2 Sam. iii. 3 may be an error of transcription for Δανιήλ (or inversely "Daniel," a later variation for the original Delaiah); but the name Cilab is still unexplained. On Abigail, the widow of Nabal the Carmelite (not to be confounded with Abigail the sister of David, ii. 16), comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 3 ff.—Ver. 2. *The third Absalom.* For אַבְשָׁלוֹם is also found אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, 1 Kings xv. 2, 10. The ל before אַבְשָׁלוֹם might, in another connection, serve to lay emphasis on the name ("the well-known Absalom;" comp. Isa. xxxii. 1). Here, however, in a mere list of names, it scarcely has this import, but seems rather to have come into the text through an oversight, in consequence of the foregoing לאב in לַאֲבִיגַיִל. Other attempts to explain this ל (which is wanting in some copies; see Note) are quite worthless, and deserve to be noted only as *curiosa;* for example, Kimchi's proposal to take ל for לֹא, thereby designating him as properly not an Absalom, a father's peace, but a rebel, or Hiller's supposition (*Onom. S.* p. 733) that לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם is a fuller form for the simpler and more usual אַבְשָׁלוֹם, etc. On Geshur, comp. above ii. 23; on Adonijah, son of Haggith, comp. 1 Kings i. and ii.—Ver. 3. *By Eglah his wife,* לְעֶגְלָה אִשְׁתּוֹ; quite similar to 2 Sam. iii. 5, לְעֶגְלָה אֵשֶׁת דָּוִד. This addition "his wife," or "wife of David," appears to be inserted merely to make a full-toned conclusion of the series, and scarcely to distinguish Eglah as the most eminent wife of David, as some Rabbis and recently Thenius on 2 Sam. iii. 5 think, who take Eglah only for another name of Michal, 1 Sam. xviii. 20, or even substitute מִיכַל as the original reading for עֶגְלָה (so Thenius).—Ver. 4. For the historical notices in this verse comp. 2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5. The statement in 2 Sam. ii. 10 (from which Ishbosheth appears to have reigned only two years in Mahanaim) conflicts only apparently with the seven years of the residence of David in Hebron; on which see Hengstenb. *Gesch. d. Reiches Gottes unter dem A. B.* ii. 2, p. 114 f.

*b.* The thirteen sons of David born in Jerusalem: vers. 5–9. These sons of David (of whom four are by Bathsheba) are again mentioned xiv. 7–11, in the history of David. Less complete is the list in the parallel passage 2 Sam. v. 14–16, by the omission of the last two.—Ver. 5. The four sons of Bathsheba, or, as she is here called, *Bathshua.* The two names, occurring beside one another, receive their explanation from the intervening form בַּת־שֶׁוַע; as this, however, is obviously weakened from בַּת־שֶׁבַע (as בַּת־שׁוּעַ again is a weakening of בַּת־שֶׁוַע), the latter form appears to be the oldest and most original. Two other peculiarities of the names contained in our verse are—1. שִׁמְעָא as the name of the first of Bathsheba's four sons, for which stands in xiv. 4 and 2 Sam. v. 14 שַׁמּוּעַ; 2. Ammiel (עַמִּיאֵל) as the name of the father of Bathsheba, for which in 2 Sam. xi. 3 is the form Eliam (אֱלִיעָם), containing the two elements of the name transposed. It is uncertain which of these two forms is correct and original.—Vers. 6–8. Here follow the nine sons born at Jerusalem of other wives. *And Ibhar, and Elishama, and Eliphelet.* As the two parallel passages xiv. 5 and 2 Sam. v. 15 agree in presenting after Ibhar an Elishua, אֱלִישׁוּעַ, Elishama in our passage appears clearly an error of transcription, especially as this name occurs again in ver. 8. The following name Eliphelet (אֱלִיפֶלֶט) is found also in xiv. 5, although in the somewhat abbreviated form אֶלְפֶּלֶט; on the contrary, it is wanting in 2 Sam. v. 15, where only one Eliphelet, the last of the series, is mentioned. It is uncertain whether this want be original, and the double position is the result of some error of the Chronist or his voucher (as Berth. thinks). That David should have repeated the same name in the sons of his

different wives is of itself not incredible.—Ver. 7. *And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia.* The name נֹגַהּ, omitted by an oversight in 2 Sam. v. 15, is certainly original, though nothing be known concerning this Nogah, perhaps because he died early and childless. "The view of Movers, p. 229, that this name was not originally in the text, and came in by a false writing of the following נֶפֶג, has arisen from an undue preference for the text of the books of Samuel" (Berth.).—Ver. 8. *And Elishama* (comp. on ver. 6), *and Eliada, and Eliphelet, nine.* For אֶלְיָדָע appears xiv. 7 בְּעֶלְיָדָע, scarcely correct; for the other parallel 2 Sam. v. 16 and the Sept. and Syr. versions in xiv. 7 have אֶלְיָדָע (Sept. *cod. Vat.* Ἐλιαδί—*cod. Alex.*, indeed, Βααλιαδί).—Ver. 9. *All the sons of David, except the sons of the concubines.* These sons of David by concubines or slaves are also unnamed elsewhere; but their existence appears from 2 Sam. v. 13, xii. 11, xv. 16, xvi. 22.—*And Tamar their sister*, not the only one, but the sister known from the history (2 Sam. xiii. 1 ff.).

2. *The Kings of the House of David from Solomon to the Exile:* vers. 10-16.—As far as Josiah, they are enumerated, without naming any non-reigning descendants, as a simple line of sovereigns, embracing in it fifteen members (with the omission of the usurper Athaliah as an idolater and a foreigner) by the addition of a בְּנוֹ, "his son," to each. At variance with this course, four sons of Josiah are then named, not perhaps in him, the great reformer, "to introduce a pause in the long line of David's descendants" (Berth.), but "because with Josiah the regular succession ceased" (Keil). — *The first-born Johanan, the second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.* To Josiah succeeded, 2 Kings xxiii. 30, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, his son Jehoahaz as king. This Jehoahaz is called in Jer. xxii. 11 properly Shallum; he was thus, as the present list shows, the youngest, or at all events one of the youngest, among them; not to be identified with the first-born Johanan, as many older writers (Seb. Schmidt, Starke, etc.), and of the moderns, for example, Hitzig (*Begriff der Kritik*, etc., p. 182 ff., and *Gesch. d. Volks Isr.* p. 246), do. For, 1. The statement of Jeremiah, that Shallum became king in his father's stead, is quite positive and unhesitating. 2. From comparing 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36, with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2, 5, it appears that Jehoahaz was two years younger than Jehoiakim, and therefore not the first-born. 3. The preferring of a younger son before an older to the throne is not surprising, if we consider the analogous case of Solomon, who, though one of the youngest of the sons of David (the youngest of the four sons of Bathsheba), succeeded to the throne. 4. The double name Jehoahaz Shallum is not more surprising than Jehoahaz Johanan would be; the mutually exchanging names are in both cases, if not quite alike in meaning, yet expressive of similar ideas (יְהוֹאָחָז, "whom Jehovah holds," and שַׁלֻּם, "who is requited (of God)," and so יְהוֹחָנָן); comp. the numerous cases of double naming, of which some examples are quoted on ver. 1, also *Simonis Onom.* p. 20. The only inaccuracy that can be imputed to the Chronist in the present statements is, that he names Shallum in the last place, and so appears to favour the opinion that he was the youngest of the four brothers, whereas Zedekiah was much younger than he; indeed, as a comparison of 2 Kings xxiii. 31 with xxiv. 18 shows, at least 13 or 14 years younger (for Shallum was 23 years old when he ascended the throne, while Zedekiah, who ascended the throne 11 years later, was then only 21 years of age). How this inaccuracy in the order is to be explained, Keil shows very well, p. 55 f.: "In our genealogy Zedekiah is placed after Jehoiakim and before Shallum, because, on the one hand, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah held the throne a longer time, each for eleven years; on the other hand, Zedekiah and Shallum were the sons of Hamutal (2 Kings xxiii. 31, xxiv. 18), Jehoiakim the son of Zebidah (2 Kings xxiii. 36). With respect to age, they should have succeeded thus: Johanan, Jehoiakim, Shallum, and Zedekiah; and in regard to their reign, Shallum should have stood before Jehoiakim. But in both cases those born of the same mother Hamutal would have been separated. To avoid this, Shallum appears to have been reckoned beside his brother Zedekiah in the fourth place." Regarded thus, the passage loses its obscurity, which Nägelsbach has still imputed to it (on Jer. xxii. 11), without going quite so far as Hitzig, who here lays a whole series of errors to the charge of the Chronist. Comp. against the imputations of the latter, Movers, p. 157 f.: "The two names (Johanan and Jehoahaz) are to be distinguished exactly as Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; had the Chronist named Jehoahaz along with Shallum, or, as Hitzig thinks right, called him the first-born, the error would certainly have been undeniable. Further misled by the passage of Jeremiah, he has taken Shallum for another son of Josiah, the fourth, and different from Jehoahaz. Shallum Jehoahaz is certainly named the fourth in ver. 15, incorrectly indeed, for he was the third; but the Chronist could not mistake the passage of Jeremiah, for it clearly says: 'who (Shallum) reigned instead of Josiah his father.' How should an error in the Jewish line of kings occur in a Jewish historian!"—Ver. 16. *And the sons of Jehoiakim: Jechoniah his son, Zedekiah his son.* Instead of יְכָנְיָה = יְכִן יָהוּ (whom God establishes), the son of Jehoiakim in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 ff., bears the equivalent name Jehoiachin (יְהוֹיָכִין; comp. יוֹיָכִין, Ezek. i. 2), whereas he is called, Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, and Esth. ii. 6, יְכָנְיָה, quite as here and Jer. xxii. 24, 28, xxxvii. 1, Conjahu (כָּנְיָהוּ, an abbreviation of יְכָנְיָה, יְכָנְיָהוּ). The Zedekiah here named can only be regarded as a son of Jechoniah, and so a grandson of Jehoiakim and great-grandson of Josiah; for the בְּנוֹ added to his name uniformly designates in the previous genealogical line the son of the aforesaid: and the circumstance, that this son of Jechoniah is named here apart from his other sons, may find its explanation in this, that this Zedekiah, perhaps the first-born, did not go into captivity with his father and brethren, but died beforehand as a royal prince in Jerusalem. He is therefore not to be confounded with the Zedekiah who was mentioned in the foregoing

verse as a third son of Josiah, and, 2 Kings xxiv. 17 ff., 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, became successor of Jechoniah on the throne; he is a grand-nephew of king Zedekiah, who before his accession was called Mattaniah, and whose subsequent name, as well in Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 10) as in Kings (2 Kings xxiv. 17 ff.), is uniformly written צִדְקִיָּהוּ (not, as here, צִדְקִיָּה). This last variety of name is merely graphical, though in the present case, where the double name (Mattaniah Zedekiah) serves as a mark of the king, it may have a further import. Against the assumption of some ancients (even of Starke), that the Zedekiah of our verse is the same as king Zedekiah, who is quoted (ver. 15) as a son of Jehoiachin, because he was his successor on the throne, comp. the just remarks of Calov. in the *Biblia illustrata*. With respect to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, where Zedekiah the successor of Jehoiachin appears to be erroneously termed his brother, which in reality is only inexactness, or a wider sense of the word אָח (= relative in general), see on the passage.

3. *The Descendants of Jechoniah to the Seven Sons of Elioenai:* vers. 17-24.—*And the sons of Jechoniah the captive.* It is certainly possible to translate the words וּבְנֵי יְכָנְיָה אַסִּר with the Sept., Vulg., Kimchi, Jun., etc., and even Keil: "And the sons of Jechoniah were Assir." But the appellative meaning of אַסִּר, "the captive," adopted by Luther, Starke, Berth., Kamph., is decidedly preferable. For, 1. As one of the sons of Jechoniah, the early deceased Zedekiah, has been already named, we expect here a remark of Jechoniah indicating that he as captive or in captivity begat the sons now to be named. 2. An Assir, as connecting link between Jechoniah and Shealtiel, nowhere occurs, neither in Matt. i. 12 nor in the *Seder Olam Sutta* (comp. Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. V. Israel*, i. 379). 3. The absence of בְּנוֹ after אַסִּר, while it stands after שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל, makes it impossible to see in Assir a link between Jechoniah and Shealtiel. 4. Neither can Assir be regarded as a brother of Shealtiel, because the copula could not then be wanting between the two names, and because the singular בְּנוֹ after שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל is inexplicable, if two sons of Jechoniah were named. 5. The combination proposed by Keil (p. 57), that Assir, the only son of Jechoniah besides the early deceased Zedekiah, left only a daughter, by whom he became the father-in-law of Neri, a descendant of David of the line of Nathan, and by this son-in-law, again (Luke iii. 27), the father, or strictly the grandfather, of Shealtiel, of Malchiram, Pedaiah, and the other sons named ver. 18, fails through its excessive artificiality, and through this, that it takes בְּנוֹ at the close of our verse, notwithstanding the constant use of the Chronist in the foregoing genealogy, in the sense of his grandson. 6. The single objection that can be made to the appellative meaning of אַסִּר, that it wants the article, loses much of its force from the abrupt and merely allusive manner of our genealogist. 7. The Masoretic accentuation points out אַסִּר as an appellative addition to יְכָנְיָה, a circumstance not to be overlooked in the present case, as it proves our interpretation to be supported by no less respectable and ancient authorities than the opposite one.—Ver. 18. *And Malchiram, and Pedaiah*, etc. These six other sons of the captive Jechoniah, Kimchi, Tremell., Piscat., Hiller, Burmann, and recently Hitzig on Hag. i. 1, 12, regard not as brothers, but as sons of Shealtiel, because Zerubbabel elsewhere appears (Hag. i. 1; Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Matt. i. 12) as son, or at all events direct successor, perhaps grandson, of Shealtiel, whereas here he would appear to be his nephew, if his father Pedaiah (ver. 19) had actually to pass for a brother of Shealtiel. Against this hypothesis is—1. The copula before מַלְכִּירָם, which makes it impossible to regard the six named in our verse otherwise than as brothers of Shealtiel. 2. The paternal relation of Pedaiah to Zerubbabel, as attested ver. 19, may be easily reconciled with the elsewhere attested filial relation of Zerubbabel to Shealtiel, by the assumption of intermarriage or adoption; in other words, the Chronist's making Zerubbabel to be son of Pedaiah and nephew of Shealtiel may well be taken for a more exact statement than that of the other reporters (Hag., Ezra, and Matt.). Besides, the five sons of Jechoniah named along with Shealtiel and Pedaiah are otherwise unknown. Only of Pedaiah are further descendants known in the following verses.—Ver. 19. *And the sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shimei.* The latter is not elsewhere named: concerning the former, of whose identity with the celebrated prince and leader of the first band of returning captives, 536 B.C., there can be no well-founded doubt (although Hottinger, S. J. Baumgarten, Starke, and the ancients incline to assume two or even three different Zerubbabels), comp. on the previous verse.—*And the son of Zerubbabel: Meshullam and Hananiah.* On the somewhat surprising sing. וּבֶן, on account of the plural number of sons, and the variant וּבְנֵי, see Crit. Note. Bertheau, moreover, justly remarks: "In the names of the sons of Zerubbabel appear to be reflected the hopes of the Israelites at the time of the return from Babylon, in Meshullam (friend of God), comp. Isa. xlii. 19, Hananiah (grace of God), Berechiah, Hasadiah, Jushab-Chesed (mercy will return)."—*And Shelomith their sister.* She is perhaps named after the first two sons, because she sprang from the same mother. Her name divides the collective family of Zerubbabel into two groups, the former of two, the latter of five sons. Possibly the second group contains exclusively or chiefly younger sons of Zerubbabel born after the return from the exile.—Ver. 21. *And the son of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jeshaiah.* The two grandsons of Zerubbabel are otherwise unknown, but must have belonged to the contemporaries of Ezra, about 450 B.C.—*The sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shechaniah.* In what relation these four families stand to Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, the sons of Hananiah, is not clear, as the express statement that their heads, Rephaiah, etc., were sons of Hananiah, and brothers of those two, is wanting; and the various readings of the old translators (Sept., Vulg., Syr.), that give, instead of the plur. בְּנֵי, always the sing. with the suff. בְּנוֹ, thereby

originating a continuous line of descent, with seven members from Hananiah to Shechaniah, have little claim to credibility. For, 1. The line of David's descent would, if ver. 21 actually reckoned seven successive generations, seem to be continued far into the 3d century B.C. (for in vers. 22-24 four generations more are added),—much further than a rational estimate of the age of our author, who must have lived at the latest about 330 B.C., will admit (comp. Einl. p. 3). 2. The assumption of an addition to the series, arising from a younger writer than the Chronist, is extremely doubtful. 3. The Hattush of ver. 22 appears to be the same with the descendant of David bearing the same name mentioned Ezra viii. 2, a younger contemporary of Ezra, which is quite possible, and even probable, if this Hattush be the fourth in descent from Zerubbabel, but, on the contrary, impossible if he be the ninth. 4. The brief mode of enumerating with the mere בְּנוֹ, appending the son only to the father without mention of other descendants, does not agree with the verses around from ver. 18, in which a more copious enumeration, almost in every number giving a plurality of children, is presented. If it appear, on the whole, most probable that the sons of Rephaiah, etc., are designations of contemporary families of the house of David, not successive generations, it still remains doubtful how these families are connected with the last-named descendant of Zerubbabel. On this there are, in the main, two opinions among recent expositors: *a.* Ew., Berth., Kamph., etc., take Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shechaniah, as well as the two before named, Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, to be sons of Hananiah, and assume that, on account of the great celebrity and wide extension of their families, these last four sons are named, "not as individuals, but as families" (for which cases like ch. i. 41, ii. 42, iv. 15, xxiv. 26, etc., afford examples).

*b.* Movers, Herzfeld, Hävernick, Keil see in these four families, generations "whose descent the Chronist could not or would not more precisely define, and therefore merely enumerates one after another" (Herzf.), and are inclined to regard the whole series from בְּנֵי רְפָיָה to the end of the chapter as "a genealogical fragment, perhaps inserted afterwards into the text of Chronicles" (Keil), and accept where possible the assumption defined by the ancients, as Heidegger, Vitringa, Carpzov, etc., of a corruption of the present Masoretic text, perhaps a gap before בְּנֵי רְפָיָה (so likewise Keil). We may reserve the choice between these two views; for while the assumption of a corruption of the text seems to be natural enough, and to be rendered even probable by the change of בְּנֵי into בְּנוֹ in the Sept., yet, on the other hand, we scruple to ascribe to the Chronist an uncertain or defective knowledge concerning the families of the house of David after Zerubbabel, as it is to be presumed that he would be especially well informed on matters so near his own time.—Ver. 22. *And the sons of Shechaniah: Shemaiah.* The plur. בְּנֵי, as in i. 41, ii. 42, etc. On Hattush son of Shemaiah, then named in the first place, see on previous verse, and Introd. § 3, Rem. The closing notice, that six sons of Shemaiah are named in all, is strange, because only five of them are named; and it is quite unfeasible, with J. H. Mich., Starke, and others (as in Gen. xlvi. 15), to assume that the father is included. We can scarcely escape the assumption, that one of the six names has fallen out of the text by an old error of transcription, but we can hardly regard the sixth name *Sesa* (*Sessa*), presented by the Vulg. in the *Edit. Sixt.* of 1590, as anything else than a poor emendation arising from the number שִׁשָּׁה, since no other text presents this name.—Ver. 23. *And the son of Neariah: Elioenai.* With the latter name, which is here written without ה (אֶלְיוֹעֵינַי), but elsewhere in full אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי (my eyes unto Jehovah), comp. Ezra viii. 4, and, with respect to the sentence which contains its etymology, Ps. xxv. 15.—Ver. 24. *And the sons of Elioenai: Hodaiah,* etc. With the name הוֹדַיְוָהוּ (or perhaps הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, "praise Jehovah, praise God") compare the shorter form הוֹדַוְיָה, v. 24, ix. 7, Ezra ii. 40, and הוֹדְוָה, Neh. vii. 43; see also Crit. Note.

The seven sons of Elioenai here named, if we are to suppose a direct genealogical connection of the families enumerated from ver. 21*b* with the before-named descendants of Zerubbabel (if, consequently, the assumption of Movers, Herzfeld, and Keil, that vers. 21*b*–24 form an unconnected interpolation, is to be rejected), would be the seventh generation inclusive from Zerubbabel, and, if the length of a generation be fixed at 30 years, would have to be placed near the middle of the 4th century B.C., as, for example, Bertheau (p. 35) reckons the years 386–356 B.C., Ewald (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* 2d edit. i. 229) the time after 350, as the period of the existence of the seven sons of Elioenai, who are supposed to be contemporary with the author of Chronicles. The assumption that we are here dealing with direct descendants of Zerubbabel is liable to serious doubt. For, besides the loose connection of בְּנֵי רְפָיָה and the following families in ver. 21, it appears to favour the fragment hypothesis, that "in the genealogy of Jesus, Matt. i., not a single name of the descendants of Zerubbabel agrees with the names in this register," and that at least seven members must be supposed to be overleaped at once by Matthew or his genealogical voucher (so Clericus, and recently Keil). In reply to this, it may be assumed certainly, that those descendants of Zerubbabel whose pedigree is traced by the Chronist to his own time need not necessarily have been the direct ancestors of Joseph (or Mary), but that the line of Abiud, Eliakim, etc., leading to Jesus in Matthew, might have sprung from another of the seven sons of Zerubbabel. Besides, Matthew must have made very great omissions in the interval of 500 years between Zerubbabel and Joseph, as he reckons only twelve members for this period (comp. the edit. of the *Bibelw.* on Matt. p. 8 f.): an omission of six or seven successive members would be nothing inconceivable in his mode of proceeding. And if the genealogy of Hananiah, communicated at length by the Chronist, in particular the family of Elioenai with his seven sons, were deemed worthy of special notice on account of their celebrity, high reputation, and eminent

services on behalf of the theocracy, this would not prove that the New Testament pedigree of Jesus must necessarily have mentioned these famous descendants of Zerubbabel as belonging to the ancestors of our Lord. For lowliness and obscurity, not splendour and fame, should be the characteristic of the pedigree of Jesus after the exile. If the line of the ancestors of Jesus, reaching from David to the exile, according to Matthew's arrangement, contains crowned heads, and thus forms a lofty range of royal names, it corresponds to the plan of the apostolic genealogists, that the third line from the exile to Joseph and Mary should include in it chiefly undistinguished names, and thus form a descending line which ends in the carpenter Joseph (see Lange, p. 6). Nothing decisive can thus be inferred from a comparison of the New Testament genealogies of the Messiah with our passage for the relation of the names therein contained to the posterity of Zerubbabel, or for the question whether those named in vers. 21*b*–24 are to be regarded as descendants or as remoter connections of this prince.

3. *Supplements to the Genealogy of the House of Judah* (*leading to the Genealogical Survey of the Twelve Tribes of Israel*): ch. iv. 1–23.

CH. IV. 1. The sons of Judah: Perez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal.
2 And Reaiah son of Shobal begat Jahath; and Jahath begat Ahumai and
Lahad: these are the families of the Zorathite.
3 And these were[1] of the father of Etam: Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash;
4 and the name of their sister was Hazelelponi. And Penuel the father of Gedor,
and Ezer the father of Hushah: these are the sons of Hur the first-born of
Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem.
5, 6 And Ashur the father of Tekoah had two wives, Helah and Naarah. And
Naarah bare him Ahuzzam, and Hepher, and Temeni, and the Ahashtari:
7 these were the sons of Naarah. And the sons of Helah: Zereth, Izhar,[2] and
Ethnan.
8 And Koz begat Anub and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son
9 of Harum. And Jabez was honoured above his brethren; and his mother
10 called his name Jabez, saying, Because I bare him with sorrow. And Jabez
called on the God of Israel, saying, If thou wilt bless me indeed, and enlarge
my border, and thy hand be with me, and thou deal without evil, that it
grieve me not! And God brought that which he had asked.
11 And Celub the brother of Shuhah begat Mehir; he was the father of Esh-
12 ton. And Eshton begat Beth-rapha, and Paseah, and Tehinnah the father of
the city Nahash: these are the men of Rechah.
13 And the sons of Kenaz: Othniel and Seraiah; and the sons of Othniel:
14 Hathath. And Meonothai begat Ophrah: and Seraiah begat Joab father of
the valley of the carpenters; for they were carpenters.
15 And the sons of Caleb son of Jephunneh: Iru, Elah, and Naam; and the
sons of Elah and Kenaz.
16 And the sons of Jehalelel: Ziph and Ziphah, Tiria and Asarel.
17 And the son[3] of Ezrah: Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon; and she
conceived [and bare][4] Miriam, and Schammai, and Ishbah father of Eshtemoa.
18 And his wife, the Jewess, bare Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father
of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah: and these are the sons of Bithiah
daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took.[5]
19 And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham: the father of
Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa[6] the Maachathite.
20 And the sons of Shimon: Amnon and Rinnah, Benhanan and Tulon;[7] and
the sons of Ishi: Zoheth and Benzoheth.[8]
21 The sons of Shelah son of Judah: Er the father of Lechah, and Ladah the
father of Mareshah; and the families of the house of byssus work, of the house
22 of Ashbea. And Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who
23 ruled over Moab, and Jashubi-lehem[9]: and these are ancient things. These are
the potters and the dwellers in Netaim and Gederah; with the king, in his
service, they dwelt there.

[1] For וְאֵלֶּה אֲבִי עֵיטָם, which gives no tolerable sense, read with some MSS. וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֲבִי עֵיטָם, or with the Sept., Vulg., and some other MSS. וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי עֵיטָם.

[2] So (יִצְחָר) in the *Kethib*. The *Keri* וְצֹחַר is designed to gain a name better known (comp. Gen. xxiii. 8, xlvi. 10).

[3] For וְבֵן some mss. have וּבְנֵי, which is perhaps to be preferred, as in vers. 13, 16, 19, 20.

[4] For וַתַּהַר, "and she conceived," the Sept., following perhaps another reading, give *καὶ ἐγέννησεν* Ἰεθέρ (Vulg.: *genuitque Mariam*). For מִרְיָם they exhibit Μαιών (*cod. Vat.* Μαρών).

[5] This closing sentence וְאֵלֶּה . . . מֶרֶד stands here probably in the wrong place, and is to be placed after וְיָלוֹן, ver. 17; see Exeg. Expos.

[6] Before אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ (which the Sept. here renders by Ἰεσθαιμών, whereas in ver. 17 it has Ἐσθαιμών [*cod. Vat.* Ἐσθαιμών]) וַאֲבִי seems to have fallen out, as the parallel אֲבִי קְעִילָה indicates.

[7] *Kethib:* תולון; *Keri:* תִּילוֹן.

[8] Before בֶּן־זוֹחֵת, which (not as, for example, בֶּן־חָנָן immediately before) is not a *nom. propr.*, but denotes "son of Zoheth," the name of this son seems to have fallen out.

[9] Jerome (perhaps on the ground of a somewhat different text, but more probably only following the arbitrary interpretation of an old Jewish Midrash) renders the words from וְיוֹקִים: *et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii et securus et incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab, et qui reversi sunt in Lachem.*

## EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK. — This section, unusually rich in obscurities and difficulties, is characterized on the one hand as a supplement to the pedigree of Judah already communicated, embracing numerous fragments of old genealogies; on the other hand, as a transition and introduction to the genealogical and chorographical survey of the twelve tribes except Judah, contained in iv. 24–vii. In common with the latter group of genealogies, it makes frequent reference to the places in the territory of each tribe, and inserts brief historical or archæological notices, which are of considerable value on account of the antiquity of the events recorded (vers. 9, 10, 14, 21–23). We are reminded of the former notices of the families of Judah in ch. ii., not only by the superscription connecting the introductory verse of this chapter, with its enumeration of some of the most eminent descendants of Judah (ver. 1), but also by the abundance of the details communicated concerning many more or less celebrated Jewish families (at all events a proof that the tribe of Judah passed with the author for the most important of all, and that the most special notices concerning it lay before him); as well as by the loose order of the several fragments, in which a similar neglect of the formation of longer lines of generations standing in direct succession to one another betrays itself, as in those supplementary reports concerning various descendants of Caleb at the close of ch. ii., and perhaps in the closing verses of ch. iii. Nowhere is this fragmentary character of the genealogical notes of our author so striking as in the present section, which presents no less than ten or twelve isolated fragments of lines or genealogical notices, having no visible connection with that which precedes or follows. The whole, in fact, looks almost like a gathering of genealogical pebbles, rolled together from various quarters, and consisting of older and younger parts, that are kept together only by their common connection with the tribe of Judah. That anything here communicated refers to the state of things after the exile, is assumed by Bertheau (p. 36), perhaps without sufficient ground. Yet it cannot be positively asserted that the author (who in ch. iii. traced the house of David down to his own late times) here describes only ancient relations, and purposely has not overstepped the limits of the exile.

1. *The Superscription:* ver. 1.—*The sons of Judah: Perez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal.* These five are called "sons" of Judah, as appears from ii. 3 ff., only in a wider sense; for Perez only was an actual son of Judah (ii. 5); Hezron was his grandson; Carmi, as the probable grandson of Zerah (ii. 7), was his great-grandson; Hur the son of Caleb, son of Hezron, was his great-great-grandson (ii. 18, 19); and Shobal son of Hur was his grandson's great-grandson (ii. 50). The putting together of these five descendants is highly peculiar, and cannot be satisfactorily explained in its historical grounds. Several of the families founded by them certainly became chief families in the tribe of Judah, but not all; in particular, the prominence of Carmi between names so celebrated as Hezron and Hur is so truly strange, as to justify the suspicion that this name is not genuine, and to favour the hypothesis of Wellhausen (p. 20), that for כַּרְמִי is to be read כְּלֻבַי, Celubai=Caleb (see ii. 9). If this were the original reading, we should obtain a series of directly succeeding descendants of Judah (comp. ii. 3, 9, 18 f., 50), and so far as our verse is a superscription for the following, it would merely indicate descendants of Hezron, who is also named in ch. ii. as the ancestor of a widely-spread stock of Jewish families. This indication, however, would by no means correspond with the following verses. For only by uncertain conjecture do we think to find in vers. 5–7 descendants of Hur, in vers. 11–15 descendants of Caleb, in vers. 16–23 other Hezronites of different lines (comp. on the respective passages). On the whole, the several groups of our section are strung together without much connection; and that they form no continuous line of descent (by which the line started in ver. 1, if the proposed emendation be accepted, would be carried forward) is at all events clear and beyond a doubt. The matter, therefore, must rest with the remark of Bertheau: "Why in our passage precisely these five 'sons' of Judah are enumerated, while in Gen. xlvi. 1 and 1 Chron. ii. other names occur in a different order, is a question we should only be able to answer if we could state the point

of time in the history and development of the tribe of Judah to which our series refers, and were in a position to trace further from other sources the relations of the families of Judah here exhibited. As matters stand, we must be contented with the general remark, that the families designated by our five names were without doubt the prominent families in the time of the author of our series, and are therefore enumerated as sons of Judah. It is surprising, certainly, that in the following pedigree, vers. 2–20, this arrangement almost entirely disappears, and that in vers. 21–23 Shelah, sixth 'son' of Judah, is introduced by way of appendix."

2. *The Zorathites*, a line of descent from Shobal: ver. 2.—*And Reaiah son of Shobal* (the son who is probably latent under הָרֹאֶה, ii. 52, on which see) *begat Jahath*. יַחַת is no further mentioned as a descendant of Judah through Shobal, but occurs often as a Levite name; comp. vi. 5, 28, xxiii. 10 ff., xxiv. 22, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12.—His sons also, Ahumai and Lahad, occur nowhere else. On the contrary, the closing notice, "these are the families of the Zorathite," refers us to well-known ground, in so far as a descent of the inhabitants of Zorah from Shobal (the ancestor of Kiriath-jearim, the mother city of Zorah and Eshtaol) is manifest from ii. 50–53. The present verse therefore stands plainly in the relation of a supplement to that passage.

3. *A Line of Descent from Hur:* vers. 3, 4.—*And these were of the father of Etam.* So is it to be amended instead of the unmeaning "and these were Abi Etam" of the Masoretic text, or with the Sept. and Vulg.: "And these were the children of Etam." עֵיטָם, whether it be an element of a personal name אֲבִי עֵיטָם, or itself denote an old patriarch or family, points at all events to the inhabitants of an old Jewish mountain city not far from Bethlehem and Tekoa (2 Chron. xi. 6), which occurs in the history of Samson (Judg. xv. 8). Jezreel also, the first-named son of Etam, occurs Josh. xv. 56 as a mountain city of Judah; comp. the *nom. gentil.* "the Jezreelitess" referring to this city, and applied to Ahinoam the wife of David, iii. 1. On the contrary, Ishma, Idbash, and their sister Hazelelponi are mentioned only here. Whether the name of the last is the name of a family or of an individual (comp. Ew. § 273*e*) remains doubtful.—Ver. 4. *And Penuel the father of Gedor.* Penuel (פְּנוּאֵל) is here the name of a patriarch of Jewish descent, but in viii. 25 of a Benjamite. With the city Penuel or Peniel, east of the Jordan and south of Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 31 f., Judg. viii. 8, 17, 1 Kings xii. 25), the name here has no connection. On the contrary, that of his son Gedor occurs also as a name of a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 58; comp. 1 Chron. iv. 39, xiii. 7), and this town, preserved as a ruin in the present Jedur (Robins. ii. 592), is to be referred to the son of Penuel as its father or founder. We meet, indeed, in ver. 18 with a certain Jered as "father of Gedor," whence we may conclude that the posterity of both formed the population of this Gedor.—*And Ezer the father of Hushah.* עֵזֶר ("help") occurs elsewhere as a man's name (vii. 21, xii. 9), but not in the genealogies of the house of Judah. The site of the town Hushah founded by this Ezer is unknown; but the *nom. gentil.* חֻשָׁתִי occurs several times, namely, in the Davidic hero Sibbechai, 1 Chron. xi. 28, xx. 4, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27.—*These are the sons of Hur the first-born of Ephrathath, the father of Bethlehem.* Comp. ii. 19, and on Hur's relation to Bethlehem ii. 51, where more precisely than here Salma the son of Hur is called "father of Bethlehem." "The circumstance, moreover, that in our verses (3 and 4) other names and persons are enumerated as descendants of Hur than in ii. 50–55, betokens no difference; for there is no ground for the assumption that in the latter passage all his descendants are given" (Keil). Our passage is thus, like ver. 2, supplementary to ii. 50–55, so far as it repeats and confirms some of the names and affinities there mentioned, and adds other new ones.

4. *Ashur the father of Tekoa and his descendants:* vers. 5–7. According to ii. 24, this Ashur was a posthumous son of Caleb [? Hezron] by Abiah. That he was properly a son of Caleb, and no other than Hur (אַשְׁחוּר = חוּר, that is, אִישׁ חוּר, Ew. § 273*b*), is a hypothesis of Wellhausen, grounded on several rather forced emendations of the text (p. 14 sq.; comp. above on the p.)—Ver. 6. *And Naarah bare him Ahuzzam*, a son mentioned nowhere else. Why Naarah's sons are enumerated first, while Helah was named ver. 5 as the first, and Naarah the second, wife of Ashur, remains uncertain. Hepher the second son of Naarah is at all events different from the Gileadite of this name mentioned xi. 36 and Num. xxvi. 32 f., but might possibly be the patriarch or founder of the district Hepher, 1 Kings iv. 10, in the south of Judah, not far from Tappuah, where a Canaanitish king resided in early times (Josh. xii. 17).—*Temeni* (תֵּימְנִי) or Temani (Southern), the third son, will designate a neighbouring family of the tribe of Judah. *Ahashtari*, that is, the family of those from Ahashtar, is wholly unknown.—Ver. 7. *And the sons of Helah: Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan.* These names occur only here. The צֹחַר of the *Keri*, instead of the *Kethib* יִצְחָר, occurs as the name of a son of Simeon, Gen. xlvi. 10, and of a Canaanitish king, Gen. xxiii. 8; but these names have obviously nothing to do with the son of Ashur and Helah.

5. *Koz and his descendants*, among whom is Jabez: vers. 8–10. This section wants all genealogical connection with the families already mentioned.—*And Koz begat Anub.* A Koz (with the art. הַקּוֹץ) occurs afterwards, xxiv. 10, as a Levite, and also in Ezra ii. 61 and Neh. iii. 4, in which latter passage, moreover, the Levitical descent is not expressed, so that possibly a Jew descended from this Koz might be meant. In what relation our Koz stands to those before named, whether he belonged to the sons of Ashur (as Glassius, Tremell., Piscator, Starke, etc., think), is quite uncertain. The name of his son עָנוּב appears, moreover, to be identical with that of the town עֲנָב, Josh. xi. 21, xv. 50 (a place not far from Debir in the south of Judah); for the Sept.

(*cod. Alex.*) renders it by 'Ανώβ. If this identification be correct, עֵנָב, "the grape," would be the product of קוֹץ, a "thorn," and the present genealogical notice thus present an allegorical sense, reminding us of the fable of Jotham (Judg. ix.), and of Matt. vii. 16 (comp. Hiller, *Hierophyt.* i. p. 464).—*Zobebah and the families of Aharhel the son of Harum.* These are quite unknown.—Ver. 9. *And Jabez was honoured above his brethren.* Jabez here is probably the name of another descendant of Koz; for the וַיְהִי connects the notice of him closely with that which precedes. The town Jabez, the inhabitants of which are mentioned ii. 55, may perhaps have been founded by him; from which might be surmised a connection of himself and of those named, ver. 8, with Shobal the son of Hur (ii. 50). But all this is very uncertain.—*I bare him with sorrow.* This maternal utterance, discovering the fundamental meaning of the name יַעְבֵּץ = "son of sorrow" (comp. the root עָצַב, the second and third radicals of which are here transposed), reminds us of similar exclamations of mothers in the patriarchal age, as Gen. iv. 25, xix. 37 f., xxix. 32–35, xxxiii. 20. In like manner, the statement that Jabez was "honoured above his brethren," reminds us of Gen. xxxiv. 19 (Hamor the son of Shechem). And by the vow of this Jabez to the "God of Israel" (comp. Gen. xxviii. 20, xxxiii. 20) recorded in ver. 10, as well as by the new explanation of the name, which is contained in the terms of this vow (a second reference of יַעְבֵּץ to the root עצב, but with a new turn, לְבִלְתִּי עָצְבִּי, "that thou grieve me not"), we are carried back to the scenes of Genesis (comp. Gen. xvii. 17 ff., xviii. 12, xxi. 6, xxvi. 8, etc.), so that we have here an undoubted primeval historical record. Even the rhetorical clothing of the vow, a mere antecedent clause, with אִם wanting a consequent, but with clear emphasizing of the עָצְבִּי coming in at the end as the point of the whole, reminds us of the ancient style of the Pentateuch; comp. Gen. xxviii. 20 ff.; Num. xxi. 2, etc.—*And God brought that which he had asked.* This statement, occupying the place of consequent to the aposiopesis אִם־בָּרֵךְ תְּבָרְכֵנִי, serves to explain the above notice that Jabez was honoured above his brethren, and exhibit him as the lord of a wide domain, and the possessor of the divine blessing. Observe, moreover, the name אֱלֹהִים used here (as in v. 20, 25, 26) instead of יְהוָה, which occurs elsewhere in these genealogical sections (for example, ii. 3, v. 41, etc.).

6 *The Men of Rechah:* vers. 11, 12.—*And Celub the brother of Shuhah begat Mehir.* This Celub (כְּלוּב) bears indeed the same name as the famous hero Caleb or Celubai (ii. 9), but is distinguished by the addition "the brother of Shuhah" from his more illustrious namesake, and cannot possibly have passed with our genealogist for the same person (as Wellhausen, p. 20, thinks). The choice of the form כְּלוּב, which stands to כָּלֵב as עֲנוּב, ver. 8, to עָנָב, while the famous Caleb the son of Jephunneh, ver. 15, is designated by his usual name, shows that in the view of the writer the owners of the two names are to be kept apart. It is doubtful whether שׁוּחָה be a man's or a woman's name; its identification with חוּשָׁה, ver. 4, is not admitted (against Starke and other old writers). Mehir the son, and Eshton the grandson, of Celub occur nowhere else.—Ver. 12. *And Eshton begat Beth-rapha,* that is, perhaps, the house or family of Rapha, who is otherwise unknown; for neither the Benjamite Rapha (viii. 2) nor the offspring of Rapha (xx. 4–8) can apply here. And the two following descendants of Eshton remain at least uncertain. Paseah might possibly be the ancestor of the "sons of Paseah" introduced among the Nethinim (Ezra ii. 49; Neh. vii. 51); Tehinnah occurs not elsewhere, though perhaps the city Nahash, of which he is the father or founder, may be connected with Nahash the father of Abigail, the step-sister of David (see ii. 16; 2 Sam. xvii. 25).—*These are the men of Rechah,* the inhabitants perhaps of the town Rechah, a place not elsewhere named.

7. *The Descendants of Kenaz:* vers. 13, 14.—*And the sons of Kenaz: Othniel and Seraiah.* That Kenaz (קְנַז), the "father" of Othniel the judge (Judg. i. 13 ff., iii. 9), sprang from Hezron the grandson of Judah, appears to follow from this, that Caleb the son of Jephunneh is several times designated a Kenizzite (קְנִזִּי), and so placed in a certain genealogical relation to Kenaz. It is to be observed, indeed, that Kenaz, if really father or grandfather, and not a more remote ancestor of Othniel, would have been younger than Caleb or a contemporary of nearly the same age. Caleb and Othniel are usually called "brothers," on account of their common relation to Kenaz (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13); and, indeed, in the latter place Othniel is called the "younger brother" of Caleb (we must therefore translate, with Bachmann, the son of Kenaz, younger brother of Caleb, with which, however, Josh. xv. 17 would conflict; see Keil, p. 63). Hence appears the possibility that both the companion of Joshua, Caleb the son of Jephunneh (who was eighty-five years old at the conquest of Canaan, Josh. xiv. 10 f.), and Othniel the judge, at least a generation younger (the conqueror of Cushan-rishathaim), stood in a common relation to an otherwise unknown patriarch Kenaz. Of what nature this relation was, whether it was that Caleb, by means of his father Jephunneh, was a grandson of Kenaz (as appears to have been the case, Num. xxxii. 12), and that Othniel, either through Jephunneh or some other, was likewise his grandson, or perhaps great-grandson, must remain uncertain. Possibly Kenaz is merely the name of a race external to Israel, belonging in fact to Edom, Gen. xxxvi. 11, 1 Chron. i. 36, 53, to which Caleb became somehow related in the march through the wilderness, and from which also Othniel was descended. Knobel (on Gen. xxxvi. 11, p. 281) conceives the relationship thus: "The 'Kenizzite' is perhaps a surname of Caleb, originating from some Kenizzites having passed into his family during the journey of Moses. After Jephunneh's death, one of them appears to have married Caleb's mother, and had by her Othniel. His name being afterwards for-

gotten, he was designated by the name of his tribe."—Seraiah, Othniel's brother, occurs only here; we meet with a later Jew of this name, who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezra ii. 2.—*And the sons of Othniel: Hathath.* On the phrase וּבְנֵי before only one name, see ii. 7. Yet the plural might here possibly refer also to Meonothai as brother of Hathath (ver. 14), if a וּמְעוֹנֹתַי had fallen out at the end of our verse, or if the genealogist had presupposed that Meonothai was brother to Hathath, and therefore hastened at once to the statement of his descendants. Othniel's sons occur nowhere else. The name Meonothai might also be connected with the town Maon (Josh. xv. 55), or with the Meunim (Ezra ii. 50; Neh. vii. 52).—Ver. 14. *And Meonothai begat Ophrah.* We can scarcely think of Ophrah as the Benjamite town of this name (Josh. xviii. 23; 1 Sam. xiii. 17), or even of the home of Gideon in the tribe of Manasseh (Judg. vi. 11).—*And Seraiah begat Joab father of the valley of the carpenters.* This occurs here as a place founded by Joab son of Seraiah (ver. 13), called the "Valley of the carpenters or the craftsmen" (חֲרָשִׁים), and in Neh. xi. 35; and, indeed, as a place not far from Jerusalem, on the north side. Whether it had received its name after the exile, and whether Joab, the founder of the colony, is to pass for one of those Joabs in Zerubbabel's time who are mentioned Ezra ii. 6, Neh. vii. 11 (to which hypothesis Berth. seems inclined), must remain doubtful.

8. *The Descendants of Caleb the Son of Jephunneh:* ver. 15.—That this Jephunnite Caleb is probably the same with him whose genealogy is given ch. ii. 46-49 (and therefore with the Caleb of Num., Josh., and Judg.), and different from the Hezronite Celubai or Caleb (ii. 9, 18, 42 ff., 50 ff., perhaps his ancestor [rather descendant]), has been fully shown on ii. 49.—*Iru, Elah, and Naam.* These three sons of Caleb occur nowhere else; for the second, Elah, must have been combined with the Edomite prince of the same name mentioned i. 52, as Kenaz might be identical with the Kenaz named there, ver. 53. This Calebite Kenaz cannot be the same as the father of Othniel (ver. 13); rather as grandson or great-grandson, he bore the same name as his ancestor. Why "the sons of Elah" are set down between this Kenaz and Naam in the series of the sons of Caleb we can no longer explain. It is inadmissible, at all events, to translate, with a number of older expositors (including Starke): "and the sons of Elah were (also) Kenaz," as if ו before קְנַז could be anything but the copula. As the words run, Kenaz is appended to the aforementioned descendants of Caleb, of whom the sons of Elah take the fourth place, as the fifth and last; only if a name were fallen out before וּקְנַז (as Keil supposes) could Kenaz be regarded as belonging to the sons of Elah.

9. *Jehalelel's Sons:* ver. 16.—*Ziph and Ziphah, Tiriah and Asarel.* Only the first of these is known, and, indeed, as the supposed father of one of those towns in Judah which are named in Josh. xv. 24, 55. Even of Jehalelel we know nothing more. A quite arbitrary hypothesis of some older scholars makes out of him rather a woman, the supposed second wife of Kenaz, ver 13, whose first wife was (?) Jephunneh.

10. *Ezrah's Posterity:* vers. 17, 18.—*And the sons of Ezrah: Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon; and she conceived,* etc. If the sing. וּבֶן is to be retained, we may compare such cases as iii. 19, 21, 23, etc.; but see Crit. Note. The here-named Ezrah occurs nowhere else; he belongs, at all events, to a grey antiquity, as the father of old Jewish towns like Eshtemoa, Socho, Zanoah, etc. It is not clear how he is connected with the foregoing or following families of Judah. Of his four sons, the last, Jalon, occurs only here even in name; the names Jether and Epher occur elsewhere, but in other families (Jether, ii. 32, comp. 53; and Epher, xi. 33 and v. 24); further notices of them are wanting. On the contrary, the closing sentence of ver. 18 shows, with respect to Mered, that probably all the names from ver. 17*b* ("and she conceived," etc.) denote descendants of this man by two wives, a "Jewess" and a "daughter of Pharaoh." And as the words וַתַּהַר וגו', standing as they now do after the name of the fourth son of Ezrah, and wanting a feminine subject, yield no rational sense, the removal (proposed by Bertheau, and adopted by Kamph., Keil, and others) of that closing sentence: "and these are the sons of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took," to our passage after וְיָלוֹן, commends itself as a very suitable amendment; comp. the Crit. Note. וַתַּהַר is then to be taken as a synonym of וַתֵּלֶד (which is given by the Sept. and the Vulg.), and the names Miriam (מִרְיָם, for which, perhaps, מָרוֹם, as in Sept. *cod. Vat.* or the like, is to be read, as we expect to find a man's name in the first place), Shammai, and Ishbah then denote the sons born to Mered by Pharaoh's daughter; whereupon in ver. 18 the names of those descended from the Jewess are added. We obtain here, accordingly, two lines descending from Mered—one Egyptian, from which (and in particular from Ishbah the third son of Pharaoh's daughter) the inhabitants of the town Eshtemoa (Sept. Ἐσθιμών or Ἐσθαιμών), on the mountains of Judah, the present Samua, south of Hebron, drew their origin (comp. Josh. xv. 15, xxi. 14, and ver. 19), and one Jewish, from which three towns of Judah are derived:—1. Gedor, comp. on ver. 4; 2. Socho, perhaps the present Suweikeh, in the lowland south west of Jerusalem, comp. Josh. xv. 35, 1 Sam. xvii. 1, etc.; 3. Zanoah, perhaps the present Sanuah, in the lowland near Zorah, comp. Josh. xv. 34 (though the other Zanoah on the mountains of Judah, Josh. xv. 36, the site of which we do not know, might be meant). Of the names of the three "fathers" or founders of these towns, Jekuthiel (יְקוּתִיאֵל, probably "fear of God") occurs nowhere else; while Jered (comp. Gen. v. 15) and חֶבֶר occur elsewhere, the latter pretty often (Gen. xlvi. 17; Num. xxvi. 45; Judg. iv. 11, 17; 1 Chron. viii. 17).—*And these are the sons of Bithiah,* etc. These words, in the position which we have assigned to them, are not a subscription for the preceding, but rather an introduction to the following words וַתַּהַר וגו'. We know nothing more of this daughter of Pharaoh. בַּת־פַּרְעֹה may be merely a general phrase for

מִצְרִית, an Egyptian; so thinks Hitzig, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* p. 64, who, indeed, without right, might thus degrade the Pharaoh's daughter of the Exodus, the foster-mother of Moses, into a common Egyptian. No less arbitrary is the opposite conjecture of the older Rabbins, and recently of Fürst (*Gesch. d. bibl. Liter.* i. 319), that this same king's daughter Thermuthis, the protectress of Moses, is here meant. The name Miriam, at the head of the descendants of this Egyptian, seems to have given rise to this identification with Thermuthis (comp. Wagenseil, *Sota*, p. 271). The opinion of Osiander, Hiller, J. H. Michaelis, Starke, etc., that we are not to think of an Egyptian here, as Bithiah is a Hebrew name, and Pharaoh the name of a Jew, is also arbitrary, and directly against the phrase בַּת־פַּרְעֹה (comp. 2 Chron. viii. 11; 1 Kings ix. 24).

11. *The Sons of the Wife of Hodiah:* ver. 19. —*And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham.* Hodiah (הוֹדִיָּה), as the present *St. constr.* אֵשֶׁת, and its occurrence as the name of several Levites after the exile, in the book of Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 7, ix. 5, x. 11), show, is not a woman's, but a man's name. We know neither the name of Hodiah's wife nor her relation to the foregoing; for that נַחַם, whose sister she is said to be, is the same as נַעַם, Caleb's son, ver. 15, no one will seriously assert.—*The father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa* (or perhaps "the father of Eshtemoa;" see Crit. Note) *the Maachathite.* The two designations, "the Garmite" and "the Maachathite," are to us equally obscure and unintelligible; the latter may, perhaps, contain an allusion to Maachah the third wife of Caleb, ii. 48. The situation of Keilah (קְעִילָה), a town in the lowland of Judah (Josh. xv. 44), has not yet been ascertained. On Eshtemoa, see ver. 17.

12. *Descendants of Shimon and Ishi:* ver. 20. —*And the sons of Shimon: Amnon,* etc. We know not otherwise either Shimon or his four sons, and therefore cannot indicate his place in the genealogy of Judah. That he was a Hezronite, like all the foregoing, is a mere conjecture of Wellhausen (p. 20).—*And the sons of Ishi: Zoheth and Benzoheth.* The name Ishi was also borne by a Jerahmeelite (ii. 31), the son of Appaim, and by a Simeonite, iv. 42. Neither can be meant here, especially as a son Zoheth, not there mentioned, and an anonymous grandson of this Zoheth, are added as descendants.

13. *Descendants of Shelah, third son of Judah:* vers. 21-23.—*The sons of Shelah son of Judah.* On this third son of Judah by the Canaanitess Bathshua, see ii. 3; Gen. xxxviii. 5. The absence of the copula ו before בְּנֵי שֵׁלָה (as before בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה, ver. 1) marks the beginning of a new genealogical series; and, indeed, a series that is of the more importance, because the posterity of Shelah is entirely omitted in ch. ii.—*Er the father of Lechah, and Ladah the father of Mareshah.* This Er is not to be confounded with Shelah's brother, the first-born of Judah (as Bertheau thinks); rather is this a similar case of uncle and nephew having the same name, as in Ram, for example, ii. 9; comp. ver. 25. We know no more of the town Lechah (לֵכָה) founded by this younger Er; but Mareshah, founded by his brother Ladah, is no doubt the present Marash in the Shephelah; see on ch. ii. 42.—*And the families of the house of byssus work, of the house of Ashbea.* This house of byssus work (cotton factory) may have been situated in Egypt, or possibly in Palestine. We know as little of its situation as of the "house of Ashbea" (בֵּית אַשְׁבֵּעַ, rendered by Jerome: *domus juramenti*). For the cultivation of cotton (בּוּץ, here defectively בֻּץ) also in Syria and Palestine, comp. Ezek. xxvii. 16; Pausan. v. 5. 2; Pococke, *Morgenl.* ii. 88; Robinson, ii. 612, 628, iii. 432.—Ver. 22. *And Jokim, and the men of Cozeba,* etc. The strange rendering of these and the following words in the Vulg. (see Crit. Note) seems to have been occasioned by an old Rabbinical combination of the words אֲשֶׁר בָּעֲלוּ לְמוֹאָב with the narrative of the book of Ruth; the יוֹקִים = *qui stare fecit solem* are accordingly Elimelech, the *viri mendacii* his sons Mahlon and Chilion, who removed with him to Moab, and married daughters of this land; and in יֹשְׁבֵי לֶחֶם is indicated their return to Bethlehem, etc. Our passage in reality states a total or partial conquest of Moab, effected in ancient times by several descendants of Shelah, whose names are not otherwise known to us. יוֹקִים appears contracted from יוֹיָקִים. The men of כֹּזֵבָא might be the inhabitants of כְּזִיב, Gen. xxxviii. 5 (=אַכְזִיב, Josh. xv. 44), the birthplace of Shelah, in the lowland of Judah. An altogether strange and now inexplicable name occurs at the end, יָשֻׁבִי לֶחֶם, "which the punctuators would scarcely have so pronounced, if the pronunciation had not been so handed down to them" (Berth.).—*And these are ancient things,* that is, not merely "before the exile, in the period of the kings," as Bertheau thinks (p. 46), who endeavours to convert this notice into an indirect support of his hypothesis, that in vers. 7-20 the generations and families of Judah after the exile are reported, while vers. 21-23 form an appendix referring to the period of kings, but certainly without warrant; the words merely bespeak a high age, belonging to the grey foretime, for the traditions concerning Jokim, the men of Cozeba, etc. (comp. Wellhausen, p. 23, n. 1).—Ver. 23. *These are the potters and the dwellers in Netaim and Gederah.* הֵמָּה, "these," appear to refer to the whole descendants of Shelah (with the natural exception of those "byssus workers," ver. 21, that could not well be at the same time potters), and not merely those named in ver. 22 (as Berth.); for this verse has its closing notice in וְהַדְּבָרִים עַתִּיקִים. It is not known where Netaim (נְטָעִים, "plantings") was; perhaps it means royal gardens near Jerusalem, or near those pleasure gardens of Solomon in the Wady Urtus at Bethlehem (see on Song i. 1, vol. xiii. p. 29 of *Bibelw.*); comp. also Uzziah's

gardens, 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. Gederah (גְּדֵרָה, "fence") is perhaps the town mentioned Josh. xv. 36 in the lowland of Judah (the present village Gedera, about an hour south-west of Jabneh; see Keil on 1 Chron. xii. 4).—*With the king, in his service, they dwelt there.* To what king this alludes is uncertain; probably no single king (as Uzziah, or David, or Solomon) is meant: but the phrase applies to the kings of the house of David in general, who, from the beginning, inherited extensive private domains, where not merely cattle-breeding, tillage, and gardening were pursued, but also handicrafts, as the pottery here mentioned, the cotton-weaving, ver. 21, and perhaps carpentry, ver. 14.[1]

It has been already remarked that Bertheau's assumption, that vers. 1–20 of our chapter "presented a description of the generations and families of the tribe of Judah which were living soon after the exile (the time of Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah)," but vers. 21-23 formed an appendix relating to earlier times, was not well founded, and finds no sufficient support in the assertion, "and these are ancient things." Comp. the full refutation which Keil (p. 66 ff., note 2) has given to this hypothesis. Neither is the concomitant assumption tenable, that there are exactly twelve families of the house of Judah in vers. 1-29, and of Judah, too, after the exile, in the days of Zerubbabel; for the families mentioned are not arranged according to the sons and grandsons of Judah in ver. 1, but are strung together loosely, and without any mark of connection. Instead of twelve, also, a smaller number of families may be brought out by another mode of reckoning; as, for example, Ewald, in a far more arbitrary way indeed than Bertheau, has found twelve families in the whole of our section, including Shelah and his descendants in vers. 21–23 (*Gesch.* i. p. 471). Both appear to be merely accidental—the number twelve of the families named, according to Bertheau's reckoning, and the circumstance that many of the persons and places in our section recur in Ezra and Nehemiah. To the latter circumstance, strongly urged by Bertheau, Keil has justly opposed the no less undeniable fact, that most of the places already occur in Joshua, and very many of the persons in Samuel and Kings, and that, with respect to the geographical coincidences with Ezra and Nehemiah, the historical contents of these books, that were almost exclusively enacted on the soil of Judah, and among Israelites of Jewish extraction, should in great part be taken into account in explanation of this. Comp. also what has been urged above in the Preliminary Remark, p. 53.

[1] Moreover, the engineer of the "Palestine Exploration Fund," Captain Warren, has recently discovered remains of the pottery of these royal factories in Jerusalem. See *Our Work in Palestine*, London 1873, p. 149.

## *c.* The Families of Simeon, and the Transjordanic Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Half-Manasseh (till the Deportation of the latter by the Assyrians).—Ch. iv. 24–v. 26.

### 1. *The Families of Simeon:* ch. iv. 24–43.

Ch. iv. 24. The sons of Simeon were Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, Shaul.
25, 26 Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son. And the sons of Mishma:
27 Hamuel his son, Zaccur his son, Shimi his son. And Shimi had sixteen sons
and six daughters; but his brethren had not many sons: and all their family
did not multiply, like the sons of Judah.
28, 29 And they dwelt at Beer-sheba, and Moladah, and Hazar-shual. And at
30 Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at Tolad. And at Bethuel, and at Hormah, and at
31 Ziklag. And at Beth-marcaboth, and at Hazar-susim, and at Beth-biri, and
32 at Shaaraim: these were their towns until the reign of David. And their
33 villages, Etam, and Ain, Rimmon, and Tochen, and Ashan, five towns. And
all their villages that were round these towns unto Baal. This was their
habitation, and they had their own genealogy.
34, 35 And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and Joshah the son of Amaziah. And Joel,
36 and Jehu the son of Josibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel. And
Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and Asaiah, and Adiel, and Jesimiel,
37 and Benaiah. And Ziza the son of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah,
38 the son of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah. These are they that entered by name
39 princes in their families; and their father-houses spread greatly. And they
went to the entrance of Gedor,[1] to the east of the valley, to seek pasture
40 for their flocks. And they found fat and good pasture, and the land was
wide on all sides, and quiet, and peaceful; for they were of Ham who dwelt
41 there before. And these written by name came in the days of Hezekiah
king of Judah, and smote their tents, and the Meunites[2] that were found
there, and destroyed them unto this day, and dwelt in their stead; for there
42 was pasture there for their flocks. And of them, of the sons of Simeon, five
hundred men went to mount Seir; and Pelatiah, and Neariah, and Rephaiah,

43 and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi, were at their head. And they smote the remnant that had escaped of Amalek, and dwelt there unto this day.

[1] The Sept gives here Γηράρ, whence גְּדֹר might possibly be an error of transcription for גְּרָר.

[2] So (הַמְּעוּנִים) the *Keri*, whereas the *Kethib* gives הַמְּעִינִים, and the Sept. accordingly Μιναίους.

### EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—This account of the tribe of Simeon includes in it a genealogical, a geographical, and a historical section. The first (vers. 24-27) gives the five sons of Simeon, and traces the posterity of the last, Shaul, through a series of generations; the second (vers. 28-33) recounts their dwelling-places till the time of David; the third (vers. 34-43) contains two migrations or conquests of Simeonite families, one in the time of Hezekiah into a region previously inhabited by Hamites, another without a date to Mount Seir, into a district previously Amalekite. These accounts partake of the same fragmentary character as the sections referring to the following tribes. Comp. moreover, K. H. Graf, *Der Stamm Simeon, a contribution to the History of Israel*, Meissen 1866, and, with respect to the geography, the great work of the Englishmen E. H. Palmer and T. Drake, *The Desert of the Exodus*, etc., Cambridge 1871, one of the most valuable publications of the "Palestine Exploration Fund," with specially valuable contributions to the geography of the south of Palestine. With the conclusion of these inquirers, that the south border of Palestine, in particular of the tribe of Simeon, must be extended much farther than is usually supposed, agrees also Consul Wetzstein, *Ueber Kadesh und Palästina's Südgrenze* (Excursus III. in Delitzsch's *Comment on Gen.*, 4th edit.).

1. *The Five Sons of Simeon, and the Descendants of Shaul*: vers. 25-27.—*Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, Shaul.* The list in Num. xxvi. 12-14 also names five sons of Simeon, and quite the same as here, except Jarib, who is there Jakin (יָכִין), of which it appears to be a corruption. On the contrary, in the older parallels, Gen. xlvi. 10, Ex. vi. 15, six sons of Simeon are enumerated, among whom an Ohad stands in the third place, who is wanting here and in Numbers, perhaps because his posterity had died out so soon as to form no distinct family; and in the first place a Jemuel, who corresponds to the Nemuel of our passage, and in the last a Zohar, instead of the Zerah here before the last. It is plain that we have here equivalent names, as צֹחַר, *candor*, is not very remote from זֶרַח, *ortus solis* (comp. Mal. iii. 20; Luke i. 78), and also נְמוּאֵל (with whom Hitzig on Prov. xxx. 31, perhaps too boldly, identifies the conjectural king Lemuel of Massa) appears only a by-form of יְמוּאֵל, day of God. It is uncertain whether we are to regard the forms given in Genesis and Exodus at once as original. It is at least plain, from the agreement of Num. xxvi. 12-14 with our passage, that the Chronist has not adopted an arbitrary form of the names, as Gramberg assumes.—Ver. 25. *Shallum his son*, etc. Only of Shaul, the last (perhaps the youngest) of the sons of Simeon, whose mother is called a Canaanitess in the parallel accounts of Genesis and Exodus, are further descendants reported in six succeeding generations, Shallum, Mibsam, Mishma, Hamuel, Zaccur, and Shimi. By the words, "and the sons of Mishma," at the beginning of ver. 27, these six generations are divided into two groups, of which, however, the second, only lineal, without any collateral descendants; comp. the plur. וּבְנֵי in like cases, as i. 41, ii. 31, iii. 16, 22, etc.—Ver. 27. *And Shimi had sixteen sons and six daughters.* This father of a very large and flourishing family is brought into prominence, like Elioenai, iii. 24; comp. the descendants of Jacob, Jesse, David, Job, and Ps. cxxvii. 3, cxxviii. 3.—*But his brethren* (the remaining Simeonites, not merely Shimi's immediate brothers) *had not many sons.* This is the reason that their whole "family did not multiply like that of Judah." With this agrees the comparatively small number of the Simeonites in the census under Moses (Num. i.-iv.), and the way in which this smaller tribe was included in the stronger tribe of Judah in the division of the land, Josh. xix. 1.

2. *The original Dwelling-Places of the Simeonites in the Southern Part of the Land of Judah*: vers. 28-33; comp. Josh. xix. 2-8.—With the names of the Simeonite dwelling-places reported in this old parallel, those here named agree in the main, and in particular with respect to the separation into two groups, one of thirteen, the other of five towns. Only the second group consists there of only four towns (see on ver. 32), and in the first group, notwithstanding the statement that thirteen towns are reported, ver. 6, fourteen are actually named; between Beer-sheba and Moladah a Sheba is inserted, a name (שֶׁבַע) which appears to be a repetition of the second component of בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, occasioned by negligence in copying, but possibly also = שְׁמַע, a town named, Josh. xv. 26, before Moladah (of the latter opinion is, for example, Keil, on Josh. xix. 2 and our passage). There are several unessential differences of form or orthography between our passage and Josh. xix., as in the latter בָּלָה for בִּלְהָה, ver. 29, אֶלְתּוֹלַד for תּוֹלָד, בְּתוּל for בְּתוּאֵל, חֲצַר סוּסָה for חֲצַר סוּסִים, בֵּית לְבָאוֹת (house of lions) for בֵּית בִּרְאִי, and שָׁרוּחֶן (pleasant harbour) for שַׁעֲרַיִם (two gates). It cannot be shown which of these forms is the more original: some of the deviations may rest on mere errors of transcription, as might so easily happen in places that scarcely ever occur again. Moreover, the book of Joshua (xv. 26-32) repeats the most of them as belonging to the towns of the south of Judah, and certainly with some variations of form (for example, בַּעֲלָה for Bilhah, כְּסִיל for Bethul, שִׁלְחִים for Shaaraim, Madmannah for Beth-marcaboth, Sansannah for Hazar-susim). Most of these places are still undiscovered; Beer-sheba survives

in Bir-es-Seba; Moladah probably in the ruins Tel Milh, south of Hebron, on the road to Aila;[1] Hormah, the older name of which was Shephath, in the ruin Sepata, two and a half hours south of Khalasa; Ziklag in Kasluj, east of this Sepata; and Shaaraim in Tell Sheriah, between Beer-sheba and Gaza.—*These were their towns until the reign of David, and their villages.* With almost all recent expositors, וְחַצְרֵיהֶם is certainly to be attached to ver. 31, for the parallel, Josh. xix. 6, speaks of "towns and their villages," and all that are named in ver. 32 are expressly named "towns." Moreover, the separation of וחצריהם from the foregoing, occasioned by the date "until the reign of David," is already very old; for the old translators agree with the Masoretic text in transferring the word to the following verse. The reason why the date "until the reign of David" was inserted here, and not in ver. 33 (where it would be less surprising), appears to be this, that the changes occurring from the time of David in the habitations of the Simeonites, consisting in their partial removal by the Jews (comp. ver. 34 ff.), applied only to the thirteen towns already named, whereas the five towns, with their villages to be named in the following verse, remained still an undiminished possession of the Simeonites. So, justly, Keil, following Rashi and Kimchi, and partly against Bertheau, who assumes as the object of the subscription merely an allusion to Ziklag (comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 6), or perhaps to others of the forementioned towns, as belonging from the time of David no longer to the tribe of Simeon, whereas such a limitation of the sense is foreign to the words; and, moreover, Ziklag was severed from Simeon by the Philistines before the reign of David (1 Sam. xxvii. 6).—Ver. 32. *Etam, and Ain, Rimmon, and Tochen, and Ashen, five towns.* After the thirteen towns, the parallel, Josh. xix. 7, gives a second group, not a pentapolis, but only a tetrapolis, with the omission of Tochen, and the change of Etam (עֵיטָם) into Ether (עֶתֶר). It is hard to say where the original is to be sought. We are scarcely entitled, with Movers (p. 73) and Bertheau, to charge both texts with inaccuracy, and to affirm that the series of these towns originally ran thus: תֹּכֶן, עֶתֶר, עֵין רִמּוֹן, עָשָׁן, so that by an oversight two cities were made out of one En-rimmon (which occurs in Neh. xi. 29), and by another oversight Tochen fell out of the text of Joshua, and by a third the name עֶתֶר, which is proved to be original by the subsequent mention of such a town in Josh. xv. 43, has in Chronicles been supplanted by the better known עֵיטָם. Against this conjecture Keil has justly urged: 1. The רִמּוֹן and עַיִן are counted as separate cities not merely in Josh. xix. 7, but also in Josh. xv. 32, and the union of the two names into an En-rimmon in Nehemiah may be explained simply from the contiguity of the two places (of which Rimmon is discovered in "Rum er Rummanin," four hours north of Beer-sheba, and Ain appears to have been the name of an old well lying near it), or possibly by a coalescence of the two at a later period; 2. Etam, if it actually came into the text by exchange with the original Ether, should have been, not at the head of the list, but the last but one (where עֶתֶר stands in Josh. xix. 7); and 3. There were notoriously two Etams, one in the mountains of Judah south of Bethlehem, 2 Chron. xi. 6, and one in the Negeb of Judah on the border of Simeon, which occurs in the history of Samson, Judg. xv. 8, 11, and must be the place here meant, where a locality near Ain and Rimmon is intended. This leaves nothing unsolved but the difference of the number, being only four in Joshua, and five here. The hypothesis of Keil, that תֹּכֶן is only another name for עֶתֶר, is not well grounded.—Ver. 33. *And all their villages that were round these towns unto Baal.* The parallel, Josh. xix. 8, is more full: "and all the villages that were round these towns, unto Baalath-beer, Ramath-negeb." Hence בַּעַל appears to be an abbreviation of the fuller name בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, and the group of villages extending to this Baalath-beer (or Bealoth, as it is called Josh. xv. 24) bore the name Ramath-negeb or Ramah of the south, with which Ramoth-negeb, 1 Sam. xxx. 27, is manifestly identical. "An attempt has been recently made to determine the situation of this place, in doing which it is to be observed that Baal or Baalath-beer is not to be counted among the towns of Simeon; for it is only said that the villages of the last-named towns extend to Baal, that is, in the direction and perhaps very near to Baal, so that we are warranted in seeking our Baal in a region somewhat more remote from the towns, if it had otherwise a peculiar character and adaptation to denote the direction in which the territory of Simeon extended. Now Walkott found near Ramet el Khulil, about an hour north of Hebron, a second Ramah, called Ramet el Amleh, and also two heights with old sites. A whole group of places on hills, which can be observed at one glance, and present a grand and peculiar aspect, is here found: there is no doubt that the Ramoth-negeb, 1 Sam. xxx. 27, is to be sought here. As there is a remarkable well in Ramet el Khulil, the conjecture arises that here is a Baalath-beer, a well-town; and a confirmation of this conjecture presents itself in the designation of this place by the addition Ramoth-negeb." So Bertheau, after Roediger (review of Robinson's *Bibl. Sacra*, Halle'sche Literaturztg. 1843, No. 111); whereas Keil on Josh. xix. 8 is inclined to seek Baalath-beer and Ramoth-negeb in a more southerly situation than Ramet el Khulil, which is not far from Hebron; and the best chartographers of the day (Menke in ch. iii. of his *Bible Atlas*, Gotha 1868) place the localities in question south-west of the Dead Sea, on the caravan road leading to Hebron.—*This was their habitation, and they had their own genealogy,* that is, their own register of families as a separate independent tribe, though they dwelt in the territory of Judah, and were much less in number and extent than this contiguous tribe. On the substantively used infin. הִתְיַחֵשׂ, genealogy (properly, entrance in the register), comp. Introd. § 5.

3. *History of the Two Migrations or Conquests of the Simeonites:* vers. 34–43.—*a.* First expedition, in the time of Hezekiah: vers. 34–41.—*And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and Joshah,* etc. These thirteen princes of the tribe of Simeon are

[1] So also Palmer and Drake, p. 303.

only made prominent because they were the leaders of the present expedition, not because the former genealogical series (vers. 24-26) was continued by them. For although of some of them (Joshah, Jehu, and Ziza) the descent for several generations is given, yet the connection of these small genealogical lines with that earlier series is wanting. With the remarkable form יַעֲקֹבָה, "to Jacob" (reckoned to him), comp. the analogous form יְשַׂרְאֵלָה, 1 Chron. xxv. 14, and other examples in Ewald, *Lehrb.* p. 670, n. 1, 7th edit. -Ver. 38. *These are they that entered by name princes in their families* (not: "these were famous, celebrated princes," as Luther). A phrase essentially the same occurs in ver. 41; comp. also xii. 31; Num. i. 17; Ezra viii. 25. "Princes of families" are, moreover, not heads of families, but "heads of the houses into which the families were divided" (Keil).—*And their father-houses spread greatly,* unfolded and branched out into a great multitude. On בֵּית־אָבוֹת, plural of the compound בֵּית־אָב, comp. Ewald, § 270, p. 657, where the same plural is cited from 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, Num. i. 2, 18, 20, vii. 2, etc., and the similar בֵּית בָּמוֹת, high houses, from 1 Kings xii. 31, 2 Kings xvii. 29, 32.—*And they went to the entrance of Gedor* (scarcely "to the west of Gedor," as Keil, for this would have required the addition of הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ to לִמְבוֹא), *to the east of the valley.* What valley is uncertain, as the definite article only points to some known valley near Gedor, a place that cannot itself be determined; but the identification of this הַגַּיְא with the valley of the Dead Sea is a very precarious conjecture of Ewald and Bertheau, for the valley of the Dead Sea with its southern continuation bears in the O. T. the standing name of הָעֲרָבָה. Equally uncertain is the conjecture of the same inquirers, and of Kamph., Graf, Mühlau (also of Menke in ch. iii. of his *Bible Atlas*), that גְּדֹר is an error of transcription for גְּרָר (Γεράρ in Sept.; see Crit. Note). A place so far west as Gerar (now Kirbet el Gerar) on the river Gerar can scarcely have been used to mark the border of the Simeonite pasture lands; and the mode of expression is not fitted to indicate the west and east bounding points of the region occupied by the Simeonites (comp. also on ver. 41). On the other hand, to identify Gedor with the town גְּדוֹר named in Josh. xv. 58, situated on the mountains of Judah, has its difficulties. For it must also be presumed that the Meunim named in ver. 41 were the inhabitants of the adjacent hill-town Maon, Josh. xv. 55; and the region of this hill-town of Judah cannot be that intended here, as the latter is described, ver. 40, as on all sides (literally "on both sides;" יָדַיִם, as in Gen. xxxiv. 21) open, and therefore clearly as a plain.—Ver. 40. *For they were of Ham who dwelt there before.* For the phrase, comp. Judg. xviii. 7, 28. These men of Ham, whom the Simeonites found as inhabitants, peaceable and harmless inhabitants of the country in question, and subdued, may have been Egyptians, Cushites, or Canaanites; most probably they belonged to the last branch of the Hamites, as the region in question is contiguous to Palestine. Hitzig ("The Kingdom of Massa" in Zeller's *Theolog. Jahrbüchern*, 1844, p. 269 ff., and on *Prov.* p. 312) gratuitously supposes the Amalekites to be designated by "the men of Ham" (likewise Hoffmann, *Blicke in die früheste Geschichte des heiligen Landes*, p. 73): for the history of the second expedition of the Simeonites refers to the Amalekites, vers. 42, 43, and it is a question whether the Amalekites were Hamites (Knobel on Gen. x. 13, 23, and comp. above on i. 36 f.); and the circumstance that these Hamites were nomades does not compel us to think of Amalekites (Ludim, Hyksos?), since many Canaanitish tribes lived as nomades; for example, those of Laish, Judg. xviii.—Ver. 41. *Came in the days of Hezekiah.* Here is a quite definite chronological date, that shows still more positively than the reference to the reign of David in ver. 31, the high age and the certainty of these notices.—*And smote their* (the Hamites') *tents, and the Meunites that were found there.* The smiting refers first to the tents or dwellings of the Hamites, and then to the Meunites found there, who are therefore foreigners who had come to dwell among the Hamites. מְעוּנִים (for which the *Kethib* has מְעִינִים and the Sept. Μιναῖοι) are here, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7 (comp. xx. 1), probably inhabitants of the town Maon near Petra, east of the Wady Musa (Robinson, iii. 127). Their being involved in the fate of the Hamites implies that the scene of the present event lay to the east, though it cannot be further defined. Against the reading proposed by some old expositors (Luther, Starke), וְאֶת־הַמְּעֹנִים, "and the fixed habitations," in contrast with the forementioned tents, see Bochart, *Geogr. Sacra*, p. 138.—*And destroyed them unto this day, and dwelt in their stead.* וַיַּחֲרִימֻם, *ad internecionem usque eos exciderunt* (J. H. Mich.), *deleverunt* (Vulg.). Comp. הֶחֱרִים, ban, extirpate, in 2 Chron. xx. 23, xxxii. 14, 2 Kings xix. 11, Isa. xxxvii. 11. The term "unto this day" points to the time of composition, not by the Chronist, but by the old historical sources at least before the exile employed by him.

*b.* Second expedition of the Simeonites against Mount Seir: vers. 42, 43.—*And of them, of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men went to Mount Seir.* Nothing more precise is stated regarding the time of this expedition; it may have been before or after that in the time of Hezekiah. And the statement, "of them, of the sons of Simeon," is quite general, and sets no limit either to the Simeonites named vers. 34-37 or to those before enumerated, vers. 24-27. Keil, who exchanges the Ishi of our verse with Shimi, ver. 27, is arbitrary in thinking only of the latter; and no less so is Bertheau, who refers the words to the part of the Simeonites described ver. 34 ff. Of the surmise, that the event of our verse is somehow connected with that referred, vers. 34-41, to the time of Hezekiah, and is to be regarded as in some measure a continuation of it (Ew., Berth., Kamph.), there is not the slightest hint in the text, even if the valley of the present expedition to Mount Seir could be situated in the same direction from the tribe of Simeon as that of the former; see on vers. 39, 40.—Ver. 43. *And they smote the remnant that had escaped of*

*Amalek*, that is, those Amalekites who escaped annihilation in the victories of Saul and David over this hereditary foe of the Israelites (who were formerly settled, Judg. v. 14, xii. 15, comp. Num. xiii. 29, chiefly in Paran or half-Manasseh east of Jordan; comp. Hitzig, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* pp. 26, 104); comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 7; 2 Sam. viii. 12. These who thus escaped had retired into the Idumean mountains, and there intermingled partly with the Edomites (comp. i. 36 f.). Here they were now sought out and extirpated by the Simeonites under the sons of Ishi, while the conquerors occupied their seats. From a comparison of the present passage with Mic. i. 15, ii. 8–10, Isa. xxi. 11, xxviii. 12, etc., which appear to indicate an advance of the Israelites who believed in Jehovah far into the south and south-east in the times of Hezekiah and Isaiah, Hitzig (*Das Königreich Massa*) has, with the concurrence of Bunsen, Bertheau, etc., developed his hypothesis of the founding of an Israelitish kingdom of Massa east or south-east of Seir (not far from Dumah; comp. Gen. xxv. 44; 1 Chron. i. 30) by the colony of Simeonites here mentioned, and has assigned to it as kings, Agur and Lemuel, the authors of the two appendices to the book of Proverbs. Comp. our substantially concurring judgment concerning this hypothesis on Prov. xxx. 1 ff., vol. xii. p. 208 of the *Bibelw.* The objections urged against this hypothesis by Graf (*Der Stamm Simeon*, p. 12 ff.) and Mühlau (*De prov. Aguri*, etc., *orig.* p. 24 f.) certainly point out much that is not and cannot be proved in it, but are not sufficient to show that it is a mere fancy picture. At all events, the traditions, that in accordance with our passage part of the tribe of Simeon penetrated far into Arabia and founded there an Israelitish colony, are as widespread as they are ancient. Arabian legends even make the tribe of Simeon found the city and the temple of Mecca. See Hoffmann, *Blicke*, etc., p. 124.

### 2. *The Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh:* ch. v.

#### α. *The Tribe of Reuben:* vers. 1–10.

CH. V. 1. And the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel,—for he was the first-born;
but, because he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of
2 Joseph the son of Israel, though he was not to be registered as first-born. For
Judah was mighty among his brethren, and of him was the prince; and Joseph
3 had the birthright.—The sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel: Hanoch and
4 Pallu, Hezron and Carmi. The sons of Joel: Shemaiah his son, Gog his son,
5, 6 Shimi his son. Micah his son, Reaiah his son, Baal his son. Beerah his son,
whom Tilgath-pilneser king of Asshur carried away; he was prince among the
Reubenites.
7 And his brethren by their families, in the register after their generations:
8 the chief Jeiel, and Zechariah. And Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema,
9 the son of Joel; he dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon. And eastward
he dwelt unto the entrance into the wilderness from the river Euphrates;
10 for their cattle multiplied in the land of Gilead. And in the days of Saul they
made war with the Hagarites, and they fell by their hand; and they dwelt in
their tents on all the east side of Gilead.

#### β. *The Tribe of Gad:* vers. 11–17.

11 And the sons of Gad dwelt over against them, in the land of Bashan, unto
12 Salcah. Joel the chief, and Shapham the second, and Janai and Shaphat[1] in
13 Bashan. And their brethren by their father-houses: Michael, and Meshullam,
14 and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jachan, and Zia, and Eber, seven. These are the
sons of Abihail the son of Huri, the son of Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son
15 of Michael, the son of Jeshishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz. Ahi the
16 son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief of their father-houses. And they dwelt in
Gilead in Bashan, and in her daughters, and in all the suburbs of Sharon[2] unto
17 their outgoings. All of them were registered in the days of Jotham king of
Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.

#### γ. *War of the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh with Arab Nations:* vers. 18–22.

18 And the sons of Reuben, and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, of valiant
men bearing shield and sword, and drawing the bow, and skilful in war, were
19 forty and four thousand and seven hundred and sixty going forth to war. And
20 they made war with the Hagarites, and Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab. And
they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their
hand, and all that were with them; for they cried to God in the battle, and He

21 was entreated of them, because they trusted in Him. And they took their
cattle; their camels fifty thousand, and sheep two hundred and fifty thousand,
22 and asses two thousand, and souls of men a hundred thousand. For many fell
slain, because the war was of God; and they dwelt in their stead until the
captivity.

δ. *The half-Tribe of Manasseh:* vers. 23, 24.

23 And the sons of the half-tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land, from Bashan
24 unto Baal-hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon; these were many. And
these were the heads of their father-houses, even Epher, and Ishi, and Eliel,
and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and Jahdiel, valiant heroes, famous
men, heads of father-houses.

ε. *Carrying of the Three East-Jordanic Tribes into Exile:* vers. 25, 26.

25 And they were untrue to the God of their fathers, and lusted after the gods
26 of the people of the land, whom the Lord destroyed before them. And the God
of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Asshur, and the spirit of Tilgath-
pilneser king of Asshur, and he carried them away, the Reubenites, and the
Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them to Halah and Habor,
and the mountain and the river Gozan, unto this day.

[1] For וְשָׁפָט the Sept. read שֹׁפֵט or כֹּפֵר; for it gives the words וְיַעְנַי וְשָׁפָט בַּבָּשָׁן by: *καὶ Γαὶν ὁ γραμματεὺς ἐν Βασάν.*

[2] For שְׂרוֹן the *cod. Vat.* of the Sept. has *Γιρμάμ* (possibly from an original שְׂרִיוֹן; comp. Exeg. Note).

EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—The three east-jordanic tribes are closely connected by our genealogist on account of their common fate, not only by being here placed together, although by this arrangement the eastern half of Manasseh are severed from their western kindred, but also by the insertion of two historic episodes referring to the common doings and fortunes of the three. The first of these pieces is inserted between Gad and half-Manasseh; the second is transferred to the end, because it describes the catastrophe by which the three tribes lost their independence. "An endeavour after an equable distribution of the historical matter" (Berth.) may lie at the ground of this; for even to the genealogical account of the Reubenites a short war notice, ver. 10, is appended. But the notable thing is, that the more copious and important of these historical notices refer to the common acts and the common fall of the three (it is not observed that the tribe of Gad, in connection with whose generations the war report, vers. 18–22, is given, played a specially prominent part in it), by which our section is distinguished as one compact group from the genealogical series of our chapter.

1. *The Tribe of Reuben:* vers. 1–10.—The introductory vers. 1, 2 treat of the birthright of Reuben in its relation to that of Joseph.—*For he was the first-born; but because,* etc. These words to the close of ver. 2 form a parenthesis, which, reminding us in its opening words of Gen. xlix. 4, set forth the ground on which the birthright of Joseph is mentioned along with that of Reuben.—*Though he was not to be registered as first-born,* literally, "though not to register (לְ before הִתְיַחֵשׂ, to denote that which *should* take place; see Ew. § 237, c) for the first birth," that is, in the rank of the first-born. The subject here is perhaps not Reuben (Sept., Vulg.), but Joseph, as Kimchi and other Rabbinical expositors justly observe; for the statement of the following verse refers to Joseph as the chief person spoken of here.—Ver. 2. *For Judah was mighty among his brethren.* גָּבַר, was strong, mighty, in numbers and influence; comp. Gen. xlix. 8 ff.; Judg. i. 1, and ch. ii.–iv.—*And of him was the prince* (namely, David, xxviii. 4; 1 Sam. xiii. 14, xxv. 30), or, "and of him should be one of the princes" (Kamph.). This concealed reference to the Davidic kingdom that sprang from Judah reminds us in its form of Mic. v. 1 (comp. מִמֶּנּוּ here with מִמְּךָ there, and לְנָגִיד with לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל there).—*And Joseph had the birthright.* To him were allowed two territories (according to the right of first birth, Deut. xxi. 15–17), one for Ephraim and one for Manasseh.—Ver. 3. *Hanoch and Pallu, Hezron and Carmi.* So are the four sons of Reuben named Gen. xlvi. 9, Ex. vi. 14; comp. Num. xxvi. 5–7.—Vers. 4–6. The descendants of Joel, as a single line of Reubenites, which is carried through several generations. From which of the four sons this line descended, the author of the present list knew, and perhaps even the Chronist, who incorporated it into his work; but the knowledge is lost to after times.—*Shemaiah his son, Gog his son,* etc. The first בְּנוֹ after שְׁמַעְיָה the Sept. has read as a *nom. propr.*, and therefore inserted between Shemaiah and Gog another descendant of Joel, *Βαναιά,* whereby his whole descendants are increased from seven to eight, though scarcely in accordance with the original text. The seven names occur also elsewhere, but only here in reference to the descendants of Reuben.—Ver. 6. *Beerah his son, whom Tilgath-pilneser carried away.* The Chronist always writes תִּלְּגַת פִּלְנְאֶסֶר, whereas in 2 Kings the

only form of writing is תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר (comp. the similar difference between "Nebuchadrezzar" of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and "Nebuchadnezzar" of the other books; see on Dan. i. 1). Whether G. Oppert's interpretation of the name = תִּגְלַת־פִּלְא־כחר, "prayer to the son of the Zodiac," the Assyrian Hercules, be correct, or the certainly preferable one of Schrader (*Tuklat-habal-asar*, "trust in the son of the house of grace," or, "he who trusts in the house of grace," that is, in the god Adar; comp. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte T.*, 1872, pp. 134 f., 237), the form used in the books of Kings appears the more original.—*He was a prince among the Reubenites*, that is, Beerah. He was prince of a family of Reubenites, not of the whole tribe; for the ל (לָרְאוּבֵנִי) indicates a looser sort of connection than the relation of prince to the whole tribe, to be expressed by the *stat. constr.* The adjective form, "the Reubenite," denotes here, as in ver. 26 and xxvi. 32, generally those belonging to the tribe of Reuben; comp. ver. 18, גָּדִי, and iv. 2, הַצָּרְעָתִי, and similar forms in Chronicles.—Vers. 7–9. *The brothers of Beerah*, that is, the families among the descendants of Joel most nearly related to his family.—*And his brethren by their families* (before לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָיו supply אִישׁ, every one by his family; comp. Num. ii. 34, xi. 10), *in the register after their generations* (or order of birth): *the chief Jeiel*, etc. הָרֹאשׁ, the head, the first, the chief of the family. Comp. ver. 12 and ix. 17, where, however, this epithet stands after the name of the person in question, while in xii. 3, xxiii. 8, as here, it stands before.—Ver. 8. *And Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema, the son of Joel;* scarcely any other than the Joel of ver. 4. From him sprang Bela in the third generation, a clear proof that he belonged only in the wider sense to the brethren of Beerah, who descended from him in the seventh generation, and that he was at all events considerably older than the latter; see on ver. 10.—*He dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon.* Aroer, now a ruin, Arrayr on the river Arnon (comp. Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 9, 16); Nebo, a place on Mount Nebo, in the range of Abarim, over against Jericho (Num. xxxii. 38, xxxiii. 47); Baal-meon, perhaps the ruins Myun, two miles south of Heshbon (comp. Num. xxxii. 38, where it is also found along with Nebo).—Ver. 9. *And eastward he dwelt, unto the entrance into the wilderness from the river Euphrates*, that is, to the line where the great wilderness begins, that extends from the Euphrates to the east border of Peræa, or Gilead as it is called in this verse; for Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 21, xxxvii. 25; Josh. xiii. 11, xvii. 1; Judg. v. 17, etc.) is the general term usual in the Old Testament for the territory of Israel east of the Jordan; comp. on ver. 16.—Ver. 10. *And in the days of Saul* (the first king of Israel) *they made war with the Hagarites* (or Hagarenes; comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7), the same North Arabian tribe that appears, vers. 19, 20, as the adversary of the east-jordanic Israelites, perhaps the 'Αγραῖοι of Strabo, xiii. p. 767, occurring, according to Schrader, in the form *Hagaranu* (or Ha-ar-gi-'i) several times in the Assyro-Babylonian cuneate inscriptions.—*And they fell by their hand*, or, even into their hands, of which the consequence was, that the victors dwelt in the tents of the vanquished (that is, occupied their country, Gen. ix. 27), "on all the east side of Gilead," that is, on the whole east border of the land of Gilead and beyond it (with עַל־כָּל־פְּנֵי comp. עַל פְּנֵי, "close before," Gen. xvi. 12). Who are these conquerors? Are they the Reubenites in general, or only those of the family of Bela? Against the latter alternative, which is defended by Keil, appears to be the circumstance that in vers. 8, 9 Bela is spoken of in the singular. But this singular begins even in ver. 9*b* to pass into the plural (מִקְנֵיהֶם), and the mighty outspreading of the Belaites mentioned there seems intended to prepare for the notice of their war with their Hagarene neighbours. Moreover, the statement in ver. 8, that Bela was great-grandson of Joel, while Beerah was his descendant in the seventh generation, corresponds with the fact that this conquest of the Hagarites preceded the deportation of the Reubenites under Beerah by Tilgath-pilneser, ver. 6, some centuries. After the removal of a considerable portion of the Reubenites, so wide an outspreading of another Reubenite family as is here related would scarcely have taken place. We must therefore refer what is recorded from ver. 7 of the family of the brothers of Beerah, and especially of that of Bela, to a much earlier time than that which is related in ver. 6, because the narrative issues in the present notice of a war in the time of Saul; and there is no good ground why we should isolate this war notice, and regard it as an unconnected appendix to the genealogy of Reuben (against Berth. and others, and also against Hoffmann, *Das gelobte Land in den Zeiten des getheilten Reichs*, etc. 1871, p. 27).

2. *The Tribe of Gad:* vers. 11–17.—*And the sons of Gad dwelt over against them in the land of Bashan*, that is, over against the Reubenites dwelling beside the Dead Sea in the mountain range of Abarim or Moab, and also beyond the Jordan in middle Gilead, which formed the southern part of the former kingdom of Og king of Bashan (Num. xxi. 33; Deut. iii. 11). The extension of this tract inhabited by the Gadites to the east is shown to be considerable by the addition "unto Salchah" (as in Josh. xiii. 11). For Salchah, now Sulkhad, lies on the southern slope of Jebel Hauran, six or seven hours east of Bozra, and therefore about thirty hours in a direct line east from Jordan.—Ver. 12. *Joel the chief, and Shapham the second, and Janai and Shaphat in Bashan*, that is, dwelling, the יָשְׁבוּ of the previous verse completing the sense here. It is uncertain how these four Gadite heads of families are genealogically connected with the immediate descendants of Gad named in Gen. xlvi. 16. The omission of those seven sons of Gad enumerated in Genesis (Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli) is surprising, and raises the suspicion of a gap in the text. On the variant reading of the Sept. for וְשָׁפָט, see Crit. Note. As שָׁפָט occurs elsewhere as a proper name, for example, iii. 22, its retention here is the less doubtful.—Ver. 13. *And their brethren by their father-houses*, that is, by the families at whose head they stood, and which were named after them.

For the plur. בֵּית אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, comp. on iv. 38. Luther has erroneously taken the phrase for a singular, and therefore translated, "and their brethren of the house of their fathers," etc. The term "brethren" stands naturally in as wide a sense as in ver. 7. A statement of the country where they dwelt does not follow the names of these seven brothers of the four Gadite heads of families already named. But their pedigree is first given, vers. 14, 15, through eight generations, terminating in a not otherwise known Buz, who has perhaps as little to do with his namesake the son of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 21, as with the progenitor of Elihu, Job xxxii. 2.—Ver. 15. *Ahi, the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief of their father-houses.* This Ahi we may suppose to have lived at the beginning of the eighth century B.C., under Jeroboam II. of Israel, or half a century later, under Jotham of Judah, as ver. 17 shows.—Ver. 16. *And they dwelt in Gilead, in Bashan, and in her daughters, and in all the suburbs of Sharon unto their outgoings.* The first of these designations of place is the widest and most general: it embraces both "Bashan and her daughters" and "the suburbs of Sharon;" see on ver. 9. The suffix in בְּבְנוֹתֶיהָ refers to both countries, the more extensive Gilead and the narrower Bashan forming merely the northern part of Gilead; and the "suburbs" or pastures (מִגְרָשִׁים, as in Num. xxxv. 2 ff.; Josh. xxi. 11 ff.; Ezek. xlviii. 15) of Sharon are no doubt to be sought in Gilead, as nothing is known of a dwelling or a grazing of any Gadites on the well-known plain of Sharon, west of Jordan, between Cæsarea and Joppa (Song ii. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, lxv. 10); and the "outgoings" of the suburbs of Sharon are not necessarily outgoings or boundaries on the sea, as Keil, referring to Josh. xvii. 9, will have it; comp. on the contrary, Num. xxxiv. 4, 5. Kamph. is right, who at the same time mentions a plausible conjecture of the early expositors, that Shirion should be read for Sharon. But we see no reason why there should not be a Sharon east of the Jordan. Comp. Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*, Art. "Sharon." —Ver. 17. *All of them were registered in the days of Jotham*, etc. "All of them" refers to the collective families of the Gadites from ver. 11, not merely to those mentioned ver. 13 ff. Of the two kings of the eighth century under whose reign the registration took place, that of the rightful kingdom of Judah is, contrary to the order of time, named first. We meet with no other notices of these two registrations of the tribe of Gad, of which that undertaken by Jeroboam II. of Israel (825–784), at all events, coincides with the restoration of the old boundaries of the northern kingdom mentioned 2 Kings xiv. 25 ff. A temporary subjection of the tribe of Gad by Jotham of Judah (759–743), or perhaps by his predecessor, the powerful Uzziah (811–759), as a prelude to the second registration here mentioned, is easily conceivable, because after Jeroboam's death a long weakening of the northern kingdom by internal strife and anarchy ensued, from which it recovered under Pekah's reign of twenty years (759–739). Comp. Keil, p. 77, where, however, Pekah's reign, probably by an error of the press, is stated to be of only ten years' duration.

3. *War of the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh with Arab Tribes:* vers. 18–22.—On the reason why this account is inserted here after the families of Gad, see Preliminary Remark.—*Of valiant men*, literally, of sons of valour (מִן בְּנֵי חַיִל; comp. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, ver. 24). These and the following descriptions of the military prowess of these tribes are confirmed by 1 Chron. xii. 8, 21, at least with regard to Gad and half-Manasseh. With לְמוּדֵי מִלְחָמָה, comp. the partic. *Pual* מְלֻמְּדֵי, Song iii. 8 and ch. xxv. 7. The number 44,760, which certainly rests on an exact numeration, nearly agrees with that given in Josh. iv. 13, but not with the added numbers yielding a far greater sum in Num. i. 21, 25, xxvi. 7, 18. The difference is explained by this, that the statements in Numbers refer to the time when the whole tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh were armed for war under Moses, and in a wandering state, and each of these tribes, at least of the first two, numbered more than 40,000 men fit for war, whereas the present statement, like that in Josh. iv. 13, refers to the time after they were settled beyond the Jordan, when the number of troops available for external service was naturally much smaller; comp. on xxi. 5.—Ver. 19. *And they made war with the Hagarites.* The same tribe of northern Arabs with which Reuben alone, ver. 10, had been at war. The present common fight of all the tribes beyond the Jordan with this tribe is perhaps to be dated later than that of Reuben; comp. ver. 22.—*And Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab.* The first two tribes (of which יְטוּר has given name to the district of Ituræa) occurred in i. 31 and in Gen. xxv. 15 as descendants of Ishmael. Nodab, also a Beduin tribe, occurs nowhere else. The name appears to signify "noble, princely," and might possibly be the source of the Nabatæans (Arab. *nabt*); for to identify this at once with נְבָיוֹת, Gen. xxv. 13, Isa. lx. 7, as is usually done, has its difficulties; comp. Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier*, i. 698; Quatremère, *Les Nabatéens*, Par. 1835; Muhlau, *De prov. Aguri et Lemuelis orig. et indole*, p. 28 f.—Ver. 20. *And they were helped against them.* וַיֵּעָזְרוּ, namely, of God; comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15; Ps. xxviii. 7.—*And all that were with them*, namely, the Ituræans, etc., the confederates of the Hagarites.—*And he was entreated of them.* וְנַעְתּוֹר is not an unusual form of the *perf. Niphal* (for וְנֶעְתַּר, Isa. xix. 22), but, what alone suits for continued narrative, as here, *infin. abs. Niph.*, with a perfect meaning; comp. נִחְתּוֹם, Esth. viii. 8; נַהֲפוֹךְ, Esth. ix. 1.—Ver. 21. *Camels, fifty thousand.* Luther, Starke, and even Kamph., in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, incorrectly (not observing the plur. חֲמִשִּׁים), "five thousand." The enormous numbers, that are explained by the great riches in herds of the north Arabians, remind us of the like statements regarding the rich booty in the war with Midian, Num. xxxi. 11, 32 ff.—Ver. 22. *For many fell slain.* The greatness of the defeat which the foe sustained accounts for the extremely great value of the booty taken from them. On the further explanatory sentence, "for the war was of God," comp.

2 Chron. xxv. 20; 1 Sam. xvii. 47.—*And they dwelt in their stead*, in the seats of the conquered tribes; unhindered, they made use of their abodes and pastures, "until the captivity," until the deportation decreed by Tilgath-pilneser, ver. 6.

4. *The half-Tribe of Manasseh:* vers. 23, 24.—*From Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon.* As Bashan is the district inhabited by Gad bordering on the south, ver. 12, it denotes here the south border, while Baal-hermon (Judg. iii. 3, or "Baal-Gad under Hermon," Josh. xii. 7, xiii. 5), Senir (later, by the Arabs, Sunir; according to Ezek. xxvii. 8, the name of a part of the Hermon range; according to Deut. iii. 9, an Amorite name for the whole of Hermon), and Mount Hermon (or Antilibanus, now Jebel esh Sheik) designate the north border. On account of this wide extent from south to north, and also in breadth, it is said of those belonging to this half-tribe, "these were many;" comp. Num. xxvi. 34, where the number of military age in this whole tribe is said to be 52,700.—Ver. 24. *And these were the heads of their father-houses, even Epher.* The ו before עֵפֶר may be rendered "even"; but it is surprising, and raises the suspicion that perhaps a name has fallen out. None of these heads of families of East Manasseh is otherwise known, so that we know nothing of the deeds for which they were called "valiant heroes, famous men."

5. *Carrying away into Exile of the three east-Jordanic Tribes:* vers. 25, 26.—*And they were untrue*, etc., namely, the three eastern tribes named in the following verse, and not merely the Manassites. For the terms, as for the fact, comp. 2 Kings xvii. 7 ff.—*The people of the land, whom the Lord had destroyed before them*, are the Amorites and the subjects of Og of Bashan. —Ver. 26. *And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul.* וַיָּעַר, as 2 Chron. xxi. 16 (comp. xxxi 26; Ezra i. 1, 5). L. Lavater justly remarks: *in mentem illis dedit, movit eos, ut expeditionem facerent contra illos.* Pul is, moreover, named as the beginner of the oppressions coming from Assyria (comp. 2 Kings xv. 19 f.); the removal itself is completed by Tiglath-pileser, as the sing. וַיַּגְלֵם, referring only to him, shows. Besides, the Assyriologists, especially Rawlinson, Schrader (p. 124 ff.), declare Pul to be the same with Tiglath-pileser, and his name a mere mutilation of the latter name, because the Assyrian inscriptions nowhere exhibit any such thing as a ruler Pul almost contemporary with Tiglath-pileser.—*Carried them away, the Reubenites*, etc. The suffix in וַיַּגְלֵם is more precisely defined by the following accusatives לָראוּבֵנִי וגו', introduced by ל (according to later usage); comp. Ew. § 277*e*.—*And brought them to Halah and Habor, and the mountain and the river Gozan, unto this day.* חֲלַח, perhaps = כֶּלַח, Gen. x. 11, at all events = Καλαχήνη, a region described by Strabo and Ptolemy: "On the east side of the Tigris, near Adiabene, north of Nineveh, on the borders of Armenia." Not far from this Halah (the name of which occurs on the Assyrian monuments in the form *Kal-hu;* comp. Schrader, *Die Keilenschriften und d. A. T.* p. 20 f.) is to be sought חָבוֹר, perhaps a district in North Assyria, after which both the mountain Χαβώρας (Ptolem. vi. 1), near the Median border, and a river flowing into the Tigris (*Khabur Chasaniæ*, now Khabur), are named. We are not here to think of the Mesopotamian river Chaboras, rising at Nisibis, and falling into the Euphrates near Circesium, as its Hebrew name is כְּבָר, Ezek. i. 1. The river Gozan, also, is scarcely to be sought in Mesopotamia (where there is certainly a district Γαυζανῖτις, the present Kaushan, bordering on that river Chebar, and where also Schrader, p. 161, has pointed out a place *Guzana*, near Nisibis —*Nasibina*—in an Assyrian inscription), but perhaps in the border land of Assyria and Media, where the Median city Γαυζανία, mentioned by Ptol. vi. 2, lay, and where also a river Ozan (in full, Kizil-Ozan, the red Ozan) is found, the Mardos of the old Greeks, rising south-east of the lake Urumiah, forming the boundary of Assyria and Media, and falling into the Caspian Sea. As all these places point to the north of Assyria and to Media, so the term before the last, "the mountain," appears to mean the Median highlands; and, indeed, הָרָא seems to be the Aramaic form for the Hebrew הַר, mountain, the popular designation in that region of the Median highlands (al Jebal among the Arabs); comp. also 2 Kings xvii. 6, where, in place of הָרָא, the "cities of Media" (עָרֵי מָדַי) are named. Keil on our passage and on 2 Kings xvii. 6, Bähr on the latter, Ew. (*Gesch.* iii. p. 318), M. Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assurs und Babels*), Wichelhaus (*Das Exil der 10 Stämme*, in the *Deutschen Morgenl. Zeitschr.* v. 467 ff.), Kamph. on our passage, etc., are here right; while Thenius, Berth., Hitz. think, without sufficient grounds, of parts of Mesopotamia, near the Euphrates. Moreover, not merely the Chronist, but the sources used by him, appear to have assumed as the place to which Tiglath-pileser removed the tribes beyond the Jordan, the same region in the north of Assyria to which, 2 Kings xvii. 6, some decennia afterwards, Shalmaneser transplanted the remaining tribes of the northern kingdom. Whether this statement be historically correct, or involve the confounding of two different events (as Berth. will have it), must remain undecided. From 2 Kings xv. 29, where the country to which Tiglath-pileser brought the 2½ tribes is simply called Asshur, the inaccuracy of the present statements cannot be proved.

### *d.* The Family of the Levites, with a Statement of their Seats in the different Tribes.—Ch. v. 27–vi. 66.

**1. *The Family of Aaron, or the High-priestly Line to the Exile:* ch. v. 27–41.**

**Ch. v. 27, 28. The sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. And the sons of**
**29 Kohath: Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel. And the sons of Amram:**

Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam. And the sons of Aaron: Nadab and Abihu,
30 Eleazar and Ithamar. Eleazar begat Phinehas, and Phinehas begat Abishua.
31, 32 And Abishua begat Bukki, and Bukki begat Uzzi. And Uzzi begat Zerahiah,
33 and Zerahiah begat Meraioth. Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah begat
34, 35 Ahitub. And Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Ahimaaz. And Ahi-
36 maaz begat Azariah, and Azariah begat Johanan. And Johanan begat
Azariah, he that served as priest in the house that Solomon built in Jeru-
37, 38 salem. And Azariah begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub. And
39 Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Shallum. And Shallum begat Hilkiah
40 and Hilkiah begat Azariah. And Azariah begat Seraiah, and Seraiah begat
41 Jehozadak. And Jehozadak went away, when the LORD carried away Judah
and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

2. *The Descendants of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari, in a Double Series:* ch. vi. 1–15

CH. VI. 1, 2. The sons of Levi: Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. And these are the
3 names of the sons of Gershom: Libni and Shimi. And the sons of Kohath:
4 Amram and Izhar, and Hebron and Uzziel. The sons of Merari: Mahli and
5 Mushi. And these are the families after their fathers.
6 To Gershom: Libni his son, Jahath his son, Zimmah his son. Joah his
son, Iddo his son, Zerah his son, Jeatherai his son.
7 The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son.
8, 9 Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son. Tahath his son,
10 Uriel his son, Uzziah his son, and Shaul his son. And the sons of Elkanah:
11 Amasai and Ahimoth. Elkanah his son,[1] Elkanah of Zoph his son, and Nahath
12, 13 his son. Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son. And the sons of
Samuel: the first-born[2] Vashni, and Abiah.
14 The sons of Merari: Mahli, Libni his son, Shimi his son, Uzzah his son.
15 Shima his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah his son.

3. *The Ancestors of the Levitical Songmasters Heman, Asaph, and Ethan:* vers. 16–34.

16 And these are they whom David set over the singing in the house of the
17 LORD, after the resting of the ark. And they ministered before the dwelling
of the tent of meeting with singing, until Solomon built the house of the Lord
18 in Jerusalem, and they attended in their order to their service. And these
are they who attended, and their sons: of the sons of Kohath: Heman the
19 singer, the son of Joel, the son of Samuel. The son of Elkanah, the son of
20 Jeroham, the son of Eliel, the son of Toah. The son of Zuph,[3] the son of
21 Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai. The son of Elkanah, the
22 son of Joel, the son of Azariah, the son of Zephaniah. The son of Tahath,
23 the son of Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah. The son of Izhar,
the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel.
24 And his brother Asaph, who stood on his right hand, Asaph the son of
25 Berechiah, the son of Shima. The son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the
26 son of Malchiah. The son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the son of Adaiah.
27, 28 The son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah, the son of Shimi. The son of Jahath,
the son of Gershom, the son of Levi.
29 And the sons of Merari, their brethren on the left hand: Ethan the son of
30 Kishi, the son of Abdi, the son of Malluch. The son of Hashabiah, the son
31 of Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah. The son of Amzi, the son of Bani, the son of
32 Shamer. The son of Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi.
33 And their brethren the Levites, given for all service of the tabernacle of
34 the house of God. And Aaron and his sons offered on the altar of burnt-
offering, and on the altar of incense, for all the work of the holy of holies,
and to atone for Israel, in all that Moses, the servant of God, had com-
manded.

4. *The Series of High Priests from Eleazar to Ahimaaz (in the time of Solomon):* vers. 35–38.

35 And these are the sons of Aaron: Eleazar his son, Phinehas his son,

36, 37 Abishua his son. Bukki his son, Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son. Meraioth
38 his son, Amariah his son, Ahitub his son. Zadok his son, Ahimaaz his son.

5. *The Towns of the Levites:* vers. 39–66.

39 And these are their dwellings, by their districts, in their border, of the
sons of Aaron: of the family of the Kohathites, for to them was the lot.
40 And they gave them Hebron, in the land of Judah, and its suburbs round
41 about it. And the field of the city and its villages they gave to Caleb the
42 son of Jephunneh. And to the sons of Aaron they gave the free towns,[4]
Hebron and Libnah and its suburbs, and Jattir and Eshtemoa and its suburbs.
43, 44 And Hilen[5] and its suburbs, Debir and its suburbs. And Ashan and its
45 suburbs, and Bethshemesh and its suburbs. And out of the tribe of Benjamin:
Geba and its suburbs, and Allemeth and its suburbs, and Anathoth and its
suburbs; all their cities were thirteen cities in their families.
46 And to the sons of Kohath that remained of the family of the tribe, were
47 from the half-tribe, the half of Manasseh, by lot, ten cities. And to the sons
of Gershom for their families, of the tribe of Issachar, and of the tribe of
Asher, and of the tribe of Naphtali, and of the tribe of Manasseh, in Bashan,
48 thirteen cities. To the sons of Merari for their families, of the tribe of
Reuben, and of the tribe of Gad, and of the tribe of Zebulun, by lot twelve
cities.
49 And the sons of Israel gave to the Levites the cities and their suburbs.
50 And they gave by lot out of the tribe of the sons of Judah, and the tribe of
the sons of Simeon, and the tribe of the sons of Benjamin, these cities which
they called by names.
51 And of the families of the sons of Kohath, some had the cities of their
52 border out of the tribe of Ephraim. And they gave them the free towns,
Shechem and its suburbs in Mount Ephraim, and Gezer and its suburbs.
53, 54 And Jokmeam and its suburbs, and Beth-horon and its suburbs. And
55 Aijalon and its suburbs, and Gathrimmon and its suburbs. And out of the
half-tribe of Manasseh, Aner and its suburbs, and Bilam and its suburbs,
to the family of the remaining sons of Kohath.
56 To the sons of Gershom, out of the family of the half-tribe of Manasseh,
57 Golan in Bashan and its suburbs, and Ashtaroth and its suburbs. And out
of the tribe of Issachar, Kedesh and its suburbs, Daberath and its suburbs.
58, 59 And Ramoth and its suburbs, and Anem and its suburbs. And out of the
60 tribe of Asher, Mashal and its suburbs, and Abdon and its suburbs. And
61 Hukok and its suburbs, and Rehob and its suburbs. And out of the tribe of
Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee and its suburbs, and Hammon and its suburbs,
and Kiriathaim and its suburbs.
62 To the sons of Merari that remained, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Rim-
63 mono and its suburbs, Tabor and its suburbs. And beyond Jordan by
Jericho, east of Jordan, out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer in the wilderness
64 and its suburbs, and Jahzah and its suburbs. And Kedemoth and its
65 suburbs, and Mephaath and its suburbs. And out of the tribe of Gad,
66 Ramoth in Gilead and its suburbs, and Mahanaim and its suburbs. And
Heshbon and its suburbs, and Jazer and its suburbs.

[1] The *Kethib* is אֶלְקָנָה בְּנוֹ; the *Keri* puts בָּנָיו for בְּנוֹ, and places אֶלְקָנָה (with *Athnach*) as a separate superscription. The text is, at all events, corrupt (see Exeg. Expl.), whether the first אֶלְקָנָה is to be erased, and בְּנֵי to be read, or the second אלקנה removed, and the sing. בְּנוֹ to be retained.

[2] After הַבְּכוֹר, the name יוֹאֵל must have fallen out, as the comparison of 1 Sam. viii. 2 shows (comp. also ver. 18).

[3] The *Kethib* has בֶּן־צִיף; the *Keri*, more correctly, בֶּן־צוּף.

[4] For אֶת־עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט, some old prints, after the *Bibl. Veneta Rabb.* 1525, have אֶת־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַמִּ׳. The mss. (see de Rossi, *Var. Lect.*) do not show this addition, which appears to have come into the text from the margin.

[5] For חִילֵן (in Josh. xxi. 16, חֹלֹן), the more accurate mss. have, according to *R. Norzi* and *Ed. Neapolit.*, חִילֵן.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK. — Of the five subdivisions into which this section falls, the first (v. 27-41) is a list of the high priests from Aaron to the exile, which appears to be taken from a peculiar older source, partly because one portion of the high priests is enumerated again (vi. 35-38) under a different genealogical form (instead of הוֹלִיד before the name, בְּנוֹ comes after it), partly because Gershon (v. 27) appears instead of "Gershom," which is used throughout ch. vi. But the four divisions also in ch. vi. bear a more or less fragmentary character; only the genealogies of the three Davidic songmasters Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (vers. 16-34), appear to be complete in themselves, and without defect. In the register of the three Levitical families Gershom, Kohath, and Merari (vers. 1-15), many names are obviously wanting, and some parts, especially in the series of the Kohathites, vers. 7-13, appear to have come down in a state of some confusion. The list of the Levitical cities, vers. 39-66, presents great corruptions of the text in considerable number, with many inaccuracies, and a notorious perversion of the original order (see on vers. 49, 50), as a cursory comparison of it with that drawn from other sources in the book of Joshua, xxi., will show. And lastly, the short list of the high priests appears clearly to be a fragment from its breaking off with Ahimaaz; is, moreover, closely connected with the preceding remarks in vers. 33, 34, on the ministry of the Aaronites in the temple, and might be fitly formed with these two verses into a special section referring to the ἀρχιερατικὸν γένος of the house of Levi and its functions. Comp. moreover, H. Graf, *Zur Gesch. d. St. Levi*, in A. Merx's *Archiv. f. Wissenschaftliche Erforschung des A. T.* vol. i. 1870 (hypercritical on the content of our chapter, and throughout).

1. *The Family of Aaron, or the High-priestly Line to the Exile:* v. 27-41. *a.* Aaron's descent from Levi: vers. 27-29.—*Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.* So run the names of the three sons of Aaron in the Pentateuch, Gen. xlvi. 11, Ex. vi. 18. The form גֵּרְשׁוֹן is there constant, while for קְהָת is occasionally קֳהָת.—Ver. 28. The names of the four sons of Kohath (the father of the chief Levitical line) are literally the same in Ex. vi. 18. Likewise the names of the three children of Amram, and those of the four sons of Aaron, ver. 29, agree literally with Ex. vi. 20, 23; comp. Num. iii. 2-4, and in 1 Chron. xxiv. 2, the account of the premature death of Nadab and Abihu by a divine judgment, reminding us of Lev. x. 1 ff.—*b.* The descendants and successors of Eleazar (Num. xx. 28; Josh. xiv. 1) in the office of high priest: vers. 30-41. Only this series of high priests from Eleazar is given here, as in vi. 35 ff., not that from Ithamar, as the former only is strictly legitimate. That the line from Ithamar, to which Eli belonged (1 Sam. ii. 30),—whose son was Phinehas, and grandson, Ahitub (1 Sam. iv. 11, xiv. 3), further, Ahitub's son Ahijah or Ahimelech (comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 3 with xxii. 9 ff.), lastly, this Ahimelech's son Abiathar (from whom Solomon took the high-priesthood to give it to Zadok, 1 Sam. xxii. 20; 1 Kings ii. 26-35),—was not unknown to our author, is shown by his account in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3 ff. But the line of Eleazar only must have passed with him as really legitimate; for here, and in vi. 35 ff., he ignores the line of Ithamar running parallel with it for several generations (from Uzzi, ver. 31, the contemporary of Eli, to Zadok, the contemporary and rival of Abiathar, ver. 34). On the relation existing between those collateral lines in the times of Saul and David we find nothing certain, either in our books or in those of Samuel or Kings. So much appears certain, however, from various intimations in the latter books, that the statement of Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* viii. 1. 3; con p. ch. v. 12), that the descendants of Eleazar kept quiet, and lived as private persons during the supremacy of Eli, Phinehas, Ahitub, and Ahimelech, is incorrect, and rests on mere conjecture. Rather, from 1 Kings iii. 4 ff. (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 39), Zadok appears to have presided at Gibeon, contemporary with Abiathar (the constant companion of David, 1 Sam. xxii. 20-23) at Jerusalem over the service of the sanctuary; and even before David, there seems to have been a certain co-existence of different sanctuaries with different high priests in different places,—an assumption that is at least better supported than the conjecture proposed by Thenius on 2 Sam. viii. 17, that, in David's time, the two high priests of the collateral houses might have held office in alternate years.—Ver. 35. *And Ahimaaz begat Azariah.* As Ahimaaz (ver. 38) is son of Zadok, he belongs to the reign of Solomon, within which also his son Azariah may have been high priest. Without doubt, the notice standing in ver. 36, beside a younger Azariah (grandson of the other), "he that served as priest (כִּהֵן, Ex. xl. 13; Lev. xvi. 32) in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem," only suits the present Azariah, the grandson of Zadok. For in 1 Kings iv. 2, also, Azariah the son (more exactly grandson) of Zadok is named as priestly prince under Solomon; his grandson of the same name in ver. 36 cannot have lived before the time of Rehoboam, or even Asa or Jehoshaphat. We must therefore assume, with Bertheau, that the words quoted from ver. 36*b* originally stood after the name עֲזַרְיָה, ver. 35*a*,—an assumption which, from the second occurrence of the same name shortly after, and from the notorious occurrence of such erroneous transpositions in our section (see on ver. 49 f.), involves no difficulty, and at least commends itself more than the attempt of Keil to identify the Azariah of ver. 36 with the high priest of this name under king Uzziah (who, 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, boldly resisted the attempt of this king to burn incense in the sanctuary).[1] The name Azariah appears to have often recurred in the family of the high priest in the time of the kings; for as our series contains this name no less than three times (vers. 35, 36, 40), we know from other accounts several other high priests of the name before the exile; thus, besides the one in Uzziah's time, another in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxi. 10, who cannot possibly be identi-

[1] It is only an insipid rabbinical conceit, which Keil should not have reproduced, of Rashi and Kimchi to apply the words, ver 36*b*, "he that served as priest in the house that Solomon built," to the bold stand of the Azariah, under Uzziah, against this king recorded in 2 Chron. xxvi. 17. But no less untenable is Neteler's assertion (*Chron.* pp. 68, 240), that Azariah was the son of Jehoiada, the husband of Jehoshabath, and effecter of that revolution which raised Joash to the throne (2 Kings xi.; 2 Chron. xxiii. 1 ff.); see on 2 Chron. xxiii. 8.

cal with those here mentioned. For the one named in ver. 40 as the son of Hilkiah (2 Kings xxii.) may have lived under Josiah, nearly a century after Hezekiah; of all the three Azariahs of our section, therefore, only the first (ver. 35) can coincide with one of the elsewhere mentioned high priests of this name, and this can have been no other than that contemporary of Solomon named in 1 Kings iv. 2.[1]—Ver. 37. *And Azariah begat Amariah.* This is the Amariah mentioned, 2 Chron. xix. 11, in the history of Jehoshaphat. Here Oehler, Art. "Hoherpriester" in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* vi. 205, is certainly right, though opposed by Keil; in the sixty-one years between Solomon's death and Jehoshaphat's accession, the four high priests named between Zadok and Amariah may very well have followed in succession.—Ver. 38. *And Ahitub begat Zadok.* In the neighbourhood of this second Ahitub, whom we must place at the beginning or middle of the ninth century B.C., we miss the Jehoiada who dethroned Athaliah, and governed some time for the young king Joash (who was perhaps, however, not properly high priest, but only "chief of the priesthood of his time," that is, a very influential priest; see on 2 Chron. xxiii. 8). Even so somewhat later in the vicinity of Shallum is wanting the Uriah, known from 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff., who was high priest under king Ahaz. The list from vers. 37–40, or for the last period of the kings (ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries), appears very defective and concise, like the New Testament genealogies of Jesus (Matt. i. 8-10; Luke iii. 28-31), which make the longest leaps in this very epoch. The number of the links omitted in our list between the high priests for the time of Solomon (ver. 36) and Seraiah must be at least seven; for with the ten generations of high priests enumerated vers. 36-40, correspond seventeen generations of the house of David, from Solomon to Zedekiah (comp. iii. 10-27); and there is no reason why the line of priests should have a less rapid succession of generations than that of kings. —Ver. 41. *And Jehozadak went away,* to captivity in Babylon. הָלַךְ stands here for the usual more definite הָלַךְ בַּגּוֹלָה, Jer. xlix. 3. The carrying away of this Jehozadak must have taken place before the destruction of Jerusalem (perhaps 599); for at the destruction of Jerusalem (588), not he, but his aged father Seraiah, grandson of Hilkiah, was high priest, as appears from the account in 2 Kings xxv. 18, 21, of his capture by Nebuchadnezzar and execution at Riblah. Jehozadak, in exile, became father of that Joshua who returned 536 B.C. with Zerubbabel at the head of the exiles, Ezra iii. 2, v. 2, Hag. i. 1.

With the series here given of the high priests from Aaron to the exile, agrees that in Ezra vii. 1-5, which is more summary, and makes even greater omissions. If we compare the sixteen names there given, from Seraiah to Aaron, with twenty-two of our list, the shorter list of Ezra appears to be an abbreviated extract of the present longer one. But the author of the latter cannot have aimed at absolute completeness. The הוֹלִיד used by him to denote the descent is quite as much a mere phrase of indefinite and elastic meaning as the בֵּן of Ezra. Moreover, the argument of Gramberg, p. 55, from the repeated occurrence of the same names in our list, for the assumption of an arbitrary process of compiling by the Chronist, has been long refuted by Movers, Keil, and others. On the extra-biblical traditions concerning the series of high priests before the exile, in Josephus, in the *Seder Olam,* etc., comp. Lightfoot, *Ministerium templi, Opp.* t. i. p. 682 sqq.; Selden, *De successione in pontif.* l. i; and Reland, *Antiq.* ii. c. 2. So far as these accounts supplement the statements of our text, they are almost devoid of any historical authority. [The line from Aaron is not said to be a list of actual high priests. External influence seems to have often determined who should be the actual high priest.—J. G. M.]

2. *The Descendants of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari:* vi. 1-15.—These are first given alone with their sons (vers. 1-4); then follow further genealogical statements regarding the descendants of the most important of these sons, who became the ancestors of the three chief families of the Levites. That in the Kohathite family the line of Amram, the father of Aaron, is not given again, as in v. 27 ff., is explained by this, that the families of the Levites, not that of the high priest, are here to be registered. For the form "Gershom," comp. on v. 27. The two sons each of Gershom and Merari, and the four sons of Kohath, bear the same names as in the Pentateuch, Ex. vi. 16-19, Num. iii. 17-20, xxvi. 57 ff.—Ver. 4*b*. *And these are the families of Levi, after their fathers.* This formula, found by the author in his source, seems rather to be the superscription for the following special genealogy of the Levites, than the subscription to what precedes; but comp. Ex. vi. 19, where the same words serve clearly as the subscription to the list of the sons and grandsons of Levi.—Vers. 5, 6. *Descendants of Gershom.—To Gershom: Libni his son,* etc. The לְ before גֵּרְשׁוֹם serves for introduction, and therefore stands in another sense than in Ezra ii. 6, 16, where it is *nota genitivi;* comp. rather Ps. xvi. 3; Isa. xxxii. 1.—Jeatherai, the last in this eight-link chain of the descendants of Gershom, may have lived in the times of Saul and David, but is not otherwise known. That some of the names in this series, Jahath, Zimmah, and Zerah, occur also among the ancestors of Asaph, who springs from the line of Shimi (vers. 24-28), does not warrant the identification of the two series, nor (as Bertheau affirms) the assumption that "these are inserted, not because they lead to Jeatherai, but because they belong to the ancestors of Asaph." As if the recurrence of the same names in different lines were not usual in our genealogical sections!—Vers. 7-13. *Descendants of Kohath.* Three series of names, each beginning with a new בְּנֵי or וּבְנֵי (vers. 7, 10, 13), without exhibiting their genealogical connection. The very beginning: "The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son," involves a surprising deviation both from ver. 3 and from Ex. vi. 18 ff., where no Amminadab occurs among the sons of Kohath. As the latter parallels, as ver. 23, agree in naming

[1] With Keil's and Bähr's attempt (*Bibelw.* part vii. p. 25 ff.) to regard the "Azariah son of Zadok" of this passage, not as priest or high priest, but as the first of the great civil functionaries of Solomon, we cannot agree, because הַכֹּהֵן is thereby taken in too abnormal a sense. Comp. Gesen.-Dietrich on the word כֹּהֵן.

an Izhar as the link between Kohath and Korah, with Keil and the majority of older expositors, Amminadab is to be regarded as a by-name of Izhar; for to regard Amminadab, with Bertheau, as a descendant of Izhar, and suppose an omission of the latter by some oversight, is less probable. Why should not the name Amminadab, otherwise occurring among the descendants of Judah as father of Nahshon and father-in-law of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23; Num. vi. 23; Ruth i. 19; comp. 1 Chron. ii. 10), by some no longer discoverable cause, serve as a by-name to Izhar, the second son Kohath?—*Korah his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son.* If we compare the series in vers. 18–23 of the ancestors of Heman, which presents so many points of contact with the present, that it may and must be used for the elucidation of several of its obscurities, it appears that Ebiasaph also (the father of that second Assir who is named ver. 8) is a son of Korah, and a brother of that first Assir; and in fact Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph appear in Ex. vi. 24 as sons of Korah. Thus these three, notwithstanding the inexact phraseology of our list, which seems to exhibit them as father, son, and grandson, are rather to be taken for brothers. That Ebiasaph, the third of these Korahites, had a son Assir, and this a son Tahath, is recorded also in the genealogy of Heman, ver. 22. On the contrary, the names of the three following members, Uriel, Uzziah, and Shaul, vary from the parallel names Zephaniah, Azariah, and Joel, in the line of Heman, ver. 21; whence it would appear natural to assume a double name (favoured by the known identity of the king's name, Uzziah-Azariah) for these three members; but this is liable to grave doubts.—Ver. 10. *And the sons of Elkanah: Amasai and Ahimoth.* Among the ancestors of Heman also, ver. 20, an Amasai is named as son of an Elkanah. It is natural to identify that Elkanah with the present, to take him for a son of Joel, son of Azariah, and so supply the severed connection between Shaul, ver. 9, and Elkanah. The present Elkanah might also, indeed, be the son of Korah mentioned ver. 8, and brother of Ebiasaph. It is impossible, however, to decide absolutely.—Ver. 11. *Elkanah his son, Elkanah of Zoph his son,* or "Elkanah Zophai." As the text is here notoriously corrupt, and an Elkanah, be it the first or the second, is redundant (see Crit. Note), it should perhaps be emended, with Bertheau, "Elkanah his son, Zophai his son," etc. In this case, a desirable agreement with ver. 20 is gained, where Elkanah appears, not indeed as son, but as grandson of Amasai (through a certain Mahath omitted in our text), and where, further, Zuph is named as son of this Elkanah, a name that is obviously identical with Zophai (comp. Kelubai, ii. 9, with Kelub, iv. 11).—Ver. 12. *Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son.* As "Nahath," the father of Eliab, bears a name that is closely allied in etymology to Toah, the son of Zuph (or Zophai), in the series of the ancestors of Heman, ver. 19, and so may pass for a by-form of this name, אֱלִיאָב also appears to be a collateral form of אֱלִיאֵל, ver. 19; but Jeroham and Elkanah coincide exactly with the two there named predecessors (or rather descendants) of Eliab. Hence the two parallel series actually agree out and out, from Zuph to the last Elkanah. So much the more certainly is a שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנוֹ (comp. ver. 18), forming the transition to ver. 13, to be supposed omitted at the end of our verse, or the assumption at least to be made that the author (as follows at once from ver. 13) meant by the last Elkanah no other than the father of Samuel.—Ver. 13. *And the sons of Samuel: the first-born Vashni, and Abiah.* That here the name of Joel, who was actually the first-born of Samuel, and is named, ver. 18, as his proper scion, has fallen out, appears indubitable from 1 Sam. viii. 2; comp. Crit. Note. On the whole, the present genealogy of Kohath coincides with that of the ancestors of Heman in vers. 18–23, though the text of our list appears the more defective, inaccurate, and partly corrupt. — Vers. 14, 15. *Descendants of Merari,* of the line of Mahli, from whom six generations of direct descendants are given. Against Bertheau's attempt to identify the names Mahli, Libni, Shimi, Uzzah, Shema, Haggiah, Asaiah with those of the ancestors of Ethan in vers. 29–32 (Mushi, Mahli, Shamer, Bani, Amzi, Hilkiah, Amaziah), in order to represent the three series of our section as mere parallels to the three series of the following section, see the remarks of Keil (p. 89). The latter justly asserts, in reference to ver. 4*a*: "The vers. 14 and 15 furnish a list of the family of Mahli, whereas the ancestors of Ethan, vers. 29–32, belong to the family of Mushi. Accordingly, our series cannot be designed to introduce Ethan or Ethan's ancestors. This hypothesis is altogether a castle in the air."

3. *The Ancestors of the Levitical Songmasters Heman, Asaph, and Ethan:* vers. 16–34.—*And these are they whom David set over the singing in the house of the Lord;* comp. xv. 17 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxix. 27.—עַל־יְדֵי־שִׁיר, properly: "to the hands of song," that is, for the singing, for the purpose of leading and executing it.—*After the resting of the ark;* from the time when the ark (אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית = אָרוֹן), instead of its previous wandering, had a permanent abode on Mount Zion, 2 Sam. vi. 2, 17.—Ver. 17. *And they ministered before the dwelling of the tent of meeting with singing.* "Before the dwelling;" for in the court, before the holy tent, or before the temple, took place the public worship, consisting of sacrifice and singing. The genitive, "of the tent of meeting" (institution), is explicative of the dwelling, that is, the dwelling of God among His people. This means, in the first place, the tent of institution or meeting (אֹהֶל־מוֹעֵד), which David erected on Zion, as the immediate predecessor of the stone temple (2 Sam. vi. 17 ff.; 1 Chron. xxi. 28 ff.; 2 Chron. i. 3), and along with which the old Mosaic tent of meeting continued a long time in Gibeon, with a separate service (1 Chron. i. 29; 2 Chron. i. 3; 1 Kings iii. 4). That this Davidic tent on Zion is intended in the first place, is shown partly by the following reference to the building of Solomon's temple, and partly by the circumstance that the following genealogy takes its start from the three songmasters of David. — *And they attended in their order to their service.* "In their order" (בְּמִשְׁפָּטָם), that is, according to the order prescribed by David,—so, namely, that (ver. 18 ff.)

Heman the Kohathite, as chief leader of the whole choir, should stand in the middle, Asaph the Gershonite, with his choir, on his right, and Ethan the Merarite on his left, in conducting the sacred singing of the temple (comp. xvi. 37 ff., xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxx. 16).—Ver. 18. *And these* (the following) *are they who attended, and their sons*, with the choirs formed of their sons and their families. The names of their sons, see in xxv. 2-4. Here it is intended to trace, not so much the descendants of these songmasters from David's time down, as rather their ancestors up to Levi.—*Of the sons of Kohath: Heman the singer.* He stands before the rest, and is distinguished from them by the mere predicate, "the singer" (הַמְשׁוֹרֵר; Sept. ὁ ψαλτῳδός), because the chief leading of the temple singing belonged to him. He appears here as the grandson of Samuel, which is chronologically and genealogically admissible, and is needlessly questioned by Hitzig (*Gesch. d. Isr.* p. 125 f.), who denies that Samuel belonged to the house of Levi. On the series of Kohathites now following to ver. 23, consisting of twenty-two generations, and its relation to that in vers. 7-13, see above.—Ver. 23. *The son of Levi, the son of Israel.* Only here is this ascent beyond Levi to the patriarch of all Israel; comp. Luke iii. 38: τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Vers. 24-28. The ancestors of Asaph the Gershonite.—*And his brother Asaph.* "Brother," obviously in a wider sense, as relative and fellow-officer in the sacred service. On the relation of his genealogy, including fifteen members to the earlier series of Gershonites, see on vers. 5, 6.—Vers. 29-32. The ancestors of Ethan the Merarite.—*And the sons of Merari, their brethren on the left*, forming the choir standing on the left. For the name Jeduthun (יְדוּתוּן, "praiseman"), otherwise occurring for Ethan, perhaps an honorary surname, comp. xvi. 41, xxv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxv. 15; Neh. xi. 17. The series of Ethan's ancestors must be greatly abbreviated, as it contains only twelve names up to Merari.—Ver. 32. *The son of Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari.* If Mahli and Mushi, ver. 4, be named together as sons of Merari (as also Lev. iii. 20), this does not contradict our passage, as Mahli is plainly enough designated, not as son, but as grandson of Merari, therefore as nephew or perhaps grand-nephew of Mushi the younger son of Merari. On the diversity of the whole series, vers. 29-32, from that in vers. 14, 15, see on these verses.—Ver. 33 f. *And their brethren the Levites, given for all service*, etc. "Their brethren the Levites" are other Levites beside the singers already mentioned. A general notice of the ministry of the Levites not belonging to the families of the singers thus closes our section, as the like notice of the liturgical functions of the singers themselves (vers. 16, 17) opened it. נְתוּנִים, "given to all service," that is, given to Aaron and his descendants, to the priestly family appointed for service in the performance of worship; comp. Num. iii. 9, viii. 16-19, xviii. 6; also Samuel's consecration or dedication to the temple service, 1 Sam. i. 11, 28, and the *oblati* of monkery in the middle ages, for example, Bernard, etc.—Ver. 34. *And Aaron and his sons offered.* There are three functions of the priestly portion of the Levites:—1. Sacrifice (on the altars of burnt-offering and incense), Num. xviii. 1-7; 2. Ministration in the holy of holies, 1 Chron. xxviii. 13; 3. Propitiation or expiation for Israel, Lev. xvi. 32.—*In all that Moses, the servant of God, had commanded.* For this honourable designation of Moses, comp. Num. xii. 7; Deut. xxxiv. 5; Josh. i. 1, 13; Heb. iii. 2 ff.

4. *The Series of High Priests from Eleazar to Ahimaaz:* vers. 35-38.—This section is closely connected with the two preceding verses; for it states who were "the sons of Aaron" named, ver. 34, as the conductors of the priestly service in the temple. This series (which agrees essentially with v. 30-34; comp. Ezra vii. 1-5) is brought down only to Ahimaaz, the contemporary of Solomon (comp. 2 Sam. xv. 27), because in the whole section, from ver. 16, a "source is used in which the prominent families of Levi in the time of David (and Solomon) were described, and along with the genealogies of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, that of Ahimaaz also stood, which the author of Chronicles was induced to insert for the sake of completeness and confirmation of the former series" (Bertheau). This series of high priests, breaking off with the time of Solomon, does not form a specially suitable transition to the following list of the Levitical cities (against Keil), although by its introductory words (especially by the suffix in מוֹשְׁבוֹתָם, ver. 38, that points to וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן, ver. 35) it appears closely connected with the foregoing section.

5. *The Cities of the Levites:* vers. 39-66.—*And these are their dwellings, by their districts in their border*—the border which was then assigned to the several Levitical families. The superscription may have stood in the document which the Chronist here follows; it is wanting in the list of the dwellings of the Levites, Josh. xxi., which runs in the main parallel to this, but deviates in form and in many details. For טִירָה (from טוּר, *circumdare*), in early times, village of nomades, of tents (Gen. xxv. 16; Num. xxi. 10), here district, circuit of dwellings, comp. Ps. lxix. 26.—*Of the sons of Aaron, of the family of the Kohathites; for to them was the lot.* These words form the special superscription to vers. 40-45. After הַגּוֹרָל, perhaps רִאשֹׁנָה has fallen out; comp. Josh. xxi. 10. At all events, the first lot is here in question.—Vers. 40, 41 agree almost literally with Josh. xxi. 11, 12, only Hebron has there its old name Kiriath Arba; and for "in the land of Judah," stands "on the mountains of Judah."—*And its suburbs round about it.* מִגְרָשִׁים is the standing phrase for the pastures (Kamph.) or commons belonging to the cities, as distinguished from the field שָׂדֶה, or arable land, ver. 41. For the historical contents of ver. 41, comp. also Josh. xiv. 14, xv. 13.—Ver. 42. *And to the sons of Aaron they gave the free towns Hebron and Libnah.* As Hebron only was a free town (עִיר מִקְלַט הָרֹצֵחַ, place of refuge for the manslayer), the plural appears at least inexact. The parallel, Josh. xxi. 13, has the correct form עִיר. The same occurs with respect to Shechem, ver. 52.—*And Jattir, and Eshtemoa, and its suburbs.* After יַתִּיר, the standing addition

ואת־מנשה, which is found in Josh. xxi. 13 as always.—Ver. 43. *And Hilen and its suburbs.* Instead of חילן, Josh. xxi. 15 has the more correct חלן (comp. Josh. xv. 51).—Ver. 44. *And Ashan and its suburbs.* The name עשן in this place appears more correct than עין in Josh. xxi. 16. Immediately after this Ashan the name of Juttah must have fallen out, as appears from Josh. xxi.; as in ver. 45 the name of Gibeon before Geba. This twofold omission is indirectly confirmed by the closing notice in ver. 45: "all their cities were thirteen cities in their families;" for at present, the list referring to the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, vers. 42-45, contains only eleven cities. Besides, the third of the Levitical cities in Benjamin is called, Josh. xxi. 18, not Allemeth (עלמת), but Almon (עלמון). It is impossible to decide which is the original form.—Vers. 46-48 give summarily only the number, not the names, of the cities of the remaining Levites of the families of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari (parallel to vers. 5-7 in Josh. xxi.); the enumeration by name follows ver. 51 ff.—*Of the family of the tribe, from the half-tribe.* Between these words of ver. 46 (המטה and המחצית) there is an obvious gap; according to Josh. xxi. 5, the words "Ephraim, and of the tribe of Dan and" have here fallen out.—Ver. 47. *And of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan.* More exactly, Josh. xxi. 6, "and of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan," though we may do without the missing חצי. Vers. 49, 50 disturb the progress of the enumeration, which, after the summary statements of the foregoing three verses, raises the expectation of a specification of the cities of the other Kohathites in a way so surprising, that their original occupation of another place, and that before ver. 39*b* ("of the sons of Aaron," etc.), admits of no doubt; comp. Josh. xxi., where they stand in vers. 8, 9 as superscription of the list of cities assigned to the priests. As they are there annexed to the summary statement, vers. 5-7, which forms here vers. 46-48, a mechanically proceeding compiler takes them over with these at once, and the Chronist, who followed this compiler, neglects to repair his negligence. —*These cities which they called by names.* The plurals שמות and יקראו are suitable explanations, instead of the corresponding singulars in Josh. xxi. 9, as the subject, "the sons of Israel," is easily supplied to the verb from ver. 48, and several names of cities are given. The masc. אתהם, instead of אתהן, may be only an oversight (Berth., Keil).—Vers. 51-55. *The cities of the remaining Kohathites;* comp. Josh. xxi. 20-26. *And of the families of the sons of Kohath.*—Instead of ממשפחות, is perhaps to be read ולמשפחות, "and with respect to the families," etc.—Ver. 52. For the pl. "free towns," comp. on ver. 42.—Ver. 53. *And Jokmeam.* Josh. xxi. 22 gives for this יקמעם an otherwise unknown קבצים; but the Sept. confirms the former reading by its 'Ιεκμαάν.—Ver. 54. *And Aijalon and its suburbs, and Gath-rimmon and its suburbs.* In Josh. xxi. 23, 24, these two Levitical cities, with two others here omitted, Eltekeh and Gibbethon, belong to the tribe of Dan. According to this, before these words a whole verse has fallen out: "and of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh and its suburbs, Gibbethon and its suburbs." That the mention of the tribe of Dan is here for the second time avoided (comp. ver. 46), can scarcely be called accidental; comp. on vii. 12. —Ver. 55. *Aner and its suburbs, and Bilam and its suburbs.* Josh. xxi. 25 calls the two Levitical cities in West Manasseh rather Tanach and Gath-rimmon; but these names appear to be errors of transcription originating in the foregoing verse. In this case, our text should be the more correct, only that בלעם (Josh. xvii. 11) should perhaps be changed into יבלעם.—*To the family of the remaining sons of Kohath.* These words, formally annexed to "they gave," etc., ver. 52*a*, form a kind of subscription, in which, perhaps, the singular "family" should be changed into the plural; comp. למשפחות, Josh. xxi. 26.—Vers. 56-61. *The cities of the Gershonites;* comp. Josh. xxi. 27-33.—*Golan in Bashan.* That Golan is one of the six cities of refuge, like Hebron, Shechem, etc., is not mentioned; this again is one of the omissions in which our text abounds. For the name Ashtaroth, Josh. xxi. 27 substitutes Beeshterah (בעשתרה), perhaps compounded of בית־עשתרה. This city (Deut. i. 4, Josh. xiii. 12, once the seat of king Og) was perhaps formerly called Ashteroth-karnaim, Gen. xiv. 5, now Tell Ashteroth, some hours north-west of Edrei.—Ver. 57. *Kedesh and its suburbs.* For קדש, Josh. xxi. 28 has more correctly קשיון, as in ver. 58 the reading ירמות, Josh. xxi. 29, is perhaps more correct than ראמות, and עין גנים than ענם.—Ver. 59. *Mashal* (משל) is contracted for משאל, Josh. xix. 26. On the contrary, חוקק, ver. 60, appears to be wrongly transcribed for חלקת, which Joshua has in our passage and xix. 25 (חוקק in Naphtali, Josh. xix. 24, cannot be here intended).—Ver. 61. *Kedesh in Galilee.* Of this city, also, it is not noted that it belonged to the six free towns, Josh. xxi. 32. On its site, west of the lake Merom, where Kedes now lies, see Rob. iii. 682, Raumer, *Palæst.* p. 116.—The following Hammon corresponds to Hammoth-dor, Josh. xxi. 32, and to Hammath, Josh. xix. 35, which three forms appear all to point to hot springs in the vicinity of the place. In Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3, the name is 'Αμμαοῦς. For Kiriathaim, Josh. xxi. 32 has the contracted form Kartan (קרתן), that stands to the present full form as דותן, 2 Kings vi. 13, to דתין, Gen. xxxvii. 17.—Vers. 62-66. *The cities of the Merarites;* comp. Josh. xxi. 34-37.—*To the sons of Merari that remained,* namely, the Levites, as the fuller form הלוים הנותרים, Josh. xxi. 34, shows, which may mean, "those of the Levites still to be men-

tioned."—*Rimmono and its suburbs, Tabor and its suburbs.* Here the names of two other cities of Zebulun have fallen out, Jokneam and Kartah. But even the two here named have other names there, where, for רִמּוֹנוֹ, the probably less correct דִּמְנָה appears (comp. the repeated mention of a city רִמּוֹן in Zebulun, Josh. xix. 13), and where, in place of our תָּבוֹר, stands the name נַהֲלָל, which is certainly identical with Nahalol, Judg. i. 30, and is perhaps found in the present Nalul, south-west of Nazareth. It is hard to say how our תָּבוֹר came into the text instead of the undoubtedly original נהלל; possibly the author meant, instead of the city, only the region where it lay—Mount Tabor (Movers); possibly the name of the city fell out, and of the determination of its site, that was perhaps included in the words עַל גְּבוּל כִּסְלֹת תָּבוֹר, only the last word remains (Berth.); or possibly the place bore two quite different names.—Vers. 63, 64 are wanting in some editions of the books of Joshua, where they are xix. 36, 37. But the most and best MSS. contain them, and there is no decisive reason for their condemnation as spurious; see the particulars in Fay on the passage.—*And beyond Jordan by Jericho, east of Jordan.* This determination of place (which is often found in like terms, Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, xxxiv. 15; comp. on 2 Chron. viii. 3) is wanting in the book of Joshua, which in other respects agrees with our verse, only that it omits not to mark Bezer as a free town.—Ver. 65. *And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead.* Here also is wanting the mention of its being a city of refuge; comp. Josh. xxi. 36, where also the name is written, not as here, רָאמוֹת, but רָמוֹת, as of the two places mentioned in the following verse, the latter is there not Jaazer but Jazer; comp. Num. xxi. 32. The situation of these towns is wholly unknown.

Moreover, let us compare, with respect to the Levitical cities in general, the not unimportant remark of Hengstenberg, *Gesch. d. Reichs Gottes unter dem A. B.* ii. 1, p. 259: "the number of the cities in all amounted to forty-eight. At first sight, for a comparatively small tribe, this appears to be too great. But this appearance vanishes, when we consider that in these cities, not the Levites alone, but, along with them, craftsmen and others from the other tribes dwelt, who made often the greater part of the population; comp. Lev. xxv. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 40, 41 (Caleb as inhabitant of the lands of Hebron), etc." There is weight also in his remark, p. 260, on the many differences between our list and Josh. xxi.; these "are most easily explained by the fact that some of the cities assigned to the Levites were at the time (when the land was divided among the twelve tribes) in possession of the Canaanites, and as the hope of their immediate conquest failed, were first recovered from them by others, in whose possession they remained, on account of the inconvenience of the change." In many cases this assumption may be correct, and serve to explain the double names, as Ashan and Ain, Allemeth and Almon, Kedesh and Kishion, Anem and En-gannim, Tabor and Nahalal, etc. (See on vers. 44, 45, 57, 58, 62.) But that, besides numerous corruptions of the text, errors in transcription, and omissions of names, sentences, and clauses, took place not merely in our text, but also in that of Joshua, must have been abundantly evident from our exegetical and critical remarks.

### *e.* The Families of the Remaining Tribes (except Dan and Zebulun), and in particular of the Benjamite House of Saul.—Ch. vii. viii.

#### 1. *The Families of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, West Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher:* ch. vii.

##### *α. The Tribe of Issachar:* vers. 1–5.

CH. VII. 1. And the sons[1] of Issachar: Tola and Puah, Jashub[2] and Shimron, four.
2 And the sons of Tola: Uzzi, and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and
Jibsam, and Samuel, heads of their father-houses to Tola, valiant heroes in
their generations; their number in the days of David was twenty and two
3 thousand and six hundred. And the sons of Uzzi: Izrahiah; and the sons of
4 Izrahiah: Michael, and Obadiah, and Joel, Ishiah, five heads in all. And with
them, by their generations, by their father-houses, troops of the host of war,
5 thirty and six thousand; for they had many wives and sons. And their
brethren of all the families of Issachar, valiant heroes, eighty and seven
thousand was their register for all.

##### *β. The Tribe of Benjamin:* vers. 6–11.

6, 7 Benjamin: Bela, and Becher, and Jediael, three. And the sons of Bela:
Ezbon, and Uzzi, and Uzziel, and Jerimoth, and Iri, five, heads of father-
houses, valiant heroes; and their register was twenty and two thousand and
8 thirty and four. And the sons of Becher: Zemirah, and Joash, and Eliezer,
and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jerimoth, and Abiah, and Anathoth, and Alemeth:
9 all these were the sons of Becher. And their register by their generations,
heads of their father-houses, valiant heroes, twenty thousand and two hundred.

10 And the sons of Jediael: Bilhan; and the sons of Bilhan: Jeush,[3] and
Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and Zethan, and Tarshish, and Ahishahar.
11 All these were sons of Jediael, by the heads of the fathers, valiant heroes,
seventeen thousand and two hundred going out in the host for war.

*γ. Another Tribe, and the Tribe of Naphtali:* vers. 12, 13.

12, 13 And Shuppim and Huppim, sons of Ir: Hushim, sons of another. The
sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, sons of Bilhah.

*δ. Half-Tribe of Manasseh (west of Jordan):* vers. 14–19.

14 The sons of Manasseh: Ashriel,[4] whom his concubine, the Aramitess, bare;
15 she bare Machir, the father of Gilead. And Machir took a wife for Huppim
and Shuppim, and the name of his sister was Maachah, and the name of the
16 second was Zelophehad; and Zelophehad had daughters. And Maachah,
wife of Machir, bare a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name of
17 his brother was Sheresh; and his sons were Ulam and Rekem. And the sons
of Ulam: Bedan: these are the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of
18 Manasseh. And his sister Hammolecheth bare Ishod, and Abiezer, and
19 Mahlah. And the sons of Shemidah: Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and
Aniam.

*ε. The Tribe of Ephraim:* vers. 20–29.

20 And the sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his
21 son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son. And Zabad his son, and
Shuthelah his son; and Ezer and Elad; and the men of Gath that were born
in the land slew them, because they came down to take away their cattle.
22 And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to
23 comfort him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived and bare a son,
24 and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house. And his
daughter was Sherah, and she built Beth-horon, the nether and the upper, and
25 Uzzen-sherah. And Rephah his son, and Resheph and Telah his son, and
26, 27 Tahan his son. Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son. Non
28 his son, Joshua his son. And their possession and their habitations were
Bethel and her daughters, and eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer and
her daughters, and Shechem and her daughters unto Ajjah[5] and her daughters.
29 And on the side of the sons of Manasseh, Bethshean and her daughters,
Taanach and her daughters, Megiddo and her daughters, Dor and her
daughters; in these dwelt the sons of Joseph the son of Israel.

*ζ. The Tribe of Asher:* vers. 30–40.

30 The sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishuah, and Ishui, and Beriah, and Serah
31 their sister. And the sons of Beriah: Heber and Malchiel; he is the father
32 of Birzavith.[6] And Heber begat Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham, and
33 Shua their sister. And the sons of Japhlet Pasach, and Bimhal, and
34 Ashvath: these are the sons of Japhlet. And the sons of Shemer: Ahi, and
35 Rohgah, and Hubbah,[7] and Aram. And the son of Helem his brother:
36 Zophah, and Imna, and Shelesh, and Amal. The sons of Zophah: Suah, and
37 Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah, Bezer, and Hod, and Shamma,
38 and Shilshah, and Ithran, and Beera. And the sons of Jether: Jephunneh,
39 and Pispah, and Ara. And the sons of Ulla: Arah, and Hanniel, and Riziah.
40 All these were the sons of Asher, heads of father-houses, choice, valiant heroes,
heads of the princes: and their register for the service in war was twenty and
six thousand.

[1] For וְלִבְנֵי read וּבְנֵי, as the Sept. *cod. Alex.* reads *καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ Ἰσσάχαρ* (*cod. Vat.* has *καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσσ.*).

[2] So the *Keri:* the *Kethib* has יָשִׁיב.

[3] יְעִישׁ in the *Kethib.*

⁴ אֲשַׂרְאֵל appears to be a gloss introduced into the text by the double writing of the following consonants, אשר יל.

⁵ So (עַיָּה) all the best mss. and prints. The עַזָּה of some other mss. and editions is an error of the pen or the press introduced into the text by the influence of the Sept., Vulg., and Targ.; comp. de Rossi, *Var. lect. ad h. l.*

⁶ So the *Keri*: it is doubtful how the *Kethib* ברוחת is to be pronounced (בְּרוּחֹת? with Gesen., who supposes it to be a woman's name).

⁷ For יחבה is to be read, with the *Keri*, וְחֻבָּה.

EXEGETICAL.

1. *The Tribe of Issachar:* vers. 1-5.—*And the sons of Issachar.* That וְלִבְנֵי is an error of the pen for וּבְנֵי (comp. ver. 20, v. 11, etc.), occasioned by the many לִבְנֵי in the previous section (vi. 42, 46, 47, etc.), is probable in itself, and is confirmed by the Sept. *cod. Alex.* (see Crit. Note). To regard the לְ as introductory, "as for the sons of Issachar," is impossible, because the names of the four sons immediately follow. On the constant *Keri* (יָשִׂכָר, "obtained by hire") referring to the name יִשָּׂשכָר, and on its probable pronunciation, comp. the expositors on Gen. xxx. 16, and Dietrich's *Gesenius.*—*Tola and Puah, Jashub and Shimron.* So run the names also in Num. xxvi. 23 ff., while in Gen. xlvi. 15 the second and third vary (פֻּוָּה for פּוּאָה, and יוֹב for יָשׁוּב).—Ver. 2. *Uzzi and Rephaiah,* etc. These sons of Tola occur nowhere else. They are here designated "heads of their father-houses to Tola" their parent; this addition לְתוֹלָע serves to define לְבֵית אֲבוֹתָם more exactly; but it is somewhat strange, which raises the suspicion of corruption.—*Valiant heroes in their generations,* after their births, that is, as they are registered. Before לְתֹלְדוֹתָם a הִתְיַחְשָׂם appears to have fallen out; comp. ver. 9. Less probable is the connection of לְתֹלְדוֹתָם with the following מִסְפָּרָם, against the accentuation, which Keil proposes, "after their births their number was," etc. Moreover, the number 22,600 for the men of Issachar fit for service in David's time should rest on the known census made by Joab under this king (ch. xxi.; 2 Sam. xxiv.), and therefore, like the following numbers, vers. 4, 5, 7, 11, etc., should be credible and accurate.—Ver. 3. *Five heads in all,* namely, Izrahiah the father with his four sons.—Ver. 4. *And with them,* namely, the five heads of families mentioned ver. 3 (עַל in עֲלֵיהֶם, "with, along with"). The number 36,000 for this family alone is at first sight surprising; but the following remark: "for they (those five heads) had many wives and sons," is sufficient to explain and justify it, pointing to an unwonted fruitfulness of this family, and making it conceivable that the grandson of Izrahiah should have nearly twice as many descendants (36,000) as the patriarch Tola (22,600).—Ver. 5. *And their brethren . . . eighty and seven thousand was their register,* literally, their register with respect to all (לַכֹּל). In this sum total of all the tribes of Issachar in the time of David are included—1. The 22,600 descendants of Tola; 2. The 36,000 of Izrahiah; and 3. "Their brethren," 28,400 of the other families of the tribe not mentioned by name. The credibility of these numbers is shown by the circumstance that in the two enumerations under Moses the men of Issachar fit for service were respectively 54,400 (Num. i. 29) and 64,300 (Num. xxvi. 25). The comparatively slow increase (about 23,000) during the centuries from Moses to David is due to the desolating troubles in the time of the judges.

2. *The Tribe of Benjamin:* vers. 6-11.—*Benjamin: Bela, and Becher, and Jediael, three.* A בְּנֵי or וּבְנֵי appears to have fallen out before בִּנְיָמִן. If only three sons of Benjamin are here enumerated, this seems to contradict Gen. xlvi. 21, where ten sons of Benjamin are named; also Num. xxvi. 38, where at least five are named; and 1 Chron. viii. 1 f., where at all events five are enumerated, though some of them are different from those in Numbers. The relation of these four different registers may be thus exhibited:—

| Gen. xlvi. | Num. xxvi. | 1 Chr. viii. | 1 Chr. vii. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bela. | Bela. | Bela. | Bela. |
| Becher. | | | Becher. |
| Ashbel. | Ashbel. | Ashbel. | |
| Gera. | | | |
| Naaman. | | | |
| Ehi. | Ahiram. | Ahrah (אַחְרַח). | |
| Kosh. | | | |
| Muppim. | Shephuphan. | | |
| Huppim. | Hupham. | | |
| Ard. | | | |
| | | Nochah (נוֹחָה). | |
| | | Raphah (רָפָא). | |
| | | | Jediael. |

From this comparison, it appears that—1. Jediael occurs only here, and may be corrupted from the Ashbel of the other three lists, or a synonymous by-form of it. If this conjecture of most old expositors (with which the derivation of אשבל from אִשְׁבַּעַל [Wellhausen, *Text d. B. Sam.* p. 31] would not agree) were well grounded, our text would give three sons of Benjamin agreeing with Genesis, and pass over in silence the remaining seven. 2. Becher the second son of Benjamin, is, to our surprise, wanting in Num. and 1 Chron. viii., although a family of nine sons, growing into 20,200 men, are given underneath (vers. 8, 9). His omission in those lists in Num. xxvi. may arise from this, that he did not attain to great numbers in the time of Moses, but only in the days of David and Solomon, whose enumerations lie at the basis of the data here. 3. Some of the differences in the other names prove to be mere variations of pronunciation or structure; thus Ehi, Ahiram, and Ahrah are one and the same; also Mup-

pim (מֻפִּים, probably written by mistake for שְׁפִּים; see on ver. 12) and Shephupham, Huppim and Hupham. 4. Two of the ten names in Gen. xlvi., as the partly more correct genealogy in Num. xxvi. 38-40 shows, are not sons, but grandsons of Benjamin, Naaman and Ard, who were sons of Bela. 5. The two names in Gen xlvi. that have no parallel, Gera and Rosh, appear to have died childless, or to have not been blessed with a numerous offspring, to whose existence the later genealogists were not led to make any further reference.—Ver. 7. *And the sons of Bela . . . fire*, etc. Their names do not agree with the names of the sons of Bela given in viii. 3 and in Num. xxvi. 40; the difference will rest on this, that a part of these heads of father-houses of the family of Bela, or perhaps all of them, were later descendants of their ancestors, and therefore sons in a wider sense.—*Valiant heroes.* גִּבּוֹרֵי חֲיָלִים here and in ver. 10 for the otherwise usual and more concrete גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל (vers. 2, 9, etc.).—Ver. 8. *And the sons of Becher*, etc. Of the names of these nine sons of Becher, the last two, Anathoth and Alemeth, occur otherwise as cities of Benjamin; Alemeth (in the varied form עָלֶמֶת), vi. 45, and Anathoth there and Isa. x. 30, Jer. i. 1, both as Levitical cities.—Ver. 9. *Heads of their father-houses, valiant heroes.* רָאשֵׁי בֵּית אֲבוֹתָם is in explanatory apposition with לְתֹלְדוֹתָם, and גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל with the former. The heads of houses are, at the same time, designated as heroes of war. See a similar construction in Ezra iii. 12. —Ver. 10. *And the sons of Bilhan: Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud*, etc. Of these grandsons of Jediael, the first is called in the *Kethib* "Jeish" (see Crit. Note); the second bears the name of the patriarch, his ancestor; the third is a namesake of Ehud the judge (Judg. iii. 15), who was of the family of Gera, and scarcely identical with the present one (Gen. xlvi. 21). Chenaanah, כְּנַעֲנָה, may incline us to think (with Berth.) of a Canaanitish family incorporated with the Benjamites. The names Tarshish, otherwise denoting a precious stone, and Ahishahar, brother of the morning blush, point to the glory and fame of their bearers, and may be surnames, which afterward became personal names.—Ver. 11. *All these were sons*, descendants, *of Jediael, by the heads of the fathers* registered. רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת stands briefly for רָאשֵׁי בֵּית אָבוֹת. The לְ before רָאשֵׁי seems to be redundant; it is also wanting in the Sept., and is perhaps to be erased, though it may be dependent on a הִתְיַחְשָׂם (ver. 9) to be supplied in thought, and in this case to be retained. The 17,200 men of Jediael's family fit for war, with the 20,200 men of Becher's and 22,034 of Bela's, make up 59,434 warriors or heads of houses in Benjamin when David made his census, about 14,000 more than in the days of Moses, when all the families of Benjamin presented in the field 45,600 men (Num. xxvi. 41). In weighing the grounds for this not very rapid increase during a period of three or four centuries, it is proper to take into account the catastrophe of the first period of the judges, whereby the whole tribe of Benjamin was reduced to 600 men (Judg. xx. 47). The number of 280,000 Benjamite warriors given, 2 Chron. xiv. 7, for the time of Asa is explained in this way, that there, not heads of houses, but individuals fit for military service, are included.

3. *Another* (unnamed) *Tribe, and the Tribe of Naphtali:* vers. 12, 13.—*And Shuppim and Huppim, sons of Ir.* This first half of the verse contains pretty certainly a supplement to the genealogy of Benjamin; for the names Shuppim and Huppim coincide with those of two by the sons of Benjamin, as they are called Gen. xlvi. 21 (the word מֻפִּים there appears, as has been said, corrupted from שְׁפִּים); and that these two Benjamites, whose more correct forms are preserved in Num. xxvi. 39, appear here as בְּנֵי עִיר, is easily reconciled with other statements, for עִיר is most probably identical with עִירִי the son of Bela, ver. 7; hence those who are called, Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi., sons of Bela, appear here more correctly as his grandsons. Thus our verse contains so far nothing difficult or enigmatical. —*Hushim, sons of another*, or "sons of Aher" (אַחֵר). It is possible that these words also refer to a Benjamite family, for the name חֻשִׁם, in the varying form חוּשִׁים or חֻשִׁים, is found, viii. 8, 11, among the Benjamites as the son of a Shaharaim, who might lie hid under the אַחֵר of our passage (so thinks Davidson, *Introd.* ii. 51, who proposes the middle form שַׁחַר as common ground for אַחֵר and שַׁחֲרַיִם). But it is more probable that חֻשִׁם denotes the only son of Dan mentioned Gen. xlvi. 23, who is himself indicated by the mysterious אַחֵר. For—1. Both in Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi. Dan immediately follows Benjamin, and he stands in the first passage, as here, between Benjamin and Naphtali. 2. The name שׁוּחָם, which Num. xxvi. 42 gives for the only son of Dan, is different only in form from the חֻשִׁם of our passage and the חֻשִׁים of Genesis; we may suppose a חוּשָׁם or שׁחוּחָם (comp. שְׁפוּפָם, Num. xxvi. 39) as common groundform for both. 3. Decisive for the reference of ver. 12*b* to the tribe of Dan is the בְּנֵי בִלְהָה at the close of ver. 13, a note referring obviously, Gen. xlvi. 25, to Dan and Naphtali, the two sons of Bilhah. The avoiding to name Dan, and concealing him under the indefinite אַחֵר (comp. Ezra ii. 31), recall the former surprising omissions of this tribe in vi. 46-54, and appear to rest like these on a peculiar dislike of our author to record particulars concerning a tribe that had early separated itself from the theocratic community by the establishment of a foreign worship; comp. Judg. xvii. xviii. That the name Dan occurs three times in our book (ii. 2, xii. 35, xxvii. 22) certainly appears to stand against this

hypothesis proposed by Bertheau, and approved by other moderns, as Kamph., Böhmer (*Zur Lehre vom Antichrist, Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1859, p. 449), and to favour either the view of Ewald, who supposes an accidental omission of the name of Dan and of some other words by a corruption of the text, or that of Keil, who, with the ancients, finds in the words "Hushim, sons of Aher," only a Benjamite family (named viii. 8, 11). But that here again a corruption of the text accidentally affects the name of Dan, whom we expect to meet between Benjamin and Naphtali, is scarcely credible; and against the addition of the words in question to the foregoing series of Benjamites is the absence of the copula ו before חֻשִׁם. There is therefore considerable probability in the assumption of Berth., that the omission of Dan is as little accidental here as in the list of the twelve tribes in Rev. vii. 5-8, and that it has a theocratic, judicial import, as it points to the fall of Dan into idolatry. From the Rabbinical tradition concerning Judg. xviii. 30, where the name of Moses is supposed to be intentionally changed into Manasseh, that it might not occur in the history of the Danite sanctuary, nothing can be drawn in support of this assumption, as this is only an insipid conceit in explanation of the *Keri* מנשה (against Berth.). It is also to be borne in mind that another tribe, that of Zebulun, is wholly passed over in our series, the omission of which may well be called accidental (as, for example, that of the tribes Asher and Gad in the list of tribe-princes, xxvii. 16-24). Comp. the evangelical-ethical principles, No. 2.—*The sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jazer, and Shallum.* The parallel lists, Gen. xlvi. 24, Num. xxvi. 48 f., give these names, only the first is there Jahzeel (יַחְצְאֵל) and the last Shillem (שִׁלֵּם). For the addition, "sons of Bilhah," see on ver. 12.

4. *The half-Tribe of Manasseh* (west of Jordan): vers. 14-19.—*The sons of Manasseh: Ashriel, whom his concubine the Aramitess bare.* That here it is treated of the western half of Manasseh is understood of itself after the former communications concerning East Manasseh, v. 23 f. Of the six families of West Manasseh named in Num. xxvi. 30, 34, and Josh. xvii. 2, only two are mentioned here, Ashriel and Shemida (ver. 19). But Ashriel, from the more exact accounts in Num. xxvi. 31, is not a son, but a grandson, of Manasseh, by his father Gilead. Now, as the following sentence referring to the Aramæan concubine of Manasseh, "she bare Machir the father of Gilead," seems designed to explain how Ashriel could be called a son of Manasseh and his concubine, it seems necessary to assume that he sprang from her in the fourth degree as the son of Gilead and grandson of Machir. But this assumption is as doubtful as the Masoretic expedient, which separates the words אֲשֶׁר יָלָדָה by an *Athnach* under the latter from the following פִּילַגְשׁוֹ וגו׳, and requires the supplement of some unmentioned wife to the "whom she bare." The sagacious hypothesis of Movers (assented to by Berth. and Kamph.) here commends itself, that the name Ashriel, as a gloss arising from writing twice the consonants immediately following אשר יל, is to be erased, and so the sense is to be gained: "the sons of Manasseh, whom his Aramæan concubine bare: she bare Machir," etc. Comp. the Sept. on Gen. xlvi. 26: ἐγένοντο δὲ υἱοὶ Μανασσῆ, οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ ἡ παλλακὴ ἡ Σύρα.—Ver. 15. *And Machir took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim,* etc. The whole verse is so obscure, that the assumption either of interpolation or of the omission of some words seems unavoidable. Bertheau proceeds in the former way, rejects the words לְחֻפִּים וּלְשֻׁפִּים as a gloss from ver. 12, and by means of some other changes, especially the insertion of ver. 18*a*, arrives at the sense: "and Machir took a wife, whose name was Maachah, and the name of his sister was Hammolecheth; and the name of his brother (the second) was Zelophehad." Somewhat less violent is the emendation attempted by Movers (p. 89), which limits itself to the change of אֲחֹתוֹ before מעכה into הָאַחַת, and yields the sense: "and Machir took a wife from Huppim and from Shuppim (לְ standing for מִן, and pointing to a marriage of Machir with two wives out of the families of Huppim and Shuppim, ver. 12); the name of the first was Maachah, and the name of the second Zelophehad." Keil conjectures an omission of some words, among these the name of Ashriel, the first son of Gilead, but at the same time the intrusion of senseless interpolations in ver. 15*a;* while, on the contrary, he regards as critically impregnable the words of the second half verse: "and the name of the second is Zelophehad; and Zelophehad had daughters (only)." Several gaps are also supposed in the emendations of older writers, as in that of J. H. Michaelis, who endeavours to squeeze out the sense: "and Machir took to wife (the sister of) Huppim and Shuppim, and the name of his sister (namely of Huppim) was Maachah, and the name of the second (here named son of Manasseh) was Zelophehad." From the unsatisfactory character of all these attempts, it is plain that a correct interpretation of the verse must be given up. So much only is clear from the second gloss, whether it be preserved intact or in some way corrupted, that therein Zelophehad was called the brother or near relative of Machir, and was the same who, Num. xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 1 ff., Josh. xvii. 3, was called the father of a great number of daughters.—Ver. 17. The sons of Maachah here mentioned, Peresh and Sheresh, as also the sons of the latter, Ulam and Rekem, occur only here.—Ver. 17. *And the sons of Ulam: Bedan.* The Masoretic text names a judge Bedan, 1 Sam. xii. 11, where, however, perhaps בָּרָק is to be read.—*These are the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir.* Bertheau, perhaps rightly, proposes here the change (favoured by ver. 41 and by ii. 21): "These are the sons of the father of Gilead, of Machir the son of Manasseh."—Ver. 18. *And his sister Hammolecheth bare Ishod.* The Vulg. explains this not elsewhere occurring name appellatively: *Regina* (as Kimchi, queen of a part of Gilead). Rightly?—The first of her sons, Ishod, "man of fame, of glory," is otherwise unknown; on the contrary, the second appears to be identical with the Abiezer named Josh. xvii. 2, the chief of one of the families of Manasseh. If this were so, he would have to pass for the ancestor of Gideon, Judg. vi. 11, 15. But

Abiezer in Joshua, or Jezer (איעזר) as it is in Num. xxvi. 30, appears as first son of Manasseh after Machir, not as the mere sister's son of this Machir, as here; for which reason the identity is doubtful. Whether the following name מַחְלָה denotes a brother of these two, or a sister (comp. Mahlah, the daughter of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1), is doubtful.—Ver. 19. *And the sons of Shemidah.* A son of Manasseh, Josh. xvi. 2, or, more exactly, of Gilead, Num. xxvi. 32. The names of his four sons, except Shechem, שְׁכֶם, who appears, Josh. xvii. 2, as an immediate son of Manasseh, but, Num. xxvi. 32, as a son of Gilead, occur nowhere else; for Bertheau's attempts to connect Likhi with Helek, Num. xxvi. 30, and Aniam (אֲנִיעָם) with נֹעָה, one of the daughters of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, Josh. xvii. 3, are arbitrary.

5. *The Tribe of Ephraim:* vers. 20–29.—*Shuthelah, and Bered his son,* etc. Shuthelah appears also, Num. xxvi. 25, as founder of a chief family of Ephraim. This family is here traced through six generations to a second Shuthelah, ver. 21, to whom are then added Ezer and Elad, two brothers of the older Shuthelah, and therefore sons or near descendants of Ephraim.—*And the men of Gath, that were born in the land, slew them,* namely, Ezer and Elad. The Avim (Avites), driven by the Philistines from their seats between Hazerim and Gaza, Deut. ii. 23, are said to be born in the land, in contrast with the intruders. Hence Ew., Berth., Kamph. will have these Avim to be here meant, whereas Keil thinks rather of the Philistines, whose settlement in south-west Palestine, in the district of Gath, was attested even in the time of Abraham, or even of the Canaanites, but not the Avites, of whom there is no tradition that they had spread to Gath. At any rate, reference is here made to a very old event, as Ephraim, the son of Jacob, still lived and begat other children. This can scarely have taken place before the descent into Egypt, as Ephraim was born in Egypt, Gen. xlvi. 20 (against Ewald). We must suppose it to have occurred during the sojourn in Egypt, and to have been a warlike expedition from the land of Goshen, that may have fallen in the interval from Gen. l. 13–23. The verb יָרַד is not absolutely against this assumption, which was advocated by older expositors (Rossi, Kimchi, L. Lavater, Grot., Calov., etc.), and accepted by more recent ones, as Fürst (*Gesch. d. bibl. Lit.* i. 318). When the Ephraimite host marched from the wilderness of Shur or Paran, we may very well regard this as a descent upon the district of Gath (without directly identifying Ephraim with Paran, as Hitzig does, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 48).—Ver. 22. *And Ephraim, their father, mourned many days.* Bertheau will, without ground, take these words figuratively, and apply them to the whole tribe of Ephraim; the going in of Ephraim to his wife, mentioned ver. 23, can only be taken literally; and as there is no indication that a younger Ephraim is meant (as Keil), it is plainly recorded of the old patriarch Ephraim that he begat a son, Beriah, after those two sons were slain by the Gathites. Ewald perhaps goes too far, when he makes the sons Rephah and Resheph, ver. 25, be born to Ephraim in this latter period. Rather is the interwoven historical notice of the raid of Ezer and Elad against Gath and its results to be regarded as closed with ver. 23, and the following passage from ver. 24 to be taken as the continuation of the genealogy of Ephraim.—*And he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house,* "because there had been calamity (בְּרָעָה) in his house." This etymology of the name בְּרִיעָה, reminding us of the well-known derivations of Genesis (especially Gen. v. 9, 29, 30), speaks for the undoubted antiquity of the present account. For the relation of this Ephraimite to his namesake of Benjamin, see on viii. 13 f.—Ver. 24. *And his daughter was Sherah,* namely, Ephraim's daughter (ver. 20), not Beriah's, who is only mentioned by the way. The places Nether and Upper Beth-horon built, that is, fortified, by this Sherah, probably a powerful heiress, correspond (Robinson, iii. 273 ff.) to the present Beit Ur et-Tachta and Beit Ur el-Foka, on the road from Jerusalem to Joppa. They lay at the south border of the tribe of Ephraim, on a strip of land stretching out between the tribes of Benjamin and Dan. Uzzen-Sherah must be sought in their immediate neighbourhood. The name (אֹזֶן=אֻזֵּן, ear) points to a like projection or skirt as its site.—Vers. 25–27. *Joshua's forefathers.—And Rephah his son, and Resheph.* These two can scarcely pass for actual sons of Ephraim; comp. Num. xxvi. 35 f. It is uncertain to which of the families of Ephraim there mentioned they belonged.—*And Telah his son,* that is, Rephah's son, who is the chief person, while Resheph is only mentioned by the way. The Tahan named as the son of this Telah appears different from the Tahan named Num. xxvi. 25 as son of Ephraim, but might belong to his posterity.—Ver. 26. *Ladan his son,* etc. The name לַעְדָּן occurs, xxiii. 7 f., xxvi. 21, also as the name of a Levitical family, but only here as an Ephraimite. Elishama, the son of Ammihud, meets us, Num. vii. 48, x. 22, as prince of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of Moses. His grandson was Joshua the son of Non, or Nun, as it is constantly spelled in the Pentateuch and Joshua. [This episode corresponds in antiquarian interest with the notices concerning Caleb in ch. ii. The simplest exposition of the passage is obtained by making a pause after "Shuthelah his son," and another after "Rephah his son." Ezer and Elad are then the second and third sons of Ephraim. This younger but greater son of Joseph became heir to the portion of ground which Jacob had taken from the Amorite in the region of Shechem, Gen. xlviii. 22. Hence, in the early period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, we find Ephraim in this quarter asserting his claim and taking possession of this domain. The presence, or perhaps the aggression, of his family provoked the Philistines, and in a warlike encounter these two sons of Ephraim were slain by the men of Gath. After this another son was born to Ephraim, of whom Sherah, the builder or fortifier of towns, and Rephah were most probably the daughter and son, though they are generally regarded as the immediate children of Ephraim. Then we have a fifth son of Ephraim, Resheph, through whom Joshua is the eighth in descent from Ephraim. After the exploits of Sherah, it is probable that the tribe lost its hold on this region, and the bondage in Egypt com-

menced. We learn from this curious passage that there were nine generations in the line of Joshua during the sojourn in Egypt.—J. G. M.]—Vers. 28, 29 attach as a geographical notice of the dwelling-places of the Ephraimites, ver. 28, and West Manassites, ver. 29, to their genealogies, as the account of the Levitical cities, vi. 39 ff., to the preceding genealogy of Levi, or as the like geographical notice of the dwelling-places of the Simeonites, iv. 28 ff., to the preceding genealogy. —*Bethel and her daughters*, that is, the surrounding hamlets belonging to Bethel. Bethel, now Beitin, on the borders of Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 2, xviii. 15), was originally assigned to the former tribe (Josh. xviii. 22), but afterwards belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, and therefore to Ephraim. Our genealogist regards only this later relation.—*Naaran* bears in Josh. xvi. 7 the name נַעֲרָתָה, lengthened by ה local, and seems to be identical with Neara, north of Jericho (comp. Joseph. *Antiq*. xvii. 13. 1).—*Gezer* (Josh. xvi. 3) lay between Bethhoron and the sea, in the south-west corner of Ephraim, while the next named, Shechem and Ajjah, lay on the north-west. For the uncertainty of the reading עַזָּה, see Crit. Note. The only here occurring עַיָּה lay not far from Shechem (Neapolis, Nablous), perhaps in the region of Michmethah (Josh. xvi. 6, xvii. 7).—Ver. 29. *And on the side of the sons of Manasseh*, on their border, and in their possession. עַל יְדֵי, as in vi. 16. The four cities now named, Bethshean, Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor, lie properly (like Ibleam joined with them, Josh. xvii. 11) outside the territory of Manasseh, in that of the tribes of Issachar and Asher bordering it on the north. They were, however, to be assigned to Manasseh as remote dwelling-places towards the north, and serve here to mark the north border of the whole territory of "the sons of Joseph," as the Ephraimite cities named, ver. 28, determined their south border.

6. *The Tribe of Asher:* vers. 30–40.—*The sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishuah, and Ishui, and Beriah.* So Gen. xlvi. 17, whereas, Num xxvi. 44 ff., Ishui is omitted. Beriah's sons Heber and Malchiel occur also in Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi., but the last, Birzajith, only here (perhaps a woman's name, see Crit. Note; but perhaps also = בְּאֵר זַיִת, "well of the olive," and so a local name).—Vers. 32-34. Heber's descendants for three generations. The name Shomer (שׁוֹמֵר), ver. 32, recurs, ver. 34, in the form שֶׁמֶר (*in pausa* שָׁמֶר), without warranting a difference between the two. For the name Ahi (אֲחִי) in ver. 34 (which is not to be taken appellatively, "brother," as the following ו shows), comp. v. 15, where a Gadite is so called.—Vers. 35–38. Descendants of Helem, as it appears, the son of Heber, and brother of Shemer, who was called Hotham in the third place after Japhlet and Shomer, ver. 32. One of the two names, either חוֹתָם or חֵלֶם, seems to have arisen from a slip of the pen, but which is uncertain. So it is with Ithran, the last but one of the eleven sons of Zophah, ver. 37, who reappears in the following verse under the name of Jether, and perhaps also with Ulla, ver. 39, which may be = Beera, the last son of Zophah, on the supposition of a very gross error of the pen.—Ver. 40. *All these were the sons of Asher*, etc. This collective notice is like that in ver. 11; the plur. חֲיָלִים, as in ver. 5.—*Heads of the princes* (Vulg. *duces ducum*), that is, captains of the greater divisions of the army, at the head of which stood the נְשִׂיאִים, *elati, magnates, optimates*.—*And their register for the service in war*, that is, not that of the whole tribe of Asher, but only that of the family of Heber, as the most powerful and flourishing. The limitation to this one family explains how the present list of warriors (it is expressly designated as such, in contrast with registers including the whole inhabitants of the country; comp. ix. 22) yields only 26,000 men of war, whereas for the whole tribe of Asher, the numbers 41,500 and 53,400 are given in Num. i. 41, xxvi. 47.

## 2. *Again the Families of Benjamin, especially the House of Saul:* ch. viii.

### 1. *The Families of Benjamin:* vers. 1–28.

CH. VIII. 1. And Benjamin begat Bela his first-born, Ashbel the second, and Ahrah
2, 3 the third. Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth. And the sons of Bela
4 were Addar, and Gera, and Abihad. And Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah.
5 And Gera, and Shephuphan, and Huram.
6 And these are the sons of Ehud (these are the heads of the fathers to the
7 inhabitants of Geba, and they removed them to Manahath. Even Naaman,
and Ahiah, and Gera, he removed them): and he begat Uzza and Ahihud.
8 And Shaharaim begat, in the field of Moab, after he had sent them away,
9 Hushim and Baarah, his wives. And he begat of Hodesh his wife: Jobab, and
10 Zibiah, and Mesha, and Malcam. And Jeuz, and Shobiah, and Mirma: these
11 were his sons, heads of fathers. And of Hushim he begat Ahitub and
12 Elpaal. And the sons of Elpaal: Eber, and Misham, and Shemer; he built
Ono and Lod, and her daughters.
13 And Beriah and Shema (these were the heads of fathers for the inhabi-
14 tants of Aijalon; these put to flight the inhabitants of Gath). And Ahio,[1]
15, 16 Shashak, and Jeremoth. And Zebadiah, and Arad, and Eder. And Michael,
and Ishpah, and Joha, sons of Beriah.

17, 18 And Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and Hizki, and Heber. And Ishmerai,
and Izliah, and Jobab, sons of Elpaal.
19, 20 And Jakim, and Zichri, and Zabdi. And Elienai, and Zillethai, and Eliel.
21 And Adaiah, and Beraiah, and Shimrath, sons of Shimi.
22, 23 And Ishpan, and Eber, and Eliel. And Abdon, and Zichri, and Hanan.
24, 25 And Hananiah, and Elam, and Antothijah. And Iphdeiah, and Penuel, sons
of Shashak.
26, 27 And Shamsherai, and Shehariah, and Athaliah. And Jaareshiah, and
28 Elijah, and Zichri, sons of Jeroham. These were heads of fathers in their
generations, chiefs; these dwelt in Jerusalem.

2. *The House of Saul:* vers. 29–40.

29 And at Gibeon dwelt Abi-gibeon; and his wife's name was Maachah.
30 And his first-born son was Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Nadab.
31, 32 And Gedor, and Ahio, and Zecher. And Mikloth begat Shimah: and these
also, beside their brethren, dwelt in Jerusalem with their brethren.
33 And Ner begat Kish, and Kish begat Saul, and Saul begat Jonathan, and
34 Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Esh-baal. And the son of Jonathan was
35 Merib-baal; and Merib-baal begat Micah. And the sons of Micah: Pithon,
36 and Melech, and Tarea, and Ahaz. And Ahaz begat Jehoaddah; and Jehoad-
37 dah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza. And
38 Moza begat Binah: Rapha his son, Elasah his son, Azel his son. And Azel
had six sons; and these are their names: Azrikam, Bocheru,[2] and Ishmael, and
39 Shehariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan; all these were the sons of Azel. And
the sons of Eshek his brother: Ulam his first-born, Jeush the second, and
40 Eliphelet the third. And the sons of Ulam were valiant heroes, archers, and
had many sons and sons' sons, a hundred and fifty; all these were of the sons
of Benjamin.

[1] Instead of a proper name אֲחִיו, the Sept. read אָחִיו, as they render ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. The conjecture of Bertheau, that the appellative is the original sense, and that the name Elpaal, which from ver. 18 we expect here, has fallen out before this אחיו, so that the text was originally וְאֶלְפַּעַל אָחִיו וְשָׁשָׁק, is very plausible. See Exposition

[2] For בֹּכְרוּ (with the closing *u* of proper names, comp. גַּשְׁמוּ, Neh. vi. 6) the Sept. (πρωτότοκος αὐτοῦ) and some Hebrew mss. read בְּכוֹרוֹ, incorrectly however, as six sons of Azel are announced.

EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark. — This full supplement to the shorter genealogy of Benjamin in vii. 6–11 appears in its whole plan and form to have been taken from another document, when we regard the frequent occurrence of הוֹלִיד, the collection of many families in vers. 6–28, without expressing their relation with the nearest immediate descendants of Benjamin; and lastly, the termination of the whole genealogy, in a register of the house of Saul, reaching down nearly to the exile (or perhaps quite beyond it, as Bertheau will have it). The latter phenomena remind us of ch. iii. and iv. in relation to ch. ii., and show that the Chronist had before him genealogical accounts of the tribe of Benjamin, and the royal house descending from it, of the same extent and exactness as of Judah and the royal house of David.

1. *Families of Benjamin:* vers. 1–28.—*a. Sons of Benjamin and Bela:* vers. 1–5.—For the relation of the five sons of Benjamin here mentioned to those of the parallel list, see on vii. 6. Keil is perhaps right in supposing that only those sons are mentioned here who founded families of Benjamin. That Ahrah = Ahiram, Num. xxvi. 38, and also = Ehi, Gen. xlvi. 21, appears certain. It is possible that the not otherwise occurring names Nohah and Rapha correspond to the Shephupham and Hupham of the parallel list, Num. xxvi., or at least denote descendants of these two sons of Benjamin.—Ver. 3 ff. *And the sons of Bela were Addar, and Gera*, etc. The suspicion that the list of the sons of Bela contains several errors of transcription, is raised by the recurrence of the name Gera. אַדָּר also appears to be a transcriptive error for אַרְדְּ, Gen. xlvi. 21, שְׁפוּפָן for שְׁפוּפָם, and חוּרָם possibly for חוּפָם, Num. xxvi. 39. At any rate, several are found among these six sons of Bela, that appear in Gen. xli. 21 and Num. xxvi. 38 f. among the sons of Benjamin; in particular, the first of the two Geras is like the Gera there; and Naaman there appears again here. Only Abihud, Abishua, and Ahrah occur exclusively here as sons of Benjamin.

*b. Sons of Ehud:* vers. 6, 7.—*And these are the sons of Ehud.* As Ehud (אֵחוּד, union, from אחד) is radically different from Ehud (אֵהוּד, mild, from אהד, to be mild), the well-known judge Ehud, the son of Gera, Judg. iii. 15, has

nothing to do with the person here named.—*These are the heads of the fathers to the inhabitants of Geba.* These words, with the following notice of the removal to Manahath, are a parenthesis; the names of the sons of Ehud, Uzzah and Ahihud, follow at the close of ver. 7. For Geba, that is, "Geba of Benjamin," now Jeba, a Levitical city, comp. vi. 45; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 16. The place is the same as "Gibeah of Benjamin," 1 Sam. xii. 2, 15, xiv. 2, 16 (comp. Knobel on Isa. x. 29). For Manahath, a place of uncertain situation, of which the inhabitants were partly from Judah, see on ch. ii. 52 (Hazi-hammenuhoth). The subject to וַיַּגְלֵם is the three men named in ver 7, of whom, as the sing. הוּא shows, the last must have been the proper originator of the removal. Whether this Gera was the first or the second of the sons of Bela so named, is as uncertain as the other details of this old historical event.

*c. Descendants of Shaharaim:* vers. 8–12.—*And Shaharaim begat in the field of Moab,* etc. This Shaharaim, and his connection with the genealogy of Benjamin, are quite unknown. That he was the same as Ahishahar, vii. 10, or Shechariah, ver. 26, or that he lies hid under אחר (= שַׁחַר), —all these are uncertain conjectures. Neither do we know the ground of his coming to the field of Moab, or of his tarrying there.—*After he had sent them away,* (namely) *Hushim and Baarah, his wives.* מִן שִׁלְחוֹ, literally, "from his sending;" שִׁלְחוֹ, *inf. Piel,* retaining the *i* and rejecting the *Dag. f.* (Ew. § 238, *d*). The suff. in אוֹתָם may, though masc., refer only to the two wives whose names are appended (comp. Ew. § 309, *c*). The construction is thus more loose and negligent than in vers. 6, 7, since to the prefixing of the verb is added an *enallage generis.* Moreover, the first of the two names has not a feminine form (חוּשִׁים), and is only known as such by the following נָשָׁיו.—Ver. 9. *And he begat of Hodesh his wife,* namely, his third, after the dismissal of the two above named; perhaps a Moabitess, as the names of some of her sons have a Moabitish sound, particularly מֵישָׁא (comp. the king of Moab, מֵישַׁע, 2 Kings iii.), מַלְכָּם (name of the idol of Ammon and Moab, Jer. xlix. 1, 3), etc. For הוֹלִיד מִן, comp. on ii. 18.—Vers. 11, 12. Here follow the descendants of Shaharaim by Hushim, and these are certainly, in contrast with those Moabites, genuine Israelitish and cisjordanic, as the reference of the places Ono and Lod, west of the tribe of Benjamin, to one of them (probably to Elpaal, to whom the הוּא appears to apply), shows. Ono, without doubt adjacent to Lod, occurs also in Ezra ii. 33, Neh. vii. 37, xi 35, as a place in West Benjamin (properly by situation in Dan), and Lod is certainly Lydda, afterwards Diospolis, now Ludd or Lidd, north of Ramleh, near the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. In vers. 17, 18 follows a further series of sons of an Elpaal, whose identity with the present one is uncertain.

*d. Benjamite Heads of Families of Aijalon,* ver. 13, *and of Jerusalem* (see ver. 28): vers. 13–28.—*And Beriah and Shema,* etc. There is no visible genealogical connection of these and the next following with the foregoing names. On the contrary, a partly genealogical connection seems to exist between the five heads of families in vers. 13 and 14 and the following names in vers. 15 27. For in vers. 15, 16 are "sons of Beriah" enumerated, in vers. 22–25 "sons of Shashak" (see ver. 14); and if we may connect "the sons of Shimi" in vers. 19–21 with Shema, ver. 13 (because שֶׁמַע and שִׁמְעִי look like two forms of the same name), and discover in "the sons of Jeroham," vers. 26, 27 (by assuming an error of the pen), descendants of Jeremoth, ver. 14, it will be still more natural to combine "the sons of Elpaal," vers. 17, 18, with the fifth of the heads of families in ver. 13 f., and suppose "Ahio," ver. 14 = Elpaal, read אֶחָיו, with the Sept., instead of אַחְיוֹ, and supply אֶלְפַּעַל before it (according to Bertheau's proposed emendations; see Crit. Note). Many doubts, however, remain in force against this hypothesis, especially the circumstance that both ver. 13 and ver. 15 (where the descendants of Beriah, the first of the five heads of families, are enumerated) begin with a mere ו instead of a more distinct formula of introduction (such as in ver. 6, וְאֵלֶּה וגו').—*These were the heads of fathers for the inhabitants of Aijalon . . . Gath.* A historical notice *in parenthesi,* like that in vers. 6, 7. Aijalon, now Jalo, lay west of Gibeon, in the earlier district of Dan, where also Ono and Lod as Benjamite colonies were situated (comp. on ver. 12); see Josh. x. 12, xix. 42. Because Beriah and Shema are here named as conquerors of the inhabitants of Gath, Bertheau thinks we may infer an identity of the present fact with that mentioned vii. 21 ff., that the Benjamite family Beriah, after the defeat there recorded (in which Ezer and Elad fell), came to the help of Ephraim against the Gathites, overcame and chastised them, in gratitude for which they were admitted by the Ephraimites into their community, whence Beriah is there represented as a late-born son of Ephraim. That this is a mere fancy is manifest from the impossibility of understanding the account of Ephraim and his sons in vii. 21 ff. otherwise than literally (see on the passage). Besides, the name Beriah is by no means so rare that the identity of these persons and events can be inferred from it alone (comp. for example, Asher's son Beriah, vii. 30). And why might not Gath, in the long period of conflict between Israel and the Philistines, have been the object of repeated attacks by Israel?—Vers. 15, 16. *And Zebadiah, and Arad, and Eder,* etc. Of these six sons of Beriah nothing further is known, though their names almost all occur elsewhere: Zebadiah, ver. 17, among Elpaal's sons, and also xii. 7, Ezra viii. 8, x. 20; Michael still oftener, etc.—Vers. 17, 18. *And Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and Hizki,* etc. Of these seven sons of Elpaal, Bertheau will identify three, Meshullam, Heber, and Ishmerai, with the three sons of Elpaal in ver. 12, Misham, Eber, and Shemer, to make the identity of the Elpaal in both places probable. But this assumption is the more uncertain, the more doubtful it is whether that earlier Elpaal family that dwelt in Ono and Lydd can, by a supposed migration, be con-

nected with the present family in Jerusalem (see ver. 28).—Ver. 19 ff. On Shimi, Shashak, and Jeroham, and their probable identity with Shema, Shashak, and Jeremoth, vers. 13, 14, see above. Of the sons of these three heads of families given as far as ver. 27, nothing is known elsewhere, although their names mostly recur.—Ver. 28. *These were heads of fathers in their generations, chiefs.* The repetition of רָאשִׁים serves scarcely (as the Vulg., *principes inquam,* and some older expositors will have it) to lay stress on the idea of heads, which would be here quite unmeaning. The sense rather appears to be, "that the persons named in the genealogical lists are cited as heads (of houses); and this appears to be noted, that those cited as sons of such and such persons may not be taken for individual members of houses" (Keil).—*These dwelt in Jerusalem,* not merely the heads, but their families, who cannot be supposed to be separate from them.

2. *The House of Saul:* vers. 29-40 (comp. ch. ix. 35-44, where this section, with the exception of vers. 39, 40, recurs).—*a.* Saul's Ancestors: vers. 29-32.—*And at Gibeon dwelt Abi-gibeon; and his wife's name was Maachah.* The plur. יָשְׁבוּ refers also to the sons of Abi-gibeon, to be named in the following verse. Gibeon is now el Jib, two and a half hours north-west of Jerusalem; comp. Rob. ii. 351. The here appellatively-named Abi-gibeon, that is, father (founder) of Gibeon (comp. the like remarks in ii. 42 ff.), bears in ix. 35 the name Jeiel or Jeuel (יְעוּאֵל; *Kethib* יעואל). His descent from Benjamin is not given, and he occurs only here; and so it is with Maachah his wife, whose name, however, is of frequent occurrence (comp. on ii. 48).—Ver. 30. *And his first-born son was Abdon,* etc. Instead of the eight sons of Abi-gibeon here named, ch. ix. 36 f. enumerates ten; and, in fact, the names of two seem to have fallen out of our passage, namely Ner (between Baal and Nadab) and Mikloth (at the end of the series, ver 31), for their descendants are given in the following verses. It is doubtful whether the names בַּעַל and נָדָב at the close of our verse are to be combined into one, בַּעַלְנָדָב (as Wellh., *Text d. B. Sam.* p. 31, will have it). In chap. ix. 37 we find Zechariah in place of the present זָכֶר.—Ver. 32. *And Mikloth begat Shimah.* In ix. 38 he is called Shimam.—*And these also,* namely Shimah and his family, *beside their brethren, dwelt in Jerusalem with their brethren.* "These also" perhaps points only to Mikloth's family as likewise dwelling in Jerusalem. The "brethren" of these descendants of Shimah are the remaining Benjamites, in the first phrase ("beside their brethren") perhaps those dwelling outside of Jerusalem to the west and north, and in the second ("with their brethren") those settled in Jerusalem itself.

*b.* The Family of Ner, and the House of Saul: vers. 33-45.—*And Ner begat Kish, and Kish begat Saul.* As in 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51, the father of Kish is called Abiel, Ner is an earlier ancestor, perhaps the father or grandfather of the Abiel. Possibly, indeed, there was originally in the text, "And Ner begat Abner (comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 51), and Kish begat Saul;" for it is scarcely conceivable that the celebrated general Abner, the uncle of Saul, should be originally wanting in this genealogy (comp. Berth. and Kamph.).—*And Saul begat Jonathan . . . and Eshbaal.* Instead of these four sons of Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 49 names only three—Jonathan, Ishui, and Malchi-shua. But Ishui is, as appears from 1 Sam. xxxi. 2 and 1 Chron. x. 1, only another name for Abinadab; and thus the three, who are the three that fell with Saul, quite agree with the first three of those here named. But Eshbaal is no other than Ishbosheth, the well-known rival of David 2 Sam. ii. 8 ff. The change of the second element of this name (בַּעַל) into בֹּשֶׁת, "shame, idol," expressing abhorrence and contempt, may be compared with Jerubbaal, Judg. vi. 32, changed into Jerubbesheth (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת), 2 Sam. xi. 21, or with the name of the son of Ishbosheth, who is here called Meribbaal (so, with a slight difference in orthography, מְרִי־בַעַל, ix. 40), but in 2 Sam. iv. 4, xxi. 7, Mephibosheth (or perhaps מְרִיבֹשֶׁת, as at least Berth. thinks; but comp. Wellh., *Der Text d. B. Sam.* p. 31).—Ver. 35. The sons of Micah, the son of the lame Meribbaal, are four in number, the same as in ix. 41, 42, only that the last but one is called Tahrea (תַּחְרֵעַ) instead of Tarea (תַּאְרֵעַ).—Ver. 36. *And Ahaz begat Jehoaddah.* The descendants of this Ahaz are traced through ten generations. For יְהוֹעַדָּה (יוֹעַדָּה) stands in ix. 42 יַעְרָה, by a mistake of ר for ד. Of the two following names, Alemeth occurs (with a slight variation) in ix. 45 as a Benjamite place, and Azmaveth twice, xi. 33 and xii. 3, as a Benjamite person.—Ver. 37. Instead of Rapha (רָפָא), the parallel ix. 43 has the longer and more original form Rephaiah (רְפָיָה).—Ver. 38. For the name Bocheru, the second of the sons of Azel, comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 40. *And the sons of Ulam were valiant heroes, archers.* For the expression, comp. v. 18. For the thing, namely, the warlike prowess of the tribe of Benjamin, comp. Judg. xx. 16, Gen. xlix. 27.—*And had many sons and sons' sons, a hundred and fifty.* For מַרְבִּים, properly "multiplying" sons, comp. vii. 4, Lev. xi. 42. As grandsons of Ulam and grand-nephews of Azel (who was the thirteenth in descent from Saul), the hundred and fifty here mentioned were the fifteenth generation from Saul. If we reckon for every generation a maximum average of thirty years, the resulting sum of 450 years from the time of Saul (1095-1055) would terminate in the middle or second half of the 7th century B.C., and therefore in the time before the exile. Against Bertheau's attempt to assign the sons and grandsons of Ulam to the time after the exile, Keil justly remarks on the whole: "This reckoning is too high. Sixty years cannot be allowed for Saul and Jonathan, as Jonathan fell in the year 1055, and his son Meribbaal was then only five years old, and therefore born in 1060. In the following generations also not more than

twenty-five years on an average (?) can be allowed. Accordingly, the grandsons of Ulam's sons, who were the twelfth generation from Micah (son of Meribbaal), may have come into the world about 760 B.C., have grown into the host of 150 grandsons of Ulam about 760-700. But even if thirty years be reckoned for each generation, the last-named generation of 150 grandsons and great-grandsons of Ulam would have lived in the period from 660-600, and therefore before the exile, at least before the first great deportation of the people under Jehoiachin, 599 B.C." Moreover, the traces of a representation of the relations of the tribe of Benjamin after the exile which he has endeavoured to show in our chapter,—for example, the occurrence of several names of places and persons of our section in the history of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, the connection of the Benjamites in the land of Moab mentioned vers. 8-10 with the "princes in Moab" (פחת מואב) named in Ezra ii. 6, viii. 4, x. 30, Neh. iii. 11, vii. 11, the form בִּכְרִי corresponding with נַעֲמִי, the near agreement of the number 150 with the numbers of some families in Ezra and Nehemiah (comp. Ezra ii. 18-30, viii. 3 ff.), etc.,—would only render it probable that the present genealogical account extends beyond the exile, if we were entitled to suppose that a number of links had fallen out in the series of generations from Saul to Ulam and his grandsons. The possibility of such assumption is as undeniable as it is precarious to take it for granted without any sufficient ground.—*All these were of the sons of Benjamin.* "All these" goes back to ver. 1, and includes the whole of the names in our section.

## *f.* The Inhabitants of Jerusalem till the Times of the Kings, with a Repetition of the Genealogy of Saul.—Ch. ix.

### 1. *The Inhabitants of Jerusalem:* vers. 1-34.

Ch. ix. 1. And all Israel was registered; and, behold, they are written in the book
of the kings of Israel; and Judah[1] was carried away to Babel for his trans-
2 gression. And the former inhabitants, that were in their possession in
3 their cities, were Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim. And in
Jerusalem dwelt, of the sons of Judah, and of the sons of Benjamin, and of
the sons of Ephraim and Manasseh.
4 Uthai the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri, the son of
5 Bani,[2] of the sons of Perez the son of Judah. And of the Shilonites:[3] Asaiah
6 the first-born, and his sons. And of the sons of Zerah: Jeuel and their
brethren, six hundred and ninety.
7 And of the sons of Benjamin: Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of
8 Hodaviah, the son of Hassenuah. And Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and
Elah the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri, and Meshullam the son of Shephatiah,
9 the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah. And their brethren in their generations,
nine hundred and fifty and six; all these men were chiefs of their father-
houses.
10, 11 And of the priests: Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin. And Azariah
the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of
12 Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, a prince of the house of God. And Adaiah the
son of Jeroham, the son of Pashhur, the son of Malchijah, the son of Maasai,
the son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam, the son of
13 Meshillemith, the son of Immer. And their brethren, heads of the father-
houses, a thousand and seven hundred and sixty, able men for the work[4] of
the service in the house of God.
14 And of the Levites: Shemaiah the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam,
15 the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari. And Bakbakkar, Heresh, and
Galal, and Mattaniah the son of Micah, the son of Zicri, the son of Asaph.
16 And Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun,
and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, who dwelt in the villages
17 of the Netophathites.—And the porters: Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon,
18 and Ahiman, and their brethren; Shallum the head. And hitherto he was in
the king's gate eastward; these are the porters for the camps of the sons of
19 Levi.—And Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah,
and his brethren, for the house of his father, the Korhites, were over the work
of the service of the keepers of the thresholds of the tents; and their fathers
20 in the camp of the Lord were keepers of the entry. And Phinehas the son
21 of Eleazar was formerly prince over them; the Lord with him. Zechariah[5]

22 the son of Meshelemiah was porter at the door of the tent of meeting. All
these that were chosen to be porters at the thresholds were two hundred
and twelve; they were registered in their villages: David and Samuel the
23 seer had ordained them in their trust. And they and their sons were over
24 the gates of the house of the LORD, at the house of the tent, by wards. To
25 the four winds were the porters, to the east, west, north, and south. And
their brethren in their villages were to come in seven days from time to time
26 with them. For they were in trust, the four head keepers of the gates, these
Levites, and were[6] over the chambers and treasuries of the house of God.
27 And they lodged around the house of God; for on them was the charge, and
28 they had to open every morning. And some of them were over the vessels
29 of service, for they brought them in and out by tale. And some of them
were appointed over the vessels, even over all the holy vessels, and over the
30 flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the frankincense, and the spices. And
of the sons of the priests some were compounders of the ointment of the spices.
31 And Mattithiah of the Levites, who was the first-born of Shallum the Korhite,
32 was in trust over the baking in pans. And of the Kohathites their brethren,
33 some were over the shew-bread, to prepare it every Sabbath. And these the
singers, heads of the fathers for the Levites, were free[7] in the chambers; for
they were over them in the service day and night.
34 These are the heads of the fathers for the Levites, heads in their generations; these dwelt in Jerusalem.

### 2. *Register of Saul's Family repeated:* vers. 35–44.

35 And in Gibeon dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jeiel;[8] and his wife's name was
36 Maachah. And his first-born son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and
37, 38 Ner, and Nadab. And Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth. And
Mikloth begat Shimam; and they also, beside their brethren, dwelt in Jerusalem with their brethren.
39 And Ner begat Kish, and Kish begat Saul, and Saul begat Jonathan, and
40 Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal. And the son of Jonathan was
41 Merib-baal: and Merib-baal begat Micah. And the sons of Micah: Pithon,
42 and Melech, and Tahrea. And Ahaz begat Jarah; and Jarah begat Alemeth,
43 and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza. And Moza begat Bina,
44 and Rephaiah his son, Elasah his son, Azel his son. And Azel had six sons;
and these are their names: Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and
Obadiah, and Hanan; these were the sons of Azel.

[1] The Sept., the Vulg., and Luther attach וִיהוּדָה to the foregoing words (*τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα*), with an arbitrary interpretation of the following הָגְלוּ וגו׳ (*μετὰ τῶν ἀποικισθέντων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα,—translatique sunt in Babyl.*).

[2] For the *Kethib* בֶּן־בִּנְיָמִן־בְּנִי is doubtless to be read the *Keri* בֶּן־בָּנִי מִן־בְּנֵי (comp. the name בָּנִי in vi. 31, among the Merarites).

[3] For הַשִּׁלֹנִי, since שִׁילֹה (שִׁלֹן) is a city of Ephraim, must apparently have been read, according to Gen. xxvi. 20, הַשֵּׁלָנִי (the Shelanites, descendants of Shelah, third son of Judah). The incorrect pointing הַשִּׁילֹנִי appears to have arisen from the *scriptio plena:* הַשֵּׁילָנִי. Comp. Neh. xi. 5, where, instead of הַשִּׁילֹנִי, we should also perhaps point הַשֵּׁלָנִי.

[4] Before מְלֶאכֶת a ל (in consequence of the ל at the end of חֵיל) seems to have fallen out. Comp. *εἰς ἐργασίας* of the Sept., and ch. vii. 2, xii. 25 (also F. Böttcher, *Neue exeg. krit. Aehrenlese*, iii. 223).

[5] Before זְכַרְיָה a ו seems to have fallen out.

[6] For וְהֵם הַלְוִיִּם וְהָיוּ the original text seems to have been וּמִן הַלְוִיִּם הָיוּ; comp. ver. 14.

[7] *Kethib:* פְּטִירִים. *Keri:* פְּטוּרִים.

[8] So the *Keri*. The *Kethib* is יְעוּאֵל.

### EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—Of the two unequal sections into which our chapter falls, the second, vers. 35–44, coincides almost literally with viii. 29–38, and so presents only a repetition of the register of Saul and his house there given, preliminary to the narrative of the fall of his dynasty following in ch. x. The first section, vers. 1–34, presents in its first half, containing a list of the heads of families dwelling in Jerusalem, vers. 4–17, several points of contrast with a similar list in Neh. xi. 3–19. The plan of both lists is at all events the same; and if, with Bertheau, of the three chiefs of Judah, vers. 4–6, we put Uthai beside Athaiah (Neh. xi. 4), and Asaiah beside Maaseiah (ver. 5) (so that only the third name, Jeuel, has nothing corresponding to it in Nehemiah); if we consider the recurrence of the Benjamite chiefs Sallu and Hodaviah in Neh. xi. 7–9 (where, certainly, the remaining names are wanting); if we compare the six chiefs of the priestly divisions with those corresponding in number and mostly in name in the list of Nehemiah, and find *here* (vers. 10–13) the series: Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, Jachin, Azariah, Adaiah, Masai, *there* the series: Jedaiah, Joiarib, Jachin, Seraiah, Adaiah, Amashai; if we observe among the chief of the Levites two, Shemaiah and Mattaniah, verbally identical, and a third, Obadiah (= Abda in Nehemiah), approximately so; if, lastly, we perceive at least two of the four chiefs of the porters, Shallum and Akkub, common to both lists,—a pretty general agreement even in names appears to prevail between the two registers. It seems natural, also, either with Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 31; also Herzfeld, *Gesch.* p. 298) to conceive our list modelled after that of Nehemiah, or both drawn from one source, and in like manner referring to the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the exile, as Movers (p. 234), Berth., Kamph., etc., do. But if both lists are based upon one common document, relating to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, and arising from them, we should expect a more complete agreement with regard to all the names. The accordance of the names in only half of the whole number given, and the resemblance in place (giving first the sons of Judah, then the sons of Benjamin, then the priests, and then the Levites and porters), are sufficiently explained by supposing a general continuity of the inhabitants of Jerusalem before and after the exile, and laying the diversities of the two lists to the account of the altering, disturbing, and partly destroying effects of the exile, and the similarities to that of the endeavour of those returning with Zerubbabel and Ezra to restore as far as possible the former state of things. The following exegetical treatment of the passage will prove that, with this presupposition, the assumption of the origin of our present list before the exile, in contrast with the obvious reference of Nehemiah's list to the times after the exile, has nothing of moment against it, and is even demanded by ver. 2 and other indications.

1. Vers. 1–3. *Transition from the Genealogical Registers of the Twelve Tribes to the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem.—And all Israel was registered; and, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel; and Judah was carried away.* By the Masoretic accentuation, which plainly separates וִיהוּדָה from the foregoing words, and makes it the subject of a new sentence (comp. Crit. Note), the first sentence appears to treat of Israel in the narrow sense, that is, of the northern kingdom, and its kings in particular (so Berth., Kamph., etc.). But the phrase "all Israel" makes it more natural here to think of the people of the south as well as of the north; and it is also in favour of this, that the expression: "the book of the kings of Israel," is in 2 Chron. xx. 34 manifestly of like import with "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel," or "Israel and Judah," as well as that the universal sense of the term "Israel" is found at the beginning of the second verse. Keil therefore justly remarks: "The antithesis of Israel and Judah is analogous to that of Judah and Jerusalem;" that is, Israel denotes the whole covenant people, Judah a part. To understand the name Israel of the whole people is also demanded by the position of our verse at the end of the genealogies of all the tribes of Israel, and not merely of the ten northern tribes. That ver. 1 effects the transition from the genealogies to the following enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so forms properly the close of the genealogies in ch. ii.–viii., is so obvious, that Bertheau has not been able to bring forward a single tenable ground for his counter assertion, that "the verse forms obviously a new beginning." For the affirmation, that "we perceive in it a brief introduction to the historical accounts of the tribe of Judah, or of the Israelites after the exile," can furnish no ground for this, because it not only contradicts the assertion that Israel is to be understood of the northern kingdom, but cannot be reconciled with the letter of the verse (that begins with the connective וְ). The same exegete justly declares against the further assertion of Berth., that ver. 1 cannot be written by our historian himself, but must have been taken literally from his source,—an assertion which is devoid of all solid ground.—*For their transgression:* so ch. v. 25 f., 41.—Ver. 2. *And the former inhabitants, that were in their possession in their cities.* Movers, Berth., and Kamph., who find in the following list the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the exile, in the time of Nehemiah, will understand by these "former inhabitants" those citizens of Jerusalem who dwelt there in the time of Zerubbabel and his immediate successors, before Jerusalem was newly peopled from the surrounding districts. It is much more natural, with almost all old expositors, and with Keil, to refer הָרִאשֹׁנִים here to the inhabitants of Jerusalem before the exile; for, in that case, "the inhabitants in their possession in their cities" are in no way opposed as former inhabitants of Jerusalem to the later, but both appear so placed side by side that this opposition is excluded. The parallel Neh. v. 15, quoted by Bertheau, where the governors from Zerubbabel to Ezra are opposed as הַפַּחוֹת הָרִאשֹׁנִים to Nehemiah as the later פֶּחָה, proves indeed the possibility of understanding the predicate הָרִאשֹׁנִים in the sense of "before the exile," but not the necessity. And from the dwelling "in their cities" (comp. Ezra ii. 70; Neh. vii. 23, xi. 1 f.) nothing can be concluded in favour of this interpretation.—*Were Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim.* "Israel"

denotes here obviously the lay element of the citizens, that which is otherwise designated by עָם beside כֹּהֵן (Isa. xxiv. 2; Hos. iv. 9). For the notion and name of the Nethinim, properly the "bestowed," that is, the temple ministers, comp. Num. viii. 19; Josh. ix. 27; 1 Sam. i. 11; Ezra ii. 43, viii. 17, 20, and elsewhere.—Ver. 3. *And in Jerusalem dwelt of the sons of Judah*, etc. These words are not a superscription of the list of those dwelling in Jerusalem in contrast with those living in other cities (as Berth., etc.). The list rather begins with these words, so that thus the verse serves to introduce the contents of the greater part of our chapter (to ver. 34), and corresponds to ver. 35. This close connection of our verse with the following special enumeration of the families of Jerusalem (ver. 4 ff.), and the mention of "the sons of Ephraim and Manasseh" as fellow-citizens with them in Jerusalem (comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9), are against referring the present list to the time after the exile. The book of Nehemiah (xi. 3) announces its list corresponding to ours in quite another way, so that there no doubt at all remains of its exclusive reference to conditions and relations after the exile. Moreover, the circumstance that the following list contains no names of Ephraimites and Manassites in Jerusalem, is simply explained by this, that of the former only a very few families dwelt in Jerusalem, while the Jews and Benjamites formed the bulk of its population. On the evangelical and theocratic import of the association of Ephraim and Manasseh with Judah, Benjamin, and Levi in the citizenship of Jerusalem, comp. below, evangelical and ethical principles, No. 1.

2. Vers. 4–17. *Special Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and first, of the Heads of Families of Judah and Benjamin, of the Priests and Levites:* vers. 4–6.—Three heads of families out of the three chief branches of Judah, those of Perez, Shelah, and Zerah (comp. ii. 3, 4).—*Uthai, the son of Ammihud . . . of the sons of Perez.* The name Uthai might be etymologically equivalent to that of the Athaiah (עֲתָיָה) mentioned Neh. xi. 4 as a head of a family of the sons of Perez; for עוּתַי=עוּתְיָה, "whom Jehovah helps," might, if we regard the somewhat obscure root עתה as a by-form of עות, have the same meaning as עֲתָיָה. But to the still diverse form is to be added the quite different series of ancestors that connect Athaiah with Perez (Uzziah, Zechariah, Amariah, Shephatiah, Mahalalel, instead of the present Ammihud, Omri, Imri, Bani). It seems therefore very doubtful whether Uthai be the same with Athaiah. For the defective reading concealing the name Bani, see the Crit. Note.—Ver. 5. *And of the Shilonites, Asaiah the first-born*, etc. It seems pretty certain that הַשֵּׁלָנִי should be read here instead of הַשִּׁילֹנִי, as in Neh. xi. 5. We expect to find the descendants of Shelah (Num. xxvi. 20; comp. 1 Chron. ii. 3, iv. 21) mentioned between the sons of Perez and those of Zerah. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the Shelanite Asaiah (עֲשָׂיָה, "whom Jehovah has made") is to be at once taken as identical with the Maaseiah (מַעֲשֵׂיָה, "Jehovah's work"), as both names are of frequent occurrence (comp. for Asaiah, iv. 36, vi. 15, xv. 6, 11, 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14, and for Maaseiah, xv. 18, 20, 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, Jer. xxi. 1, xxix. 21). The existence of an Asaiah as head of a house in the family of Shelah before the exile does not preclude the appearance of a Maaseiah, son of Baruch, son of Col-hozeh, son of Hasaiah, etc., as head of this family after the exile.—Ver. 6. *And of the sons of Zerah: Jeuel and their brethren, six hundred and ninety.* This number refers, as the plur. suff. in אֲחֵיהֶם shows, not to Jeuel alone, but to the three chiefs named in vers. 4–6, and to their brethren, the remaining heads of houses of subordinate import. So it is also with the number 956 in ver. 9. Moreover, the name Jeuel (יְעוּאֵל), or its variant (יְעִיאֵל), occurs elsewhere; for example, v. 7, 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. In Neh. xi. no descendants of Zerah are given.—Vers. 7–9. Four Benjamite chiefs: Sallu, Ibneiah, Elah, Meshullam, of whom the first (and, as here, the son of Meshullam) occurs also Neh. xi., but the other three not; see the Preliminary Remark.—Ver. 9. *And their brethren*, etc.; comp. on ver. 6.—*All these men were chiefs of their father-houses.* This remark, which naturally refers, not to the brethren numbered, but to the chiefs named, applies to all that are named from ver. 4, both Jews and Benjamites. It serves thus to close the list of family chiefs, and lead to the following one of the priests and Levites.—Vers. 10–13. The priests of Jerusalem.—*Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin.* The names of these three priestly classes dwelling in Jerusalem (comp. xxiv. 7, 17) are found also in the parallel list in Neh. xi. 10 ff. (supposing that there, by a change of בֶּן־יוֹיָרִיב into יְהוֹיָרִיב, the true reading is restored).—Ver. 11. *And Azariah the son of Hilkiah . . . a prince of the house of God.* Instead of this prince or president of the temple, Azariah ben Hilkiah, certainly the same who, v. 40, was named as grandfather of the Jehozadak who was carried to Babel (comp. also 2 Chron. xxxi. 13), Neh. xi. 11 names rather a Seraiah son of Hilkiah. Yet the identity of this Seraiah with the Azariah of our passage is probable, as the other ancestors of both up to Ahitub (Meshullam, Zadok, Meraioth, Ahitub) are quite the same. Seraiah might indeed be a descendant of Azariah ben Hilkiah after the exile.—Ver. 12. *And Adaiah the son of Jeroham*, etc. This priestly chief Adaiah (belonging to the class of Malchijah; comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 9) is given in Neh. xi. 12 in the same form and with the same line, up to Malchijah, as here. The following Maasai (מַעְשַׂי), belonging to the class of Immer (1 Chron. xxiv. 14), is called in Nehemiah Amashai (עֲמַשְׁסַי), and appears there connected by another line with Immer. Another priestly chief given by Nehemiah, Zabdiel, son of Haggedolim, who is designated the president or overseer of the last-named priestly family (that of Amashai), is wanting here.—Ver. 13. *And their brethren, heads of the father-houses*, 1760. This number cannot possibly refer to the heads; it rather denotes (like the number 1192 in Nehemiah) that of the brethren or the heads of houses standing under the heads of the great complex of families. The phrase appears thus inexact; per-

haps, with Keil, a transposition of the words is to be assumed, in such a way that "heads of father-houses" is placed before and drawn to ver. 12 as closing formula, while "and their brethren" (וַאֲחֵיהֶם) is immediately connected with the number 1760. Moreover, that all the priests dwelling in Jerusalem, or the priestly families of the six classes named, amount in our passage to 1760, and in Nehemiah only to 1192, tends to confirm our view of the present list as belonging to the period before the exile; we expect for the priesthood of Jerusalem after the exile, about 150 years after the restoration of the city and temple, not so great a number as here.—*Able men for the work of the service in the house of God.* Before מְלֶאכֶת, which may not be a mere accusative of reference ("able men with respect to the work"), the word עֹשֵׂי (comp. xxiii. 24; Neh. xi. 12), or perhaps a mere לְ (which might easily be overlooked after חֵיל), appears to have fallen out; see Crit. Note.—Vers. 14–16. *The Levites of Jerusalem.—Shemaiah the son of Hashub,* etc. This Merarite Shemaiah, as the descendant of Asaph (therefore Gershonite) Mattaniah named in ver. 15, recurs in Neh. xi. 15, and with substantially the same line of ancestors. Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal (ver. 15*a*) are wanting there; for the first name would have to be identified with Bakbukiah, Neh. xi. 17, of which there are grave doubts, as בַּקְבַּקַּר (=בַּקְבַּק הָהָר) seems to mean "destruction of the hill;" but בַּקְבֻּקְיָה, "desolation from Jehovah." And of the names of Levites in ver. 16, only Obadiah can be identified with Abda, Neh. xi. 17 (as Jeduthun appears as the ancestor of both). Berechiah is wanting in Nehemiah; and the latter has two names, Shabbethai and Jozabad, which are foreign to our text.—*And Berechiah, the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah,* and so a Kohathite, as the name Elkanah is native in this family; comp. vi. 18–23.—*Who dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites,* thus near Bethlehem; comp. Neh. vii. 26. This clause refers, not to Berechiah, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem, but to his ancestor Elkanah. It is impossible to determine what the Kohathite so called in vi. 18 ff. was to this Elkanah.—Ver. 17. *And the porters: Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon, and Ahiman, and their brethren; Shallum the head.* The four here named (of whom, in Neh. xi. 19, only two, Akkub and Talmon, recur) are to be regarded, as appears from the particulars following (vers. 24, 26), not as common porters, but as captains of the four companies of porters, who were to keep guard on the four sides and gates of the temple: they are designated, ver. 26, as "head keepers of the gates," a phrase reminding us of the στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ in Luke xxii. 52. The number of all the doorkeepers, which is stated to be 172 in Neh. xi. 19, is wanting here, where it would, like that of the priests, have been considerably higher, because Jerusalem before the exile must have had a much more numerous staff of officers in every respect than that after the exile, to which the catalogue of Nehemiah refers. From all this, the correspondence of the two similar lists in the personal matters is only partial, and by no means such as to be inconsistent with the origin of the one before the exile and of the other after it. The resemblance and even sameness of the names in two or three generations does not of itself prove the identity of the persons, because we learn from the genealogy of Aaron (v. 29 ff.) that the series Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok repeats itself at different times (comp. vers. 33 f. and 37 f.). In general, the same names recur very often in genealogies, because it was the custom to give the children the names of their ancestors; comp. Luke i. 59; Winer, *Realw.* ii. 133; Hävernick, *Einl.* ii. 1, 179 ff. But if the likeness of names in the two lists furnishes no necessary ground for the identity of the lists, and in no way warrants us to identify the like sounding names by the assumption of errors of the pen, we must, on account of the great diversity in all points, understand our list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem before the exile, especially as the following remarks on the functions of the Levites demand this, because they relate throughout to the time before the exile.

3. Vers. 18–34. *The Ministerial Functions of the Levites, and first* (vers. 18–26*a*), *of the Levitical porters.—And hitherto* (he was, namely Shallum, who is called in ver. 17 the head of the porters) *in the king's gate eastward;* that is, till the present time the family of Shallum had to keep the guard at the east gate of the temple, that chief entrance to the inner court, by which the king alone entered (comp. 2 Kings xvi. 18; Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2). The "hitherto" scarcely gives a hint of the time when the present list was composed. It may point as well to a time before the exile as after it, as Shallum is here obviously named as a hereditary name of a house or collective personality, which Keil contravenes unnecessarily. For the circumstance that a pedigree of Shallum is given, not yet in ver. 18, but at length in ver. 19, shows that in this latter passage the person of the patriarch of the leading house of doorkeepers is first distinguished from his descendants; see also after.—*These are the porters for the camps of the sons of Levi.* This expression, having an antique ring, and reminding us of the wanderings of the people under Moses (Num. iii. 21 ff.), proves no more than the many other designations of this kind ("tent," ver. 20; "tent of meeting," ver. 21; "house of the tent," ver. 23*a*) that our list was composed before Solomon or near the time of Moses; comp. "camp of Jehovah" of Solomon's temple, 2 Chron. xxxi. 2.—Ver. 19. *And Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah.* This reference of Shallum to Korah, the grandson of Kohath (v. 7), comes so close upon the ancestry of Shelemiah or Meshelemiah, the Korhite appointed by David over the east gate, 1 Chron. xxvi. 1, 14, that the Shallum of our passage can scarcely be different from him. It is also highly probable that the name of אֲבִיָסָף, the father or ancestor of Korah, should be restored there (see Crit. Note), so that the identity of the two persons and the merely formal diversity of their names (שַׁלּוּם, requital; מְשֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ, whom Jehovah requites) is almost certain; and the Meshelemiah, ver. 21, must be held to be identical with the Shallum belonging to the time of David: for there, as in xxvi. 2, a son Zechariah is ascribed to him. Thus the record goes back, as in ver. 20 to Phinehas the contemporary of Joshua, so in ver. 21 at

least to a contemporary of David; and the guard at the east gate (the king's gate), as it was hereditary in the family, is referred to a nomination by King David. The then mentioned brethren of Shallum, of the house of his father, the Korhites, are the heads of the other three families of porters, Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman, living in the time of David, ver. 18.—*Were over the work of the service of the keepers of the thresholds of the tent.* This specifies the service performed by these Levites at the temple; they were threshold or gate keepers; comp. 2 Kings xii. 10; 2 Chron. xxiii. 4. The genit. "of the tent" (here expressed by ל before אֹהֶל, because the preceding word having the article cannot be in the construct state) applies to the tent in Jerusalem erected by David, without, however, expressing any contrast to the temple of Solomon (which, in ver. 23, seems clearly to be included in the term "tent"); comp. on ver. 18.—*And their fathers in the camp of the Lord were keepers of the entry,* namely, in the time of Moses, to which there is reference here as in the following verse. "In the Pentateuch there is no mention of the Korhites keeping guard in the time of Moses; but as the Kohathites to whom they belonged were the first servants of the sanctuary, Num. iv. 4 ff., and especially had the charge of the tabernacle, it is in itself probable that they had to keep the entrance to the sanctuary (comp. Num. iv. 17-20); and therefore we cannot doubt that our statement follows an old tradition" (Berth.).—Ver. 20. *And Phinehas the son of Eleazar was formerly prince over them,* over the porters of the Korhite family. Phinehas cannot have been invested with this oversight of the Korhite porters when he was high priest, but only under the high-priesthood of his father Eleazar; as also Eleazar, as chief over the chiefs of Levi, Num. iii. 32, under the presidency of Aaron, had the oversight of the keepers of the sanctuary.—*The Lord with him.* This clause might be meant as a historical remark, and so completed by a הָיָה, "was," in which case the copula ו was to be expected before יְהוָה, as in xi. 9. It is more natural to see in the two words a blessing, "God be with him," and to compare the German phrases, "God bless him," "Of blessed memory." We may remember also God's covenant of peace with Phinehas and his posterity, Num. xxv. 11 ff. [This goes to prove that the historical is the correct meaning, and not one that is nearly akin to an error of doctrine.—J. G. M.]—Ver. 21. *Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah,* that is, Shallum; see on ver. 19. The designation of this Shallum (before whose name we miss the copula ו; see Crit. Note) as porter at the door of the tent of meeting has something indefinite needing explanation. But we can find nothing either from the present passage or from ch. xxvi. 2 to clear up this difficulty, or account for the prominence given to this Zechariah.—Ver. 22 returns to the description of the service of the porters, which was interrupted by the historical digression, vers. 19-21. What is now stated belongs to the time of the author of the list, with the exception of the remark applying to the time of David, ver. 22*b*.—*All these, that were chosen to be porters at the thresholds.* On בְּרוּרִים, "chosen," comp. vii. 40, xvi. 41; for construction with ל, xxv. 1. The number 212 as the total of the porters agrees neither with the time of David, in which (xxvi. 8-11) 93 porters in all officiated at the tabernacle; nor with that of Zerubbabel, for which Ezra ii. 42 gives the number 139; nor, lastly, with that of Nehemiah, for which, Neh. xi. 19, the number 172 is set down. But it suits the time before the exile, to which also the numbers of the families and priests in vers. 6, 9, 13 most probably point.—*They were registered in their villages.* They dwelt, therefore, in villages (חֲצֵרִים, as vi. 41 ff.) around Jerusalem, and came to it on the days of their service, as the singers in the time after the exile, Neh. xii. 29 f.—*David and Samuel the seer* (ancient designation for prophet, נָבִיא; comp. 1 Sam. ix. 9) *had ordained them in their trust.* בֶּאֱמוּנָתָם. "in their trust," official trust or duty; comp. the same term without suffix, vers. 26, 31; 2 Kings xii. 16, xxii. 7; 2 Chron. xxxi. 12. The naming of Samuel with David (and after him, against the order of time; comp. Heb. xi. 32) the Chronist no doubt found in his source, and it is explained by the fact that the agency of Samuel in the religious institutions of Israel prepared the way for the reforms of David, and were therefore usually mentioned along with them. And perhaps some arrangement regarding the Levitical porters was made by Samuel which laid the foundation for that of David, though we have no information concerning this beyond the present passage.—Ver. 23. *And they and their sons,* the porters of the time of David and after it. The following phrase also, "at the house of the tent" (comp. on vers. 18, 19), is chosen, because the present statement applies to both—the tent-sanctuary before Solomon, and the stone temple built by him.—Ver. 24. *To the four winds* (quarters of the heaven; comp. Job i. 19; Matt. xxiv. 31) *were the porters,* יִהְיוּ, that is, according to the arrangement of David (xxvi. 14 ff.).—*By wards,* מִשְׁמָרוֹת of persons, as Neh. xii. 9, iv. 3, 16.—Ver. 25. *Were to come in seven days,* the seventh day from time to time, that is, on the Sabbath of the week, on which every family was in their rank to perform the service (ל in לָבוֹא, to denote obligation, as v. 1).—*With them* (עִם אֵלֶּה), along with the heads or chiefs of the divisions, ver. 17, who dwelt in Jerusalem itself, and to whom the notice in ver. 26*a* refers.—*For they were in trust, the four head keepers of the gates;* comp. on ver. 17.—Vers. 26*b*-32 report on the duties of the other Levites besides the porters.—*These Levites, and were,* etc. It has been remarked in the Crit. Note that for this we are most probably to read (according to ver. 14), "And of the Levites were." At all events, the duties enumerated in the following passage (exclusive of ver. 27) belong to the Levites in common, and not to the porters. Accordingly, the words וְהֵם הַלְוִיִּם must be regarded either as a subscription to the whole preceding paragraph from ver. 14 (so Berth.), or amended (with Keil) in the way indicated.—

*Over the chambers and treasuries of the house of God.* These chambers (לְשָׁכוֹת) and treasuries (אֹצָרוֹת) were in the side buildings of the temple, over which the Levites presided; comp. Ezek. xl. 17, xlii. 1 ff.; Neh. x. 38; and Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* i. pp. 121, 124.—Ver. 27. *And they lodged around the house of God.* This notice, referring again to the porters, with the subjoined statement, that they had to open every morning (lit. "were set over the keys;" comp. מַפְתֵּחַ, Judg. iii. 25; Isa. xxii. 22), is strange in the present place: it had its place perhaps originally after ver. 26*a*.—Ver. 28. *And some of them were over the vessels of service,* the more valuable vessels of gold and silver, with the sacrificial bowls (xxviii. 13 f.; Dan. i. 2, v. 2 ff.), which required careful keeping, and as they were to be taken out of the treasuries for the public worship an exact "tale."—Ver. 29. *Over the vessels, even over all the holy vessels, and over the flour, and the wine,* etc. As the term כֵּלִים is used here as in ver. 28, the difference between the vessels here and there mentioned seems to depend on the articles which are here named in connection with the latter, namely, flour (סֹלֶת, Lev. ii. 1 ff.), wine, oil, frankincense, and spices (בְּשָׂמִים, as Ex. xxx. 23). They may be, therefore, the more ordinary, less costly vessels used in the daily incense, meat and drink offering (comp. on Ex. xxv. 6). For מִנָּה, "order, appoint," in the *Piel*, comp. Dan. i. 5, 10, 11; the partic. *Pi.* only here.—Ver. 30. *And of the sons of the priests,* etc. To them belonged, Ex. xxx. 23 ff., the preparation of the holy anointing oil, by the compounding of several spices. This notice referring to the priests does not, strictly taken, belong to the functions of the Levites. The division of things has here for the moment overruled the division of persons. [The priests, however, were Levites.]—Ver. 31. *And Mattithiah of the Levites, who was the first-born of Shallum the Korhite:* thus an elder brother of that porter Zechariah, ver. 21, if this is actually to pass for the son of the Shallum here. But certainly, in ch. xxvi. 2, Zechariah is directly called first-born (בְּכוֹר) of Meshelemiah; and hence, to maintain the identity of this Meshelemiah with Shallum, we must assume "that in our passage Mattithiah bears the honourable title of first-born only in an improper sense, because he ranks high among the descendants of Shallum on account of his office" (Berth.). Nothing further is known to us concerning the person or time of Mattithiah.—*Was in trust over the baking in pans.* The term הַחֲבִתִּים, a baking in pans (comp. מַחֲבַת, an iron pan, Lev. ii. 5, vi. 14; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29; Ezek. iv. 3), is used only here.—Ver. 32. *And of the Kohathites their brethren,* the brethren of the last-mentioned Levites, at whose head was the Korhite Mattithiah. For the way of laying on the shew-bread, see Lev. xxiv. 6 ff.—*Every Sabbath.* For the phrase שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּת (the first with *Pattach* in the last syllable, for euphony), comp. Bertheau.—Ver. 33. *And these the singers, heads of the fathers for the Levites, were free in the chambers.* This is usually regarded as a first subscription to the foregoing, from ver. 14, to which a second still more general subscription is added in ver. 34. Yet in the mention of the singers (the families of which had been reported in vers. 14–16), the enumeration of the ministerial functions of the several classes of the Levites, which had begun ver. 26*b*, is rather continued; and therefore, instead of "these are the singers," the rendering is rather "these singers, etc.," and thus a force, extending to a rather remote point (ver. 14), is to be assigned to the demonstrative (Kamph. justly). The "being free" in their chambers is set forth very naturally, because their exclusive occupation with their art was to be indicated. Comp. Rashi's and Kimchi's interpretation of פְּטוּרִים, *immunes ab omni alio officio.*—*For they were over them in the service day and night.* This literal rendering of the Masoretic text (עֲלֵיהֶם בַּמְּלָאכָה) seems to express the sense: "they were placed over them, the subordinate singers, had to superintend them" (Berth.). But the comparison of the somewhat different passage, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, is insufficient to justify this view. It is more natural to take עֲלֵיהֶם to mean: "it lay upon them;" but then בַּמְּלָאכָה would have to be changed into הַמְּלָאכָה (ver. 27), and so the suitable sense restored: "for by day and night their service, their singing function, was incumbent on them."—Ver. 34. *These are the heads of the fathers for the Levites,* etc. Comp. the similar subscription, viii. 28. Since this precedes the first genealogy of Saul, as here the repetition of this genealogy immediately follows, Movers (p. 82 f.) conjectured that it had its place here originally, but was taken by an old transcriber erroneously for the beginning of the following genealogy of Saul, and therefore transposed with this (as he endeavoured to point out a more suitable place, as he thought, for it at the close of the genealogy of Benjamin, viii. 1–27) to that previous place, and thereby somewhat altered. This assumption would only be plausible if the double position of the genealogy of Saul must be regarded as resting on a mistake, and contrary to the plan of the writer, for which there is no manner of ground. He rather repeated this genealogy intentionally here to form a proper transition from his genealogical section to his following (introducing the historical section) account of the fall of Saul's house. This simple consideration removes all that was formerly adduced in the way of doubts, conjectures, and highly absurd and superfluous reflections on the supposed ground of this repetition, as, according to Mar Sutra in *Tr. Pesachim* 62*b*, 400 (or in another report, 1300) camel-loads of explanations are forthcoming on this repetition and on the present section; comp. Herzfeld, *Gesch.* p. 299.

4. *Repeated Genealogy of Saul:* vers. 34–44.—On the deviations of this list from viii. 29–39, see on that passage, where it has been already stated that our present passage seems to present the older and more correct text with respect to the forms of the names.

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS ON CH. I.-IX.

There is in many respects the impression of wandering in a wilderness, of walking among the stones in a graveyard, ranged in long rows, and more or less weathered, remaining on the mind after the exegetical examination of the genealogical contents of these chapters. But as in the wilds of Hauran, Idumæa, and Arabia Petræa, bristling with innumerable bare rocks, there is, notwithstanding all the drought and waste, a mysterious charm that acts with irresistible attraction on all Christian travellers animated by the spirit of biblical research; or as, to use another but kindred figure, the labyrinthine windings of the old Christian catacombs of Rome, with their thousands of sarcophagi, and the ever-varying inscriptions and manifold symbolic figures on them, prepare for the Christian antiquarian walking through them, not weariness, but an inexhaustible charm and ever new satisfaction; even so do the seemingly so dry and unrefreshing names of these nine chapters act upon the searchers of Scripture, not only the Jewish, but also the Christian. For it is from beginning to end holy ground through which we here pass. They are the grave-stones of the people of God, the monuments of a thousand years of the old covenant people, between the rows of which the Chronist leads us. They are the cities and places of the holy land, the origins of which are here presented to us in greater or briefer extent. And the same mysterious attraction that yearly impels thousands of Christian pilgrims, of all countries and confessions, to that land, in which not merely Israel after the flesh, but also the confessors of Christ, have to seek a right of home, insensibly influences every reader of this section who is led by a Christian and scientific interest. The same home-longing that comes upon us on beholding every chart of the country of the twelve tribes, on examining every plan and picture of Jerusalem, even on reading the plainest and simplest of the innumerable books of travels with which the present luxuriant literature of Palestine constantly floods us, seizes with irresistible power the biblical inquirer who turns his attention to these opening chapters of our work; it sweetens in many ways the hard labours that are occasioned by the deciphering of the often illegible text, the pondering on the import of so many isolated names, the reconciling of so many contradictory statements concerning places, persons, and genealogical lists. Considered in detail, there are four chief aspects in which the deeper significance of the history of salvation in our chapters is presented, and on which the attention of the historical inquirer, moved by higher motives than mere profane history and criticism can yield, will be concentrated.

1. The grouping and arrangement of the genealogical material, with all the complication, seeming inconnection and arbitrariness of the considerations involved, is highly attractive, as it affords a deep insight into the organic arrangement of the tribes of God's people, and the parts they are destined to perform in the history of the theocracy. The fundamental principle of division is neither purely genealogical nor politico-theocratic, but has reference to all these relations. The enumeration of the tribes is not arranged genealogically, according to the ages of the twelve sons of Jacob; otherwise it would have begun with Reuben and ended with Benjamin. It proceeds not according to the political relations of the time of the divided kingdom; otherwise Judah and Benjamin would have stood first, and Ephraim would have followed at the head of the northern kingdom. It follows not exclusively the geographical principle; for if it starts with Judah, the chief tribe of the south, and passing over the seats of the Simeonites, extending far to the south, bends round to the three eastern tribes, and enumerates them from south to north, in order to pass on to the remaining tribes of middle and northern Canaan, in the enumeration of the latter it abandons all geographical order, as the southern Benjamin and probably Dan are annexed to the northern Issachar, and then follows, not Ephraim, the more southern of the tribes of Joseph, but the more northern Manasseh, next to Naphtali; and lastly, after Ephraim and Asher, Benjamin reappears. In the midst of this not very geographical enumeration falls the copious genealogical details of Levi, to whom a definite territory was wanting, on account of its distribution over all the tribes. And yet in this apparently ungeographical and unhistorical order there lies a deeper sense. The author, as a strict theocratic legitimist, subordinates all the others to the two chief tribes, Judah and Benjamin, forming the kingdom of Judah, and adhering to the legitimate national sanctuary, as well as the tribe of Levi remaining in natural mutual connection with them. As he otherwise ignores, as far as possible, the northern kingdom, that had revolted from the legitimate worship, and subordinates the tribes belonging to it, on every occasion, to the orthodox tribes of the south, and regards them as mere dependencies of the latter (comp. ix. 3, where, along with Jews, Benjamites, and Levites, those belonging to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh are named as belonging to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; also the quite similar passage, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, and our remarks on it), here also is all that does not belong to the kingdom of Judah treated as accessory, and not only more briefly despatched (none of the tribes belonging to the north is given as fully as the tribe of Simeon belonging to Judah; some, as Dan and Naphtali, are almost wholly, and one, Zebulun, wholly omitted), but pushed in as subordinate, filling up between the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, forming the beginning, the middle, and the end. What is especially conspicuous and beautiful is the central, all-pervading, embracing, and connecting position of the priestly tribe of Levi. "Over the whole distribution of the tribes is spread out as a connecting network the uniformly-distributed tribe of Levi, as the priestly mediator between God and His people, in its forty-eight cities, that belonged to all the tribes, but are not to be regarded as exclusively inhabited by Levites (comp. our remarks on vi. 65); whereby, according to Josh. xxi. (and our ch. vi.), a peculiar crossing of the families of Levi took place, partly in the east and partly in the north of Palestine, so that those akin in family appear removed as far asunder as possible (Kohathites in Judah and Simeon, but also in Ephraim and West Manasseh; Merarites in Reuben and Gad, but also in Zebulun, etc.). It is as if this tribe, provided it remained at the

height of its destiny, and the consciousness of God's people clung to it, should represent the strong sinews and muscles running through the body of the people, which bind the members into a living and moving whole" (Hoffmann, *Blicke in die früheste Geschichte des gelobten Landes*, p. 99 f.).

2. Prominent in this arrangement, with regard to the history of grace, is the passing over of two tribes in silence. That Dan is only indicated, not named, in vii. 12. can only be conceived as a critical judgment on this tribe, that early and almost wholly fell into idolatry (see on the passage, and comp. xxvii. 16 ff., where there is not so much an overpassing of the name as a transposition of it to the end of the twelve tribes, by which the same theocratico-critical judgment is passed upon it). On the contrary, it may be accidental that no mention is made of the tribe of Zebulun in giving the genealogy of the twelve tribes, though it occurs in the enumeration of the Levitical cities (vi. 48, 62). Yet a certain significance for the history of salvation cannot be denied to this accidental omission, as it was certainly the relative smallness of the tribe, the low number of famous and populous families, that occasioned its disappearance from the genealogical traditions of the later time. Yet this so small and obscure tribe[1] it was that included Nazareth, the dwelling-place of the earthly parents of Jesus. Zebulun, with its neighbour Naphtali, was, according to prophetic announcement (Isa. ix. 1; Ps. lxviii. 28), to prove to be "the people walking in darkness," the land overshadowed with heathen gloom, that was to see the great light of salvation go forth from its midst. In this contemporaneous omission, then, of Dan, the tribe typically pointing to the Antichrist, and of Zebulun, the tribe serving as the earliest scene of the earthly living and working of the Saviour, there is in our registers a certain significance for the history of salvation, that even if it rests upon accident, points to a higher guidance and a providential arrangement.

3. The investigator of all that is significant for the history of salvation and the defence of the truth, will take no less interest in the many historical and archæological notices that are interwoven in the genealogical text. With their now scanty, now copious, contributions to the special history of the tribe, their details, often truly surprising by the epic grandeur and dramatic life of the narrative (to which belong, in particular, the records of the conquests of the Simeonites, the successful raids of the three trans-jordanic tribes against the north Arabian Beduin, and the slaying of the two sons of Ephraim, Ezer and Elad, by the primeval inhabitants of Gath), their highly ancient colouring both in style and deed, which prompts us almost to generalize the remark once added by the author: "these are ancient things," and apply it to the whole of these accounts,[2] these notices delight us as petrifactions from the grey foretime imbedded in the strata of genealogical series; they resemble scattered gems or medals of antique stamp shining through the rubbish of ages, that give us accounts of otherwise unknown events of theocratic history, and open to us perspective views into remote epochs of the development of God's people, on which the darkness of absolute oblivion would otherwise have rested. From each of these, now shorter, now longer, documents concerning the older and oldest history of the tribe, goes forth the testimony of an unusually rich and many-sided individual impress of the Israelitish spirit, reminding us almost of the German nation in the multiplicity of its tribes, of a fresh but rude native power as a heritage more or less proper to each of the twelve tribes, and to each in peculiar modification, and thereby of a divine providence guiding and governing the life of the several tribes and of the whole nation with uninterrupted fatherly love as well as judicial integrity.

4. Of pre-eminent importance is finally the appearance, more or less clear in every tribe, of a preponderating repute and influence of one family over the rest. In the tribe of Judah, it is the family of Hezron the son of Perez, and grandson of Judah, that by its growth and power casts all the rest into the shade. In the tribe of Levi, the Kohathites predominate; in that of Benjamin, it is the house of Jeuel, or Abi-gibeon, the ancestor of Saul (viii. 29, ix. 35 ff.), that, obscuring all the rest, rises to kingly worth and power, and even in its later offshoots, especially the sons of Azel and the bold archers of Ulam (viii. 38–40), remains great and renowned. Among the Simeonites, Shimei, the descendant of Shaul, the last of the five sons of Simeon, becomes the ancestor of the most flourishing family (iv. 26 f.). Among the Reubenites, the family of Joel is conspicuous (v. 4 f., 8 f.); among the Gadites, that of Buz (v. 14); among the Manassites, that of Machir the father of Gilead (vii. 14 ff.); among the Ephraimites, that of Resheph the ancestor of Joshua (vii. 25); among the sons of Issachar, that of Izrahiah the son of Uzzi, the son of Tolah (vii. 3); among the sons of Asher, that of Heber the son of Beriah (vii. 32 ff.). It is obvious enough to explain this remarkable phenomenon naturally, and regard it as preservation and completion of the strong families in "the struggle for existence," or, if you will, as natural training. The statement of Palgrave, the English traveller, regarding the division of all the Arab tribes into two kinds of families, the townsmen or peasants, and the nomads or beduin, of which the former are the stronger and more developed, the latter the weaker, though patriarchally the more simply constituted, and therefore better fitted for handing down faithfully their genealogical recollections, should perhaps be regarded as pointing to a partial explanation of the present interesting phenomenon.[1] Neither of these two purely

[1] That Zebulun, in the times of Moses, and even David, sent into the field an army of 50.000 men (see xii. 33), is not in contradiction with its insignificance in the later times before and after the exile, and is historically quite conceivable.

[2] Thus J. Fürst (*Gesch. der bibl. Lit.* i p. 318) conjectures that the raid of Elad and Ezer, the sons of Ephraim, against Gath, narrated vii. 21. is probably taken from "the old accounts (דברים עתיקים) mentioned iv. 22, which the Chronist had before him," but without adducing any direct proof for it.

[1] Palgrave, *Central Arabia*, i. p. 35: "Arab nationality is and always has been based on the divisions of families and clans. These clans were soon by the nature of the land itself divided each and every one into two branches, correlative indeed, but of unequal size and importance. The greater section remained as townsmen or peasants in the districts best susceptible of culture and permanent occupation, where they still kept up much of their original clannish denominations and forms, though often blended, and even at times obliterated, by the fusion inseparable from civil and social organization. The other and lesser portion

natural attempts at explanation can be called satisfactory. The last and deepest ground of the rise of one family or tribe to a physically, ethically, or intellectually distinguished pre-eminence, and to an illustrious name, obscuring kindred tribes or families, is the secret of the divine election, that, without respect to character or conduct, raises and glorifies the one people or family, and leaves the other to lowness and oblivion, according to the words, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated;" and, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion" (Rom. ix. 13, 15; Mal. i. 2 f.; Ex. xxxiii. 19). As in the life of nations, so is this elective grace visible in the development of single tribes, clans, and families, and often in a way that directly contradicts the normal mode of growth and self-development, especially the law of the prevalence of the strong over the weak in "the struggle for existence," and rather proceeds according to the Pauline saying: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence" (1 Cor. i. 27–29). Above all, in the development of the forefathers of Christ, before David as well as after, in the times of the rise as in those of the decline, this election by grace has repeatedly asserted itself, and operated as the proper principle and inmost motive of that blessed historical process, embracing many thousands of years, which, as the divine education of the human race, is the counterpart of all natural training, and the ideal archetype of all human education.

devoted themselves to a pastoral life. They, too, retained their original clannish and family demarcations, but unsoftened by civilization, and unblended by the links of close-drawn society; so that in this point they have continued to be the faithful depositaries of primeval Arab tradition, and constitute a sort of standard rule for the whole nation. Hence, when genealogical doubts and questions of descent arise, as they often do among the fixed inhabitants, recourse is often had to the neighbouring beduins for a decision unattainable in the complicated records of the town life." Wellhausen (*De gentibus et familiis Jud.*, etc., p. 24 f.), setting out from the mainly correct presupposition, that these observations of Palgrave on the Arabs apply *mutatis mutandis* to the tribes of ancient Israel, has described the family of Caleb (ii. 18 ff., 42 ff.) as an example of a Jewish family dwelling in towns and tilling the ground, and therefore widely spread, but certainly difficult to reduce to a genealogy; and, on the contrary, that of his brother Jerahmeel, ii. 25–41, as an example of a nomad family, remaining certainly smaller and less renowned, but also provided with far more precise and correct genealogical recollections. *Etenim casu non factum est*, he thinks, with reference to ii. 25-41, *quod nusquam excultior invenitur articulatio corporis ethnologici, quam apud Jerachmeelem. Immo ut mos ille schemate genealogico depingendi res gentilicias fluxit primarie e tali societate, quæ magnæ familiæ erat similior quam artificiosæ ac contortæ structuræ civitatis quæ recte dici potest, ita postea etiam ibi sine dubio maxime viguit, ubi antiqua patriarcharum fidelius servabatur vitæ consuetudo, sic quidem ut sanguinis vis jungens et dirimens ceteris omnibus causis, quibus homines solent conciliari et abalienari, aut revera prævaleret aut certe secundum conscientiam popularem prævalere judicaretur*, etc.

## § 2. HISTORY OF THE KINGS IN JERUSALEM FROM DAVID TO THE EXILE.—1 CHRON. X.–2 CHRON. XXXVI.

### 1. DAVID.—1 CHRON. X.–XXIX.

#### *a.* INTRODUCTION: FALL OF THE HOUSE OF SAUL.—CH. X.

CH. X. 1. And the Philistines fought against Israel; and the men of Israel fled
2 before the Philistines, and fell down slain in Mount Gilboa. And the Philis-
tines pursued Saul and his sons; and the Philistines smote Jonathan and
3 Abinadab and Malchi-shua, sons of Saul. And the battle went sore against
4 Saul, and the archers found him, and he trembled for the archers. And Saul
said to his armour-bearer, Draw thy sword and thrust me through therewith,
lest these uncircumcised come[1] and insult me; but his armour-bearer would
5 not; for he was sore afraid: and Saul took the sword and fell upon it. And
his armour-bearer saw that Saul was dead, and he also fell on the sword and
6 died. And Saul died, and his three sons, and all his house died together.
7 And all the men of Israel that were in the valley saw that they fled, and
that Saul and his sons were dead; and they forsook their cities and fled, and
the Philistines came and dwelt in them.
8 And it came to pass on the morrow that the Philistines came to strip the slain,
9 and they found Saul and his sons fallen in Mount Gilboa. And they stripped
him, and took his head and his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines
10 around, to bear tidings to their idols and to the people. And they put his
armour in the house of their god, and fastened his skull in the house of Dagon.
11, 12 And all Jabesh-gilead heard all that the Philistines had done to Saul. And
all the valiant men arose, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his

sons, and brought them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the oak in
Jabesh, and fasted seven days.
13 And Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the LORD,
for the word of the LORD which he kept not, and also for asking a necromancer
14 to inquire.[2] And inquired not of the LORD; and He slew him, and turned the
kingdom to David the son of Jesse.

[1] *Kethib:* יָבאו. *Keri:* יָבוֹאוּ.

[2] After לִדְרוֹשׁ the Sept. gives the superfluous addition: *καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφήτης.* Comp. Sir. xlvi. 20

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—This account of the downfall of Saul and his house agrees, except in subordinate details, literally with 1 Sam. xxxi. 1-13; only the vers. 13, 14 are an addition of the Chronist, designed to mark the history of the fall of Saul's family as the transition to the following history of David, that forms the proper centre of the whole work of our historian. For to this history of David points all that precedes, the whole of the genealogies in the first nine chapters, with their emphatic elevation of the tribe of Judah. And if these genealogies are so disposed that they close with the register of the Benjamite house of Saul, this serves to prepare for the contents of our chapter, which on its part is preparatory to the following special history of the reign of David, the ancestor and founder of the legitimate line of kings.

1. *Saul's Defeat and Death in the Battle with the Philistines on Mount Gilboa:* vers. 1-12 (comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1-12).—*And the men of Israel fled before the Philistines.* The fuller statement of the books of Samuel (1 Sam. xxix. 1; comp. xxviii. 4) shows that this flight of the defeated Israelites was directed from the plain of Jezreel, as the proper field of battle, to Mount Gilboa, their former post.—Ver. 2. *And the Philistines pursued Saul and his sons;* properly, "clung to Saul," a fit expression for the incessant and vehement pursuit (Sept.: *συνάπτουσι τῷ Σαούλ*; Luth.: "hingen sich an Saul"). The abridged form וַיַּדְבְּקוּ, for וַיַּדְבִּיקוּ, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 22, xxxi. 2. On Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, see ch. viii. 33.—Ver. 3. *And the archers found him,* overtook him (as ver. 8; comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 11).—*And he trembled for the archers.* וַיָּחֶל, fut. apoc. *Kal* of חוּל, *torqueri, tremere;* so 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; comp. וַתָּחֵל, Ps. xcvii. 4. The present terror of Saul corresponds with that in 1 Sam. xxviii. 5. It is unnecessary here to prefer the reading of the Sept.: *καὶ ἐπόνεσεν ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων* (ἐπόνεσεν, perhaps resting on a וַיָּחַל, from חָלָה, *πονεῖν*), and so render (with Kamph.), "and he was pressed by the archers." For the *ἐτραυματίσθη*, "he was wounded," of the Sept. in the parallel 1 Sam. xxxi. 3, comp. Berth. and Wellh., *Text der Bücher Sam.* p. 147, who perhaps unnecessarily assumes that the Chronist may have read וַיֵּחָל, "and he was wounded" (*Niph.* of חלל), and therefore omitted מְאֹד, which did not suit this verb. The omission of this adverb is sufficiently accounted for by the abbreviating habit of the author, on which also the omission of the pleonastic אֲנָשִׁים after הַמּוֹרִים (1 Sam. xxxi. 3) rests, as also that of עִמּוֹ at the close of ver. 5, etc.—Ver. 4. *Lest these uncircumcised come and insult me.* Before וְהִתְעַלְּלוּ־בִי (comp. Jer. xxxviii. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 6) the parallel text in Samuel exhibits a וּדְקָרֻנִי, which perhaps did not originally stand in the text, but seems to be repeated by mistake from the foregoing imper. וְדָקְרֵנִי, so that the word is rightly omitted by the Chronist; comp. Berth. and Wellh.—Ver. 6. *And all his house died together.* Again an abbreviation for, "and his armour-bearer, and all his men on that day together," in Sam. xxxi. The design of this abbreviation was scarcely to remove the strong "exaggeration" (Wellh.) contained in גַּם כָּל־אֲנָשָׁיו, on account of which the Sept. perhaps left these words untranslated; for the וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ of our author contains a like exaggeration, as Saul's whole house did not fall in this battle, as the author (ix. 35 ff.) knew very well. The expression is general and excessive, as the longer one in 1 Sam. xxxi. also.—Ver. 7. *And all the men of Israel that were in the valley,* or on the plain. More exactly, 1 Sam. xxxi., "the men of Israel that were beyond the valley and beyond the Jordan," that is, that dwelt west and east of Mount Gilboa. That our writer had a defective text (Thenius) is not to be assumed; rather the same process of abbreviation is found here, as immediately after, where the required subject אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל is omitted after כִּי נָסוּ.—Ver. 9. *And they stripped him, and took his head and his armour.* Instead of this, 1 Sam. xxxi. 9 has, "and they cut off his head and stripped off his armour." The beheading, understood of itself (comp. Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii. 54), our author leaves unmentioned.—*And sent into the land of the Philistines around,* namely, these trophies, Saul's head and armour (comp. Judg. xix. 29 f.). Accordingly, the Sept. in 1 Samuel has translated *καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτά,* where perhaps "messengers" (מְבַשְּׂרִים, צִירִים) is to be supplied; see Then. and Wellh.—*To their idols and to the people.* For אֶת־עֲצַבֵּיהֶם (where אֶת=with, before), the text in Samuel has בֵּית עֲצ׳, "in the house of their idols," a reading not confirmed by the Sept., which seems to owe its origin to the following verse (בית־אלהיהם).—Ver. 10. *And they put his armour in the house of their god;* according to

1 Sam. xxxi. 10, in the temple of Astarte. For the Ashtaroth, the same deity as the "queen of heaven" of the Canaanites, Jer. vii. 18 ff., or the Alilat of the Arabs, Herod. iii. 8 (perhaps also = the Phenician mother of gods, Astronoe of Damascius [*vit. Isid.* 302; comp. Döllinger, *Judenth.* p. 143], and the Spartan Venus *hastata victrix* of Cythera), was the chief deity of the Philistines, that Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία whose ancient and wealthy sanctuary at Askelon is mentioned by Herodotus i. 108. We are perhaps, therefore, to understand this Astarte temple at Askelon, as the next named temple of Dagon, the second chief divinity of the Philistines, will be that mentioned, 1 Sam. v. 3 ff., at Ashdod, which was especially frequented in the times of Saul (comp. Vaihinger, Art. "Philister" in Herzog's *Encycl.* xi. 576 f.). That "their god" and "Dagon" could not be opposed, as Wellh. thinks, is too much to assert. Rather was the Astarte of the Philistines a kind of androgynous being, that formed with Baal a syzygy or a supreme divine principle, and certainly one fundamentally different from the fish god Dagon (because the latter was both younger and less esteemed). Comp. Döllinger, p. 397 ff.; Müller, *Astarte*, a contribution to the mythology of oriental antiquity, Wien 1861 (in which also the Cretan Europa [= רַבָּה, the strong] is identified with Astarte), Vaihinger, as above.—*And fastened his skull in the house of Dagon.* These words are wanting in 1 Sam. xxxi., where, on the contrary (ver. 10), is found the following notice: "and they fastened his body to the wall of Bethshean." Here we must choose between the assumption, that our text arose from a corruption of this reading of Samuel (Wellh.), and such harmonizing attempts as that of Ewald and Thenius, who assume that originally after the words, "his skull in the house of Dagon," stood the following, "and they fastened his body to the wall of Bethshean," but they fell out on account of the similarity of ואת גלגלתו and ואת גויתו; or that of Bertheau, who explains the omission of the notice of the fastening of the body to the wall of Bethshean as an intentional one, that is to be judged in the same way as the other abbreviations of our writer. The latter assumption is the most probable, because in ver. 12 there is no mention of fetching the body from Bethshean.—Ver. 11. *And all Jabesh-gilead:* 1 Sam. xxxi.: "and the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead." According to Berth., the יֹשְׁבֵי before יָבֵשׁ came into the text on account of the plur. וישמעו; but here again the easier supposition is that the Chronist has abbreviated the text of Samuel. Besides, it was gratitude for the deliverance wrought for them by Saul (1 Sam. xi.) that moved the citizens of Jabesh to this pious care for his burial.—Ver. 12. *And took the body of Saul.* גּוּפַת is a later phrase, usual in Aramaic, occurring only here in the O. T. for the גְּוִיַּת of Samuel. Whence the body was fetched, and what was done with it (for example, its incremation, 1 Sam. xxxi. 12), our author, true to his abbreviating habit, omits.

2. *Closing Reflection on the Fall of the Kingdom of Saul:* vers. 13, 14.—*And Saul died for his transgression.* Wherein this transgression (מַעַל, unfaithfulness, apostasy; comp. v. 25, ix. 1; Lev. v. 5) consisted, is added—1. In not following the word of the Lord, that is, His command to destroy Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 11; comp. xxviii. 18); 2. In inquiring of the necromancer.—*For the word of the Lord which he kept not.* Besides 1 Sam. xv., we are to understand here, also, that earlier case of disobedience in 1 Sam. x. 8, xiii. 13, and also 1 Sam. xxii. 18 f.—*And also for asking the necromancer to inquire,* to seek an oracle, a revelation; comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, where דרשׁ is used in the same pregnant sense. On the quite superfluous gloss of the Sept., comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 14. *And inquired not of the Lord,* sought not information. This is not inconsistent with the fact that, 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxvi. 6, Saul had inquired of the Lord, but without effect (because the Lord had departed from him, xxviii. 15). It rests rather on the certainly correct and historical presupposition, that Saul had neglected to seek the favour of Jehovah with the proper zeal, and then inquire of Him. Comp. Starke: "he sought Jehovah not uprightly and in due order, and put not his trust in the Lord, in the order of true repentance;—he did not continue his inquiry of the Lord, when God refused him an answer on account of his sins, to the confession and entreaty for pardon of which he had not brought himself, but betook himself forthwith to the soothsayer."—*And He slew him* (in the battle, after Samuel's spirit had announced to him his doom, 1 Sam. xxviii. 19), *and turned the kingdom to David.* On וַיַּסֵּב, comp. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xiii. 12. On the significance of the present small section for the history of salvation, comp. the evangelical and ethical reflections on ch. x.-xxxix., No. 1.

## I. David's Elevation to the Kingdom; Fixing of his Residence at Jerusalem; Wars and Numbering of the People.—Ch. xi.-xxi.

### a. *The Anointing of David in Hebron, and his Removal thence to Jerusalem:* ch. xi. 1-9.

Ch. xi. 1. And all Israel gathered to David unto Hebron, saying, Behold, we are thy
2 bone and thy flesh. Also heretofore, even when Saul was king, thou wast he
that led Israel out and in; and the Lord thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt
3 feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince over my people Israel. And
all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the Lord, and they anointed David over
Israel, according to the word of the Lord by Samuel.
4 And David went and all Israel to Jerusalem, that is, Jebus; and there

5 the Jebusites were the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus
said to David, Thou shalt not come hither; and David took the castle of
6 Zion: this is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the
Jebusites first shall be chief and captain; and Joab the son of Zeruiah went
7 up first, and became chief. And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they
8 called it the city of David. And he built the city around, from Millo to the
9 circuit; and Joab repaired the rest of the city. And David became greater
and greater; and Jehovah Zebaoth was with him.

*β. List of David's Heroes:* ch. xi. 10–47.

10 And these are the chiefs of the heroes of David, who held fast to him in
his kingdom, with all Israel, to make him king, by the word of the Lord con-
11 cerning Israel. And this is the number of the heroes of David: Jashobam
son of Hachmoni, the chief of the thirty;[1] he lifted his spear against three
12 hundred slain at one time. And after him Eleazar son of Dodo[2] the
13 Ahohite; he was among the three heroes. He was with David at Pas-dam-
mim, and the Philistines were gathered there for battle,[3] and there was a
plot of ground full of barley; and the people fled before the Philistines.
14 And they stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and smote the
Philistines; and the LORD granted them a great salvation.
15 And three of the thirty chiefs went down the rock to David, to the cave
of Adullam; and the camp of the Philistines was in the valley of Rephaim.
16 And David was then in the hold, and a post of the Philistines was then at
17 Bethlehem. And David longed, and said, Who will give me drink of the
18 water of the well of Bethlehem, that is at the gate? And the three brake
through the camp of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-
lehem, at the gate, and took and brought it to David; but David would not
19 drink it, but poured it out to the LORD. And said, My God, forbid it me
that I should do this thing; shall I drink the blood of these men at the risk
of their lives? for at the risk of their lives they brought it: and he would not
drink it; these things did the three heroes.
20 And Abshai, Joab's brother, he was chief of the three; and he lifted up
his spear against three hundred slain, and had[4] a name among the three.
21 Above the three he was honoured among the two, and was their captain; but
22 he attained not to the three. Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, son of Ish-hail,
great in deeds, from Kabzeel; he smote two [sons] of Ariel of Moab, and he
23 went down and smote a lion in a pit in a snowy day. And he smote the
Egyptian, a man of stature,[5] of five cubits; and in the hand of the Egyptian
was a spear like a weaver's beam, and he went down to him with a staff, and
plucked the spear from the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own
24 spear. These things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had a name among
25 the three heroes. Before the thirty, behold, he was honoured; but he attained
not to the three; and David set him over his guard.
26 And the heroes of war were Asahel the brother of Joab, Elhanan the son
27, 28 of Dodo of Bethlehem. Shammoth the Harorite,[6] Helez the Pelonite. Ira
29 the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Antothite. Sibbechai the Husha-
30 thite, Ilai the Ahohite. Maharai the Netophathite, Heled the son of Baanah
31 the Netophathite. Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah, of the sons of Benjamin,
32 Benaiah the Pirathonite. Hurai of Nahale-gaash, Abiel the Arbathite.
33 34 Azmaveth the Baharumite, Eliahba the Shaalbonite. The sons of Hashem
35 the Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shageh the Hararite. Ahiam the son of
36 Sacar the Hararite, Eliphal the son of Ur. Hepher the Mecherathite, Ahijah
37, 38 the Pelonite. Hezro the Carmelite, Naarai the son of Ezbai. Joel the
39 brother of Nathan, Mibhar the son of Hagri. Zelek the Ammonite, Naharai
40 the Berothite, the armour-bearer of Joab the son of Zeruiah. Ira the Ithrite,
41, 42 Gareb the Ithrite. Uriah the Hittite, Zabad the son of Ahlai. Adina the
son of Shiza the Reubenite, a chief of the Reubenites, and thirty with him.[7]

43, 44 Hanan the son of Maachah, and Joshaphat the Mithnite. Uzziah the
45 Ashterathite, Shama and Jeiel the sons of Hothan the Aroerite. Jediaei
46 the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite. Eliel the Mahavim,[8] and
47 Jeribai and Joshaviah the sons of Elnaam, and Ithmah the Moabite. Eliel,
and Obed, and Jasiel of Hammezobaiah.[9]

[1] For the *Keri* הַשָּׁלִישִׁים, the *Kethib* הַשְּׁלוֹשִׁים is to be retained; comp. vers. 15, 25, xii. 4, 18, xxvii. 6.

[2] For בֶּן־דּוֹדוֹ the Sept. seems to have read בֶּן־דּוֹדִי; comp. xxvii. 4.

[3] For the not unimportant gap here, see Exeg. Expl.

[4] For וְלֹא is to be read וְלוֹ, one of the fifteen cases in which this form occurs in the Masoretic text, as Ex. xxi. 10, Isa. lxiii. 9. etc.

[5] For מִדָּה must apparently be read, with the Sept. (ἄνδρα ὁρατόν), מַרְאֶה.

[6] Instead of הַהֲרוֹרִי read, 2 Sam. xxiii. 25, הַחֲרֹדִי, and, as there, supply אֱלִיקָא הַחֲרֹדִי. For the further conjectural corruption of the text till ver. 41, comp. Exeg. Expl.

[7] The Sept. and Vulg. appear to have read וְעָלָיו הַשְּׁלשִׁים, like the Masoretic text, but the Syr. עַל הַשְּׁלשִׁים; for it renders thus: "and even he (Adina) was a prince over thirty heroes."

[8] For הַמַּחֲוִים the Sept. gives ὁ Μαωί, the Vulg. *Mahumites*. The corruption of the name, under which, perhaps, הַמַּחֲנַיְמִי is concealed, seems indubitable.

[9] הַמְּצֹבָיָה is at all events corrupt. Sept. ὁ Μισυβία, Vulg. *de Masobia*; comp. Exeg. Expl.

EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark. — In the history of David, the author dwells chiefly on the bright and prosperous side of the Davidic kingdom; the troubles and disorders of his glorious career, occasioned by misfortune and his own guilt, he passes over as much as possible (comp. Introd. § 4, p. 11). Hence the mention of his anointing at Hebron, vers. 1–3, and yet the entire omission of the rival kingdom of Ishbosheth at Mahanaim, to which there is not even an indirect allusion in stating the seven years' duration of David's residence at Hebron. An account of the taking of Jerusalem, and the valour of Joab therein displayed, vers. 4–9, is then followed by a list of the other famous warriors of David, vers. 10–47, wherein again a shadow in the bright picture, the unprincipled and barbarous conduct of Joab (the murderer of Abner, Uriah, Absalom, etc.), is passed over in silence. And after this list, the appendix in ch. xii., containing the heroes devoted to David during the reign of Saul, and the proceedings in his elevation to the throne at Hebron, makes no reference to the rival kingdom of Ishbosheth, though many occasions of doing so were presented; so that it appears almost as if the statement in x. 6, that Saul and all his house together had fallen in the battle of Gilboa, were meant by the author to be literally true. But besides the conscious tendency to glorify as much as possible the kingdom of David, as the prototype of all theocratic excellence, his propensity to communicate long lists and mere enumerations, his statistical rather than historical mode of representation, also contributes more or less to the one-sidedness of his narrative. This method leads him to place the list of heroes, which in the books of Samuel (at least in its greater part; see 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39) stands at the end of David's history, at the very head of it. Besides, not only this list, of which the closing verses only (41–47) are peculiar to Chronicles, but also the account of the anointing at Hebron, has its parallel in the books of Samuel, 2 Sam. v. 1–10. The agreement between the two is tolerably exact; comp. vers. 1–3 with 2 Sam. v. 1–3, and vers. 4–9 with 2 Sam. v. 6–10. Yet the note of the length of David's reign, 2 Sam. v. 4, 5, is wanting in our text, not from an oversight of the Chronist (Then.), but because he preferred to introduce it at the end of his report, xxix. 27.

1. *The Anointing of David at Hebron:* vers. 1–3.—*And all Israel gathered to David unto Hebron.* The phrase "all Israel" (comp. Ezra ii. 70) includes the northern and trans-jordanic tribes; it is therefore not the earlier anointing of David in Hebron by the tribes of Judah only, 2 Sam. ii. 4, which is here reported, but that which was performed after the deaths of Abner and Ishbosheth by all the tribes together, 2 Sam. v. 1 ff., to which there is a still fuller reference in xii. 23 ff.—*Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh,* thy relatives by tribe and blood; comp. Gen. xxix. 14.—Ver. 2. *Also heretofore,* literally, "yesterday and ere yesterday," that is, a long time since; comp., besides 2 Sam. v. 2, also Gen. xxxi. 2; 2 Kings xiii. 5.—*That led Israel out and in,* out to the battle, and home after the victory; comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 16.—*And the Lord thy God said unto thee,* by the mouth of Samuel the prophet; comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 1–3; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 18, etc.—Ver. 3. *And all the elders of Israel came,* as the representatives of the people, to establish the rights of the kingdom (1 Sam. viii. 11, x. 25) by contract (by making a covenant or elective treaty).—*According to the word of the Lord by Samuel.* These words, wanting in the corresponding place in 2 Sam. v. 3, appear to be an explanatory addition of our author; for it is not probable that they originally stood in the text of Samuel, and fell out by ὁμοιοτέλ. (שמואל—ישראל); comp. ver. 10 with 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 (against Then.). On the absence of the date here appended in the parallel text 2 Sam. v. 4 f. as intentional on the part of the writer, who reserves it for xxix. 27, comp. Preliminary Remark.

2. *The Taking of Zion, and the Change of Residence to Jerusalem:* vers. 4–9.—*To Jerusalem,* that is, *Jebus; and there the Jebusites were the inhabitants of the land.* For this circumlocution

2 Sam. v. 6 gives more briefly: "to Jerusalem, to the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land." That the latter reading has been obtained by corruption of the text from the former (Berth., Then.) it is by no means needful to assume; the היא יבוס after ירושלם seems rather to be an addition of the Chronist, serving as a transition from "Jerusalem" to the Jebusites, which then further necessitates the insertion of the notice: "and there the Jebusites were" (properly, the Jebusite was); comp. Wellh. p. 162 f.—Ver. 5. *And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither.* Only the close of this threat, given in full in 2 Samuel, is here recorded, after the abbreviating manner of the author.—Ver. 6. *Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first.* Only these first words of David's speech occur in 2 Sam. v. 8, where something quite different is given as spoken by him. "The highly peculiar account in 2 Sam. v. 8, clearly resting on strictly historical recollection, is obviously the more original and exact. It may well be conceived that in other accounts of the conquest of Jebus, the great captain of David, Joab (in like manner as Othniel, Judg. i. 12 ff., in the conquest of Kiriath-sepher), was mentioned; and a celebrated saying of David in the siege was referred to Joab, not from clear recollection, but from a conjecture which might rest on the account of Joab in ver. 8. Thus two different accounts of this saying might arise; the simpler, presenting apparently no difficulties, found its way into Chronicles." Such is Bertheau's view, at all events more probable than that of Then. on 2 Samuel, who makes the Chronist complete a critically corrupt text on the ground of tradition by conjecture.—*And Joab the son of Zeruiah* (comp. ii. 16) *went up first and became chief.* That this "becoming chief" is only a confirmation of Joab in his previous office is shown by 2 Sam. ii. 3.—Ver. 7. *And David dwelt in the castle.* מְצָד, the same as מְצוּדָה in ver. 5; comp. xii. 8, 16.—*Therefore they called it the city of David.* According to 2 Sam. v. 9, David himself gave it this name; but the one does not exclude the other.—Ver. 8. *And he built the city around, from Millo to the circuit,* beginning from Millo, and returning to it in a circuit. Somewhat different is 2 Sam. v. 9: "around from Millo and inward;" that is, from the circumference to the centre. For the fortress Millo, situated probably on the north-west corner of Zion, comp. Thenius and Bähr on 1 Kings ix. 11. The name מִלּוֹא signifies filling; that is, probably not wall or sconce, but a strong tower (bastion, castle); comp. בֵּית מִלּוֹא, 2 Kings. xii. 21 and 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.—*And Joab repaired the rest of the city,* properly, "quickened, made alive;" comp. חיה in the same sense, Neh. iii. 34, as the similar expression "heal," 1 Kings xviii. 30. On account of the supposed trace of ancient style contained in the use of חיה for בנה, "rebuild, Wellhausen, p. 164, declares this addition peculiar to the Chronist regarding Joab's co-operation in the building of Jerusalem, especially its fortification, to be not even historically credible. But that חיה in this sense occurs only here and in Nehemiah does not prove the lateness of this usage; and the circumstance that David's field-marshal took part in the fortification of the capital is so far from being improbable, that the statement seems a genuine trace of ancient history. Wherefore Kennicott's emendation, accepted by Thenius, is unnecessary: ויואב יהיה לשר העיר, "and Joab became governor of the city."—Ver. 9. *And David became greater and greater.* The construction with הלך is like that in Gen. viii. 3, 5, xii. 9, xxvi. 13, Judg. iv. 24; comp. Ew. § 280, *b*. On *b*, comp. ix. 20. The general remarks of the verse prepare very suitably for the following list of the numerous heroes of David.

3. *List of David's Heroes:* vers. 10–47; and first of Jashobam, Eleazar (and Shammah): vers. 10–14.—*And these are the chiefs of the heroes of David.* By these words, peculiar to the Chronist (the parallel text 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 opens the list merely with the clause: "and these are the names of the heroes of David"), the communication of the following list is justified, as standing in relation with David's elevation to the kingdom and confirmation in it. Hence the designation: "chiefs of the heroes," chief heroes, heroes of the first rank.—*Who held fast to him in his kingdom,* who stood bravely by him (in common with him) during his reign. הִתְחַזֵּק עִם, as in Dan. x. 21.—*To make him king.* Rightly Keil: "לְהַמְלִיכוֹ is not to be limited to the appointment to the kingdon, but includes also confirmation in it; for of the men named, heroic deeds are mentioned, which they performed in the wars which David as king waged with his foes, to maintain and extend his sway."—*By the word of the Lord concerning Israel.* Comp. on vers. 2 and 3; for the same word of God in and by Samuel is meant here also, as there.—Ver. 11. *And this is the number of the heroes of David.* In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8: "and these are the names of the heroes of David." The term מִסְפָּר instead of שְׁמוֹת is not surprising, especially after the plur. אֵלֶּה. If מִסְפָּר be the original, the expression must mean: "that these heroes at first formed a corps definite in number (the thirty)" (Keil). Moreover, Bertheau's conjecture, מִבְחַר for מספר ("and this is the choice, the *élite,* of the heroes"), deserves all attention.—*Jashobam son of Hachmoni, the chief of the thirty.* After the perhaps right reading here is to be corrected the corrupt ישב בשבת תחכמני, 2 Sam xxiii. 8. It remains doubtful, however, in this respect, that Jashobam in xxvii. 2 is called son of Zabdiel, not of Hachmoni, and that the MSS. of the Sept. differ surprisingly in the writing of the name, inasmuch as *cod. Alex.* presents 'Ιεσβαάμ (or 'Ιεσβοάμ, xxvii. 2), but *Vatic.*, the first time, xi. 11, 'Ιεσεβαδά, the second time, xxvii. 2, 'Ιεσβοάζ. Hence Wellhausen (p. 212) might possibly be right in his conjecture, that the true name may have been "Ishbosheth the Hachmonite" (יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת הַחַכְמֹנִי), and that the ישבעם of our verse is corrupted from יִשְׁבַּעַל, the well-known by-form or rather primitive form of the name Ishbosheth. The "head of the thirty" (see

Crit. Note) is given as an epithet to Jashobam as leader of the thirty heroes of second rank who are set down by name in ver. 26 ff.—*He lifted his spear against three hundred slain at one time.* The same heroic deed is recorded, ver. 20, of Abshai; whence Thenius, Keil, and Wellh., starting from the supposition that Jashobam was a greater hero than Abshai, wish to correct our passage after 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, where the number of those slain at once by Jashobam is set down as 800 (otherwise Ew. *Gesch.* ii. p. 603, who defends the number 300 for both places; while Bertheau gives no decision).—Ver. 12. *And after him Eleazar son of Dodo the Ahohite.* הָאֲחוֹחִי is the correct reading, as appears from xxvii. 4, not בֶּן אֲחֹחִי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9. Whether the name דּוֹדוֹ is to be changed, with the Sept. (as in ch. xxvii. 4), into דּוֹדַי appears less certain.—*He was among the three heroes,* among the three warriors of the first rank, Jashobam, Eleazar, and Shamma, of whom the name of the third has fallen out of the middle of ver. 13, as the parallel 2 Sam. xxiii. 11 shows. On the surprising but still grammatically admissible combination בִּשְׁלוֹשָׁה הַגִּבֹּרִים instead of בִּשְׁלֹשֶׁת הַגִּ' (comp. v. 19), see Berth., who justly rejects as unnecessary the emendation of Thenius: בְּשָׁלִשֵׁי הַגִּבֹּרִים, "among the knights (Shalishim) of the heroes."—Ver. 13. *He was with David at Pas-dammim, and the Philistines.* These words refer still to Eleazar; see 2 Sam. xxiii. 9. Pas-dammim, or Ephes-dammim, 1 Sam. xvii. 1, is a place between Socho and Azekah, not otherwise known; in 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is wanting, from the great corruption of the text, which is otherwise fuller than our text here, as it describes more exactly the heroic deed of Eleazar. It is there said, vers. 9, 10, at the close of the sentence: "and the Philistines were gathered there for battle:" "and the men of Israel were gone away (to the mountain, fleeing before the Philistines); and he stood and smote the Philistines, until his hand was weary and clave unto the sword; and the Lord wrought a great victory that day; and the people returned after him only to spoil. And after him was Shammah the son of Age the Hararite; and the Philistines were gathered for battle," etc. This not inconsiderable gap in our text, by which that which follows in ver. 13*b* and ver. 14 seems to be a description of a heroic deed, not of Shammah, but of Eleazar, appears to have been occasioned by the eye of the transcriber wandering from בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים נֶאֶסְפוּ שָׁם, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9, to וַיֵּאָסְפוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים, ver. 11.—*And there was a plot of ground full of barley.* For barley (שְׂעוֹרִים), in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, the plot is said to be full of lentiles (עֲדָשִׁים); which is the original reading it is hard to decide, but it may be a mere slip of the pen (Movers, Wellh.).—*And they stood in the midst of the plot.* More correctly 2 Sam. xxiii.: "and he stood," namely, Shammah. The two following verbs also, "defended" and "smote," are to be changed into the sing., as, according to 2 Samuel, the one Shammah clearly achieved the successful defence of the plot. The three plurals have come into our text after the lines referring to Shammah had fallen out.

4. *Continuation.* The Three Heroes who fetched Water to David from Bethlehem: vers. 15-19 (comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17).—*And three of the thirty chiefs went down:* three other than those already named. The thirty chiefs or captains are those mentioned ver. 11 and given by name in ver. 26 ff.—*The rock to David, to the cave of Adullam.* This cave must have been either in the rock itself or in its immediate neighbourhood. On the rock itself, however, stood the hold (מְצוּדָה) mentioned ver. 16. The valley of Rephaim (valley of giants, κοιλὰς τῶν Γιγάντων; Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 4. 1), mentioned as the camping ground of the Philistines, lies, according to Robinson, "between the present convent Mar-Elias and Jerusalem: is wide, bounded on the north by a small ridge of rock, that forms the margin of the valley of Hinnom, and sinks gradually to the south-west" (Winer, *Realwörterb.* ii. 322); comp. Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16; 2 Sam. v. 18, 22.—Ver. 16. *And a post of the Philistines was then at Bethlehem,* which is therefore to be conceived as not far from Adullam and the valley of Rephaim.—Ver. 17. *Of the well of Bethlehem, at the gate.* On the dried-up cistern situated one-quarter hour north-east of Bethlehem, which tradition gives as the well of our passage, see Robinson, ii. 378, and Berth.—Ver. 18. *And the three brake through the camp of the Philistines,* namely, not through the main camp, but that of the post before Bethlehem.—*But poured it out to the Lord,* made a libation to God by pouring it on the ground; comp. 1 Sam. vii. 6.—Ver. 19. *My God forbid it me.* The same construction as in 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, xxvi. 11, 1 Kings xxi. 3, etc.—*Shall I drink the blood of these men at the risk of their lives,* literally, "in their souls;" comp. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xvii. 10 ff., xix. 26 ff., especially xvii. 14. "As blood and soul are here made equal, the blood as the seat and bearer of the soul, the soul as moving in the blood, so David, according to our report of his words, makes the water which those heroes had brought at the price (or risk) of their souls equal to their souls, and the drinking of the water brought by them equal to the drinking of their souls, and the souls equal to the blood, in order to express his abhorrence of such drinking. So that we may express the meaning thus: Should I drink in the water the souls, that is, the blood, of these men; for they have fetched the water at the price of their souls?" (Keil). Moreover, בְּנַפְשׁוֹתָם appears to be put down twice only by an oversight; in the parallel 2 Sam. xxiii. 17 it stands only once, which is perhaps the original form of the text. That David pours the water out instead of drinking has its ground in this, that it was become blood in his eyes; for blood, if it cannot be put on the altar, must be "poured on the earth as water," Deut. xii. 16 (Berth.). With the Levitical prohibition of the use of blood, the saying of David has evidently nothing to do.

5. *Abshai and Benaiah:* vers. 20-25 (comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 18-23).—*And Abshai, Joab's brother, he was chief of the three.* Abshai or Abishai (2 Samuel), one of the three sons of Zeruiah (ii. 16), is here designated as chief, and in the

following verse as captain, of the three, while it is said of him: "but he attained not to the three." This enigmatical saying has been explained in various ways: 1. So that two groups or classes of three are distinguished: those mentioned vers. 15–19, whose head or ruler Abshai may have been, and the three heroes, Jashobam, etc., mentioned before in vers. 11–14, to whom he was not so related (so in particular the ancients, and Starke). 2. So that it is sought to unite both, the being chief of the three and standing after them (in bravery), as possibly co-existent, though the same three, Jashobam, Eleazar, and Shammah, are still referred to; that is, Abshai has taken, along with Joab the field-marshal, the first place among David's captains; is therefore, as having a higher command, the chief and leader of the three heroes, while they excel him in personal bravery and famous deeds (Keil). 3. So that הַשְּׁלוֹשָׁה in vers. 20 and 21 is taken in two different senses, in that of the number three (so ver. 21), and in this of the abstract substantive, "body of thirty, Sheloshah-company" (so the three first times),—a sense that necessarily results from the comparison of ver. 21 with ver. 25, and of 2 Sam. xxiii. 19 with 2 Sam. xxiii. 23 (Berth.). We shall have the choice between these three modes, unless we prefer the three first times (ver. 20 and ver. 21*a*) to read the pl. הַשְּׁלוֹשִׁים for הַשְּׁלוֹשָׁה, as Wellhausen (supported by the numerous cases in which these like numbers are exchanged; see pp. 20, 81, 214 ff. of his work) declares to be necessary in the parallel 2 Sam. xxiii.—*And he lifted up his spear against three hundred slain;* comp. on ver. 11.—Ver. 21. *Above the three he was honoured among the two.* These enigmatical words in the present form can neither be explained, with the Vulg.: "Of the three of the second class" (*inter tres secundos*), nor, with the Sept.: "Of the three, above the two was he honoured" (ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δύο ἔνδοξος). If the בַּשְּׁנַיִם is to be retained as genuine, it must be taken, with Ewald (*Lehrb.* § 269, *b*) and Keil, in the sense of "twofold, doubly," and so rendered: "above the three doubly honoured, he became their chief" (Keil). Or we may read, with Berth., הֲכִי for בַּשְּׁנַיִם, according to 2 Sam. xxiii. 19 (comp. 2 Sam. ix. 1; Gen. xxvii. 36, xxix. 15), and render: "Among the Sheloshah-company certainly he was honoured, and became their captain."—Ver. 22 ff. Benaiah's Heroic Deeds (comp. xviii. 17, xxvii. 6).—*Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of Ishhail.* So, if we retain בֶּן before אִישׁ־חַיִל. There is much, however, for its erasure (Berth., Wellh., Kamph.), in which case the sense comes out: "Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, a valiant man of great deeds." For the home of this Benaiah, Kabzeel in the south of Judah, comp. Josh. xv. 21; Neh. xi. 25. —*He smote two* (sons) *of Ariel of Moab,* the king of Moab, who bore the epithet אֲרִיאֵל, "lion of God," as a title of honour. Before אריאל is to be inserted, with the Sept., בְּנֵי; comp. Then. and Wellh., 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.—*And he went down and smote a lion.* This feat of Benaiah, which happened on a snowy day, and therefore in winter, may have been performed during the great war of David with the Moabites, 2 Sam. viii. 2.—Ver. 23. *And he smote the Egyptian, a man of stature,* or probably, according to the Sept., "a man of repute." The following particulars of the successful combat of Benaiah with the giant nearly coincide with those of the conflict of David with Goliath, though the differences are not to be overlooked (there a Philistine, here an Egyptian; there a stature of six cubits and a span, here of five cubits; there the weapons are a staff and a sling, here only a staff; there the slaying of the fallen with his own sword, here with his own spear). If, with the Sept., in 2 Sam. xxiii. 21 be substituted for the weaver's beam a "bridge-beam" (ξύλον διαβάθρας), as an object of comparison to show the thickness of the spear, the difference of the two narratives would be still greater. But even without this, the similar feats are only so related as Shamgar's heroic deed to that of Samson (comp. Judg. iii. 31 with xv. 15), or as Jashobam's valiant deed (with the right reading 800 in ver. 11) to that of Abshai.—Vers. 24, 25. For "among the three heroes" and "above the thirty" Berth. would in both cases read "among the Sheloshah-company;" comp. on ver. 20.—*And David set him over his guard,* literally, "over his obedience," that is (*abstr. pro concr.*), over his obedient, his trusty men; comp., besides 2 Sam. xxiii. 23, also 1 Sam. xxii. 14; Isa. xi. 14. According to Bertheau's not improbable conjecture, by this guard of David is meant the corps of the Cerethi and Pelethi (see 2 Sam. viii. 18), from which, however, a second troop of guards, that of the 600 Gibborim (or Gittites, 2 Sam. xv. 18), 2 Sam. xvi. 6, xx. 7, etc., were no doubt different. Commander of the former was Benaiah, according to our passage and 2 Sam. viii. 18; over the 600 Gibborim, on the other hand, may have been placed the often named thirty, so that one of the thirty was leader to every twenty of the 600. This assumption of a difference of the Cerethi and Pelethi from the Gibborim is not certain; for as Benaiah, 2 Sam. viii. 28, appears as commander of the Cerethi and Pelethi, he is also, 1 Kings i. 10, connected with the Gibborim (Benaiah and the heroes).

6. *The Forty-eight Warriors:* and first the thirty-two enumerated in 2 Sam. xxiii.: vers. 26–41*a*. On the sixteen added by the Chronist, vers. 41*b*–47, see No. 7.—*And the heroes of war were,* or more precisely: "And heroes of war were;" for the phrase וְגִבּוֹרֵי הַחֲיָלִים without the article is a general superscription. The article before חֲיָלִים constitutes no real difference from גִּבּוֹרֵי חֲיָלִים, vii. 5, 7, 11, 40, or from גִּ' חַיִל, vers. 2, 9, etc. [?] Here, as there, are meant: "heroes in action, valiant heroes," not "leaders of the divisions," as Berth. (appealing to 2 Kings xv. 20, 1 Chron. xii. 8, etc.) thinks.—*Asahel the brother of Joab.* For him, comp. ii. 16; for his murder by Abner, 2 Sam. ii. 19 ff. The parallel text 2 Sam. xxiii. 24 adds to his name בַּשְּׁלֹשִׁים, "among the thirty."—*Elhanan the son of Dodo,* different from Elhanan son of Jair, xx. 5.—Ver. 27 *Shammoth the Harorite.* In 2 Sam. xxiii. this hero is called "Shammah the Harodite," but in 1 Chron. xxvii. 8, "Shamhuth the Izrahite." In the *gentilic.* החרורי there ap-

pears at all events to be an error, which is to be corrected by הַחֲרֹדִי of Samuel; for in Judg. vii. 1 a Jewish place חֲרֹד is expressly mentioned. After the name of this Harodite Shammoth must have fallen out that of a second Harodite Elika (אֱלִיקָא), as 2 Sam. xxiii. 25 shows.—*Helez the Pelonite.* So xxvii. 10, whereas in 2 Sam. xxiii. 26 this Helez is originally designated as a Paltite (of Beth-pelet, בֵּית פֶּלֶט, Josh. xv. 27, Neh. xi. 26).—Ver. 28. *Ira and Abiezer;* comp. xxvii. 9, 12. —Ver. 29. *Sibbechai the Hushathite.* By the name סִבְּכַי the suspicious מְבֻנַּי of 2 Samuel must be corrected. Inversely, Ilai (עִילַי) must be amended after the צַלְמוֹן of Samuel.—Ver. 31. *Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah, of the sons of Benjamin.* For the situation of this Gibeah of Benjamin (near Ramah), comp. the expositor on Josh. xviii. 28 and on Judg. xiv. 19 ff.; for that of the following Pirathon (that occurs also, Judg. xii. 13–15, as the home of Abdon), *Zeitschr. der Deutschen morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1849, p. 55, and particularly Sandreczky in *Ausland*, 1872, No. 5, p. 97 ff.— Ver. 32. *Hurai* (so read also 2 Samuel for חִדַּי) *of Nahale-gaash.* This place, occurring only here (and 2 Sam. xxiii. 30), properly, "valleys of Gaash," is at all events to be sought near Mount Gaash in the Ephraimite range, not far from which was Joshua's grave; comp. Josh. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9.—*Abiel the Arbathite*, of Beth-haarabah, Josh. xv. 6, 61, xviii. 18, 23. The name אֲבִיאֵל is in 2 Samuel אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן, which form Berth. takes without ground to be original, while Wellh. rejects both forms, and makes the original to be אֲבִי־בַעַל.—Ver. 33. *Azmaveth the Baharumite*, that is, he of Bahurim (read הַבַּחֻרִימִי); comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 5, xix. 17.—The following *gentilic.* הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי is to be referred to שַׁעַלְבִים, Judg. i. 35, 1 Kings iv. 9 (or שַׁעַלַבִּין, Josh. xix. 42), and so to be written הַשַּׁעַלְבִינִי.—Ver. 34. *The sons of Hashem the Gizonite.* בְּנֵי before הָשֵׁם appears to owe its origin to a repetition of the last three consonants of the foregoing *gentilic.* השעלבני; and thus originally there was only Hashem the Gizonite, after which 2 Samuel is to be amended: likewise in the following word the corrupt reading there is to be altered into our "Jonathan the son of Shageh the Hararite;" comp. Wellh. p. 216.—Ver. 35. *Eliphal the son of Ur.* 2 Sam. xxiii. 34: "Eliphelet the son of Ahasbai." The original was perhaps (comp. Then. and Berth. on the passage): "Eliphelet the son of Ur."—Ver. 36. *Hepher the Mecherathite;* perhaps the Maachathite (2 Samuel); as also "Abijah the Pelonite" (comp. ver. 27) must perhaps be changed, as in 2 Samuel, into "Eliam, son of Ahithophel the Gilonite."—Ver. 37. *Naarai the son of Ezbai.* For נערי 2 Samuel has פערי; for בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי, הָאַרְבִּי, which is perhaps to be preferred on account of אֲרָב, Josh. xv. 52. —Ver. 38. *Joel the brother of Nathan.* If Nathan the prophet were meant, the אחי, "brother," by the side of the usual בֶּן־, would lose its strangeness. But in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 we find a Nathan of Zobah. Hence אחי is perhaps to be changed into בן; and יִגְאָל might possibly be more original than our יוֹאֵל.—*Mibhar the son of Hagri.* For these words 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 has "Bani the Gadite." מִבְחָר may have there fallen out; but it may also have been corrupted from מִצֹּבָה. In הגרי (if this, and not הגדי, is to be read) may possibly lie the name of the prophet Gad (Wellh.), so that here two relatives of prophets, a brother (son?) of Nathan and a son of Gad, may be named together.—Ver. 40. *Ira the Ithrite, Gareb the Ithrite.* The family of the Ithrites was enumerated, ii. 53, among those of Kiriath-jearim.—Ver. 41. *Uriah the Hittite*, the husband of Bathsheba, 2 Sam. xi. 3 ff. Here follows in 2 Sam. xxiii. 39 the closing subscription: "thirty and seven in all," as, according to the correct text, actually thirty-seven heroes are there enumerated, namely, twenty-nine others besides the eight mightiest heroes named in vers. 8–23 (Jashobam, Eleazar, Shammah, etc.). These twenty-nine should in the view of the author of the books of Samuel represent those thirty warriors (named in 2 Chron. xi. 25); whence he breaks off his enumeration after Uriah (or perhaps after Gareb, as Wellh. seeks to render probable), although most probably the same list, containing forty-eight names in all, lay before him, which our author has continued from this verse to the end. Moreover, for the criticism of both lists running parallel as far as our verse, the facts brought out by Wellh. (p. 215 f.) are to be considered:—1. "That the heroes are placed in pairs, and often every two from the same city (two Bethlehemites, ver. 26, two Netophathites, ver. 30, two Ithrites, ver. 40); 2. That the adjective of descent is always added, but not regularly the father's name, to the name of the hero; 3. That thorough corrections are only possible, if we have first collected the whole material of the proper names in the O. T. along with the variants in the Sept., and then elaborated them." The last rule applies also to the criticism of the following names preserved by the Chronist alone, which in this arrangement have no parallel.

7. *The last Sixteen of the Forty-eight Warriors*, whom the Chronist alone enumerates: vers. 41*b*–47.—Ver. 42. *Adina . . . a chief of the Reubenites, and thirty with him*, or besides him. So, according to the Masoretic reading, ועליו; but Berth. prefers that of the Syriac version (see Crit. Note), and so gets the sense: "leader of the Reubenites over thirty," that is, commander of the thirty captains or heroes of the Reubenites, to which may be compared the thirty leaders of the Benjamites, xxii. 4.—Ver. 44. *Uzziah the Ashterathite*, from Ashteroth (Karnaim) or Beth-Eshterah, a city of East Manasseh, vi. 56. Whether the "Aroerite" points to Aroer in the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 16), or in that of Gad (ver. 25), is doubtful.—Ver. 46. *Eliel the Mahavim.* We should probably read "the

Mahanaimite" (Josh. xiii. 26); comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 47. *Eliel, and Obed, and Jasiel of Hammezobaiah.* The unmeaning הַמְּצֹבָיָה, that by its form cannot be a *gentilic.*, is either to be changed by omitting the article and the penult consonant into מִצֹּבָה, "from Zobah" (comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 36) (so Bertheau), or to be regarded as corrupted from a longer name, such as מִגְדַּל צְבֻעַיָּא (a place, according to Rabbinic tradition, not far from Hebron), not, however, as a contraction or abbreviation of this name, as Reland (*Pal.* p. 899). Moreover, the Rabbinic Migdol Zebuiah could scarcely be contemplated, because almost all the sixteen names of our section, from ver. 41*b* on, belong to heroes from the east of Jordan. The Syrian Zobah would suit better in this connection.

*γ. Supplementary List of Brave Men who held to David during the Reign of Saul:* ch. xii. 1–22.

CH. XII. 1 And these are they that came to David to Ziklag, while banished from
Saul the son of Kish; and they were among the heroes, helpers of the war.
2 Armed with bows, using both right hand and left with stones and with
3 arrows on the bow:—Of the brethren of Saul of Benjamin. The chief Ahiezer
and Joash, sons of Hashmaah the Gibeathite; and Jezuel[1] and Pelet the
4 sons of Azmaveth; and Berachah, and Jehu the Antothite. And Ishmaiah
the Gibeonite, a hero among the thirty, and over the thirty;[2] and Jeremiah,
5 and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and Jozabad the Gederathite. Eluzai, and Jeri-
6 moth, and Bealiah, and Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite.[3] Elkanah,
7 and Ishiah, and Azarel, and Joezer, and Jashobam, the Korhites. And
Joelah and Zebadiah the sons of Jeroham of Gedor.[4]
8 And of the Gadites, separated themselves unto David at the hold in the
wilderness, valiant heroes, men of the host for battle, handling shield and
spear,[5] with faces like lions, and like roes on the mountains for swiftness.
9, 10 Ezer the chief, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third. Mishmannah the
11 12 fourth, Jeremiah the fifth. Attai the sixth, Eliel the seventh. Johanan
13 the eighth, Elzabad the ninth. Jeremiah the tenth, Machbannai the
14 eleventh. These were of the sons of Gad, heads of the host: one for a
15 hundred, the least, and the greatest for a thousand. These are they that
went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflown all its banks;[6]
and they put to flight all the valleys to the east and to the west.
16 And there came of the sons of Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David.
17 And David went out before them, and answered and said unto them, If ye
be come peaceably unto me to help me, my heart shall be at one with you;
but if to betray me to my enemies, with no wrong in my hands, the God of
18 our fathers look on and rebuke it. And the spirit came upon Amasai the
chief of the thirty,[7] Thine are we, David, and with thee, son of Jesse; peace,
peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers; for thy God helpeth thee; and
David received them, and made them captains of the troop.
19 And of Manasseh some fell to David, when he came with the Philistines
against Saul to battle; but they helped him not: for on advisement, the
lords of the Philistines sent him away, saying, At the peril of our heads he
20 will fall to his master Saul. When he went to Ziklag, there fell to him of
Manasseh, Adnah, and Jozabad, and Jediael, and Michael, and Jozabad, and
21 Elihu, and Zillethai, captains of the thousands of Manasseh. And they
helped David against the troop; for they were all valiant heroes, and they
22 became captains in the host. For day by day they came to David to help
him, until the camp was great, like a camp of God.

*δ. Supplementary Data concerning the Number of the Warriors who made David King in Hebron:* vers. 23–40.

23 And these are the numbers of the heads of those armed for the host who
came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to
24 the word of the LORD. The sons of Judah, bearing shield and spear, were
25 six thousand and eight hundred, armed for the host. Of the sons of Simeon,
26 valiant heroes for the host, seven thousand and one hundred. Of the sons of

27 Levi, four thousand and six hundred. And Jehoiada was the leader of the
28 Aaronites, and with him three thousand and seven hundred. And Zadok, a
29 valiant young man, and his father's house twenty and two captains. And of
the sons of Benjamin, brethren of Saul, three thousand; for hitherto the
30 most part of them kept the ward of the house of Saul. And of the sons of
Ephraim, twenty thousand and eight hundred valiant heroes, famous men of
31 their father-houses. And of the half-tribe of Manasseh, eighteen thousand,
32 who were expressed by name, to come to make David king. And of the sons
of Issachar, men having understanding of the times, to know what Israel had
to do, their heads were two hundred, and all their brethren were at their
33 command. Of Zebulun, those going to the host, ordering the battle with all
weapons of war, fifty thousand, arraying themselves[8] with a single heart.
34 And of Naphtali, a thousand captains, and with them, with shield and spear,
35 thirty and seven thousand. And of the Danites, ordering the battle, twenty
36 and eight thousand and six hundred. And of Asher, those going to the host
37 to order the battle, forty thousand. And beyond the Jordan, of the Reu-
benites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, with all weapons
of war for the battle, a hundred and twenty thousand.
38 All these men of war, keeping rank,[9] came with true heart to Hebron to
make David king over all Israel; and all the rest[10] of Israel also were of one
39 heart to make David king. And they were there with David three days eat-
40 ing and drinking; for their brethren had prepared for them. Moreover,
they that were nigh them, even to Issachar, and Zebulun, and Naphtali,
brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, bread of
meal, fig and raisin cakes, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep abundantly;
for there was joy in Israel.

[1] *Keri:* Jeziel (יְחִיאֵל).

[2] With וְעַל הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים the fourth verse closes in the mss. and older editions, even that of R. Norzi, so that the whole chapter contains forty-one verses.

[3] *Keri:* "the Hariphite" (הַחֲרִיפִי); comp. בְּנֵי חָרִיף, Neh. vii. 24.

[4] For הַגְּדוּד is certainly to be read הַגְּדוֹר; comp. iv. 4.

[5] For וְרֹמַח the *Bibl. Venet. Rabb.* has וּמָגֵן: so some old prints, but not the mss.

[6] The *Kethib* גְּדִיתָיו, if correct, would be the plur. of גְּדִיָּה, and occur only here. With the *Keri* גְּדֹתָיו comp Josh. iii. 15, iv. 18: Isa. viii. 8.

[7] *Kethib:* הַשְּׁלוֹשִׁים; *Keri*, as usual: הַשָּׁלִישִׁים. The Sept. and Vulg. agree with the *Kethib*.

[8] For וְלַעְדֹר nine mss., the Sept. (*βοηθῆσαι*), and the Vulg. read וְלַעְזֹר.

[9] Three mss. change עֹדְרֵי into עֹרְכֵי unnecessarily. See Exeg. Expl.

[10] שֵׁרִית, defective for שְׁאֵרִית, occurring only here; hence some mss. have the *scr. plena*.

EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—The whole of the twelfth chapter is peculiar to the Chronist. Standing after that which is related in xi. 4 ff., it has th nature of an appendix, in the form of several military lists referring to the force of David before and at his accession to the sole sovereignty. The first of these lists consists properly of three smaller ones—*a*. That of the Benjamites and Jews that came to David during his residence at Ziklag: vers. 1-7; *b*. That of the Gadites and some other men from Judah and Benjamin who passed over to him during his residence in the hold: vers. 8-18; *c*. That of the Manassites who joined themselves to David shortly before the battle with the Philistines, and the death of Saul at Gilboa: vers. 19-22. To these lists referring to the Sauline period is then subjoined that of the contingents from all the tribes present at the anointing in Hebron: vers. 23-40.

1. The Benjamites and Jews who came to Ziklag: vers. 1-7.—*And these are they that came to David to Ziklag.* Ziklag, belonging to the tribe of Simeon (iv. 30; Josh. xix. 5), assigned by Achish to David as a residence, was in a site not certainly determined. The sojourn of David there until his anointing at Hebron lasted (1 Sam. xxvii. 7) a year and four months. — *While banished from Saul* (עוֹד עָצוּר), that is, while his return to Israel as king was still hindered by Saul: *inter Israelitas publice versari prohibitus* (J. H. Michaelis).—*And they were among the heroes, helpers of the wars.* They belonged to the heroes

who served and stood by him in his earlier wars; comp. vers. 17, 18, 21, 22.—Ver. 2. *Armed with bows*, or "aiming with the bow;" not really different from bending the bow (דֹּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת), viii. 40; comp. 2 Chron. xvii. 17 and Ps. lxxviii. 9.—*Using both right and left with stones* (in slinging, Judg. xx. 16) *and with arrows on the bow*, namely, to shoot and surely hit with them.—*Of the brethren of Saul of Benjamin.* The second restriction serves to explain the first: אֲחֵי־שָׁאוּל do not mean near or blood relations. Comp. Gibeath-Saul, 1 Sam. xi. 4, Isa. xv. 29, and as denoting the same place, Gibeath-Benjamin, 1 Sam. x. 16, xv. 34, or Gibeah of the sons of Benjamin, 1 Chron. xi. 31.—Ver. 3. *Sons of Hashmaah the Gibeathite*, from the Gibeah of Benjamin just mentioned.—Ver. 4. *And Ishmaiah the Gibeonite.* That this Gibeonite (this Benjamite of Gibeon; comp. viii. 29, ix. 35, with 2 Sam. xxi. 2 ff.) Ishmaiah is described first as a hero among the thirty, and then as a leader over the thirty, may be explained by assuming a temporary command over this company. The absence of his name in ch. xi. must be explained by this, that he was no longer alive at the time when this list was composed, and was therefore among the earliest members of the corps of the thirty.—*And Jozabad the Gederathite;* perhaps from Gederah (now Ghedera, one hour south-west of Jabneh), a Jewish locality in the Shephelah, Josh. xv. 36. That Jozabad, though coming from Gederah, belonged to some family of Benjamites dwelling there, is an unnecessary assumption of Keil. The following verses, especially the Geder, ver. 7, rather show that those here enumerated were by no means exclusively Benjamite.—Ver. 6. *Elkanah . . . the Korhites.* To think of another Korah as the ancestor of the Korhites than the known descendant of Levi is unnecessary; these may be Korhitic Levites settled in Benjamin who are here in question; and the names Elkanah and Azarel having a genuine Levitical ring, make it very probable that they are such; comp. Keil on the p. and Del. *Psalter*, p. 300. Yet it is possible that they may be descendants of the Jewish Korah mentioned ii. 43 (so Berth., Kamph., etc.).—Ver. 7. *And Joelah . . . of Gedor*, without doubt the Jewish city mentioned iv. 4, south-west of Bethlehem; so that here also non-Benjamites are included in the series, notwithstanding the announcement, ver. 2, which leads us to expect only Benjamites. Whether this contradiction between the announcement and the contents of the list arises from the whole series of names being greatly abridged and composed out of two originally distinct lists, one of pure Benjamites, and another containing Jews, as Berth. thinks, appears doubtful; comp. Keil, p. 134.

2. The Gadites and some other Jews and Benjamites who joined themselves to David while in the Hold: vers. 8–18.—*a.* The Gadites: vers. 8–15.—*And of the Gadites* (that is, of those belonging to the tribe of Gad, while the others adhered to Saul) *separated themselves unto David at the hold in the wilderness.* This was during the first year of his flight before Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. ff.—לַמְצַד מִדְבָּרָה (so pointed for לַמְצַד מ׳, on account of the close connection of the two following words) denotes properly: "to the hold towards the wilderness." A definite single hold (מְצַד = מְצוּדָה; comp. xi. 16) is here as little intended as in ver. 16, but rather the greater number of those holds of the wilderness of Judah (comp. בַּמִּדְבָּר בַּמְּצָדוֹת, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, xxiv. 1) in which David dwelt at that time; thus מְצַד is here general, as מְצוּדָה, 1 Sam. xxiv. 23.—*Men of the host for battle*, practised in war; comp. vii. 11. On the following "handling (עֹרְכֵי) shield and spear," comp. ver. 24 ("bearing shield and spear") and Jer. xlvi. 3; for the comparison of the warriors with lions and roes, 2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18. "The expressions in the description of their power and fleetness, ver. 8, remind us of such as are used in the historical books of heroes in the time of David, and are without doubt drawn from the source which our author here used" (Berth.).—Ver. 13. *Machbannai the eleventh*, literally, the eleven; comp. xxiv. 12.—Ver. 14. *Heads of the host* (so ver. 21*b*), that is, chief warriors, not leaders.—*One for a hundred the least, and the greatest for a thousand.* The smallest of them was equal to one hundred other warriors, and the strongest to a thousand,—an expression of manifestly poetical colouring, reminding us of Lev. xxvi. 8 and of 1 Sam. xviii. 7, xxi. 11, which our author certainly found in his source. The Sept. and the most of the older Rabbis rightly understood the passage, but the Vulg. wrongly: *novissimus centum militibus præerat et maximus mille*, for which עַל instead of לְ, and another order of words, should be expected.—Ver. 15. *These are they that went over Jordan*, at the time when they separated themselves from the other Gadites of the host of Saul, and were forced to break through this to reach David. Their flight fell "in the first month," that is, in the spring, when the Jordan was greatly swollen, and had overflown its bank. So much greater was the heroic deed.—*And put to flight all the valleys to the east and to the west*, on both sides of the river, just as if its overflowing waters were not present. עֲמָקִים, properly "valleys," here inhabitants of the valleys, Hitzig (*Gesch. Isr.* p. 29) conceives to be the name of a people, that occurs also Jer. xlix. 4 (comp. xlvii. 5), and is identical with the Anakim, Josh. xv. 14, and with the Amorites—with the latter really, with the former even in name (?). See, on the contrary, Keil on *Jer.* p. 480.—*b.* The men of Benjamin and Judah: vers. 16–18.—*And there came of the sons of Benjamin and Judah.* The names of these other followers of David when persecuted by Saul the Chronist does not give, either because his source did not contain them, or because they may have been included for the most part in the lists already communicated in ch. xi. Amasai only, the leader of this troop, is named.—Ver. 17. *And David went out before them*, or to meet them; comp. xiv. 8.—*My heart shall be at one with you.* לֵב לְיַחַד, a phrase occurring only here, not essentially different from לֵב אֶחָד, ver. 38 (comp. ver. 33). —*But if to betray me to my enemies.* רִמָּה, with accus. of the object, means, "to practise fraud on any one." For the following, compare, on the one hand, Job xvi. 17, Isa. liii. 9; on the other

hand, 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. For the phrase: "the God of our fathers," namely, of the patriarchs Abraham, etc., comp. Ex. iii. 13; Ezra vii. 27; 2 Chron. xx. 6; Matt. xxii. 32.—Ver. 18. *And* (the) *Spirit came upon Amasai the chief of thirty.* Here, as in the parallel Judg. vi. 34, the Spirit of God is meant (comp. 2 Chron. xxiv. 20), as the principle of higher inspiration to great and bold deeds. The Amasai of our passage is perhaps not different from Amasa (with א instead of י at the end) the son of Abigail, sister of David, ii. 17, who, at a later period, in the time of Absalom, performed a not unimportant part as commander (first under Absalom, and then under David), till Joab murdered him (2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, xx. 4 ff.). Much less probable is the identity assumed by others of this Amasai with Abshai the brother of Joab (ii. 16, xi. 20).—*Thine are we, David,* to thee we belong, *and with thee,* we hold. Notwithstanding this simple and obvious completion, the Sept. has wholly misunderstood the words לך דויד ועמך, and made of them *πορεύου καὶ ὁ λαός σου*.—*For thy God helpeth thee.* This עזרך refers to the past aid which David had received from God (1 Sam. xviii. 12 ff.), but also to the further aid in prospect, which was to be imparted to him in future.—*And made them captains of the troop,* appointed them leaders of the several divisions of his army,—that army (גדוד) of all kinds of people that had gathered about him; comp. 1 Sam. xxii. 2, xxvii. 8, etc.

3. The Seven Manassites who joined themselves to David before the Last Battle of Saul with the Philistines: vers. 19–22.—*And of Manasseh some fell to David.* נפל על, as in 2 Kings xxv. 11; 1 Sam. xxix. 3; comp. נפל אל at the close of the verse. For the historical situation, comp. 1 Sam. xxix. 2–11.—*For on advisement,* בעצה, on consultation, as Prov. xx. 18.—*At the peril of our heads,* literally, "for our heads, for the price of them;" comp. 1 Sam. xxix. 4.—Ver. 20. *When he went to Ziklag,* and thus before the great battle of Gilboa in which Saul fell; comp. 1 Sam. xxix. 11.—*Captains of the thousands of Manasseh,* of the great military divisions (regiments) into which the tribe of Manasseh was divided; comp. Num. xxxi. 14, 26, xxvii. 1, and ch. xv. 25.—Ver. 21. *And they helped David against the troop,* namely, his present foes, the Amalekites; comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, where the גדוד here used (for which the Sept. perversely read a *n. pr.* Γεδδούρ) appears more definitely as the army of the Amalekites. Moreover, the seven here named Manassites only are the immediate and direct subject of the sentence, not all the heroes named from ver. 1 to ver. 20 (as Berth. thinks), though certainly the whole force of David (600 strong, 1 Sam. xxx. 9) was drawn out to fight with Amalek. But that by והמה only the seven Manassites can here be meant is shown by the following words: "and they became captains in the host," which cannot apply to the whole troop.—Ver. 22. *Until the camp was great, like a camp of God;* comp. Gen. xxxii. 2 and phrases like mountains, cedars of God, Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxxx. 11. The phrase is "only rhetorical, not idealizing or exaggerating" (Keil); it extends also clearly beyond the time when David had only 600 followers to the time when thousands, and then hundreds of thousands, followed him. The following description seizes the moment when out of the thousands of the first seven years of his reign at Hebron came the hundred thousands and more.

4. The Number of the Warriors who made David King over all Israel: vers. 23–40.—*And these are the numbers of the heads of those armed for the host,* or for military service (comp. Num. xxxi. 5; Josh. iv. 13). The "heads of those armed" are here not the captains or leaders (Vulg. *principes exercitus,* Berth., etc.), but the sums or masses of the warriors, as Judg. vii. 16, 20, ix. 34, 37, 44, 1 Sam. xi. 11, or perhaps also the polls (Judg. v. 30); so that מספר ראשי would be the number of polls. For it cannot be proved (against Berth.) that only גלגלת, and not also ראש, can have this sense; and the following is not a list of leaders, but a poll list, that also originally bore this form, though the abbreviating changes of our author make it difficult to prove.—*To turn the kingdom of Saul to him;* comp. x. 14, and for the following, xi. 3, 10.—Ver. 24. *The sons of Judah, bearing shield and spear;* comp. on ver. 8. The enumeration begins with the two southern tribes, Judah and Simeon; next gives the priestly tribe of Levi, whose chief force lay at that time in and about Judah; and then, proceeding from south to north, names first the other western tribes, and then the three eastern ones.—Ver. 26. *And Jehoiada was the leader of the Aaronites,* literally, "the leader of Aaron," that is, not the high priest (who was at that time Abiathar, 1 Sam. xxiii. 9), but the head of the family of Aaron. Perhaps this was Jehoiada the father of Benaiah, xi. 22.—Ver. 28. *And Zadok, a valiant young man,* perhaps that descendant of Eleazar (v. 34) whom Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 26, made high priest. That the house of this Zadok, at the time of David's elevation, counted twenty-two chiefs or heads of families, proves how flourishing this branch of the Aaronites was at that time.—Ver. 29. *And of the sons of Benjamin, brethren of Saul, three thousand.* This number is indeed surprisingly small, but certainly original. The writer accounts for it also, first briefly, by the characteristic addition אחי שאול, then more fully by the remark, "for hitherto (עד הנה, as ix. 18) the most part of them kept the ward of Saul's house;" that is, the most of them were still devoted to the interest of the kindred house of Saul (שמר משמרת, as Num. iii. 38; comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 32; 2 Chron. xxiii. 6), so that they turned to David only slowly, and when Ishbosheth was dead.—Ver. 30. *Famous men of their father-houses,* arranged according to their father-houses. The Ephraimites, on the whole, though their number was above 20,000, are called celebrated, famous men (comp. Gen. vi. 4), perhaps because they were distinguished by their warlike bravery, and had not merely a few able heroes or leaders.—Ver. 31. *And of the half-tribe of Manasseh,* the western half. The "being expressed by name" (נקבו בשמות, as Num. i. 17;

1 Chron. xvi. 41) points to the formation of a list by the tribe authorities, in which all those warriors of the tribe were entered who were chosen to take part in the elevation of the new king at Hebron. All the other tribes may have formed similar lists for this purpose.—Ver. 32. *And of the sons of Issachar, men having understanding of the times, to know what Israel had to do.* This applies, not to the whole tribe, but only to the 200 heads of their forces; and it denotes, not every kind of activity in astronomical or physical science (Chald., several Rabbis, Cleric.), but only that those leaders "saw what was most advisable to be done in the condition of the times" (Starke), that they were *prudentes viri, qui quid, quando et quomodo agendum esset, varia lectione* (?) *et usu rerum cognoscebant* (L. Lavater). "Men understanding," literally, knowing judgment, יֹדְעֵי בִינָה; comp. 2 Chron. ii. 12 and the similar יוֹדְעֵי דַעַת, Dan. i. 4. "To know what Israel had to do," in the present case, means to whom it had to apply as its king and supreme ruler. These men of Issachar were not dull and narrow "bony asses" (Gen. xlix. 14), but prudent "judges of the signs of their time" (Matt. xvi. 3).—*And all their brethren were at their command.* עַל פִּיהֶם, literally, "by their mouth," namely, guided; comp. Gen. xli. 40; Num. iv. 27; Deut. xxi. 5.—Ver. 33. *Ordering the battle with all weapons of war,* practised in the conflict with all kinds of weapons; comp. ver. 6.—*Arraying themselves with a single heart,* literally, "and to band together with not heart and heart." For וְלַעְדֹּר, with some critical evidence (see Crit. Note), to read וְלַעְזֹר is unnecessary and untenable, from the recurrence of עדר in ver. 38. From this parallel passage, this verb must mean, "to take rank for war, to stand in order of battle." For לֵב וָלֵב, to denote double-mindedness or a divided heart, comp. Ps. xii. 3 and ver. 38; לֵבָב שָׁלֵם and לֵב אֶחָד.—Ver. 38. *All these men of war, keeping rank;* Sept. παρατασσόμενοι παράταξιν. The change of עֹדְרֵי into עֹרְכֵי (see Crit. Note) is unnecessary, and as little demanded by ערך in vers. 33, 35, 36 as by מַעֲרָכָה; comp. on ver. 33. "All these" points naturally to the whole troops enumerated from ver. 24 on.—*And all the rest of Israel,* etc. On לב אחד, "one, united heart," comp 2 Chron. xxx. 12.—Ver. 39. *And they were there with David three days, eating and drinking.* Comp. the festivals described 1 Sam. xxx. 16, 1 Kings i. 25, 40, etc., and also from the most recent oriental history; for example, the enormous feast (100,000 sheep and wethers, 20,000 oxen, 40,000 gallons honey-wine, etc.) that was given in connection with the elevation of Kassai to be emperor (negus) of Abyssinia (Feb. 1872).—*For their brethren had prepared for them* (victuals), namely, the Jews about Hebron. Comp. on this הֵכִין, Gen. xliii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxv. 14, etc.—Ver. 40. *Moreover, they that were nigh them* (comp. Deut. xiii. 8), all the neighbouring tribes of Judah on this side the Jordan; and not merely those immediately adjacent, but also the tribes in the middle, and some of those in the north of Palestine.—*Brought bread* (victuals) *on asses, and camels, and mules,* etc. Observe the purely epical character of the representation, that points to a very ancient historical source used by the Chronist.—*Fig and raisin cakes.* For the masses of dried figs (דְּבֵלִים) and raisins (צִמּוּקִים), as indispensable dainty additions to feasts, comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; Jer. xl. 10, 12; Amos viii. 1 f.; also Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. 377 ff.; Winer, *Realw.*, Art. "Feigenbaum."

### Apologetic on Ch. xii. 23 ff.

With respect to the credibility of the numbers of our section, it is to be remarked in general, that the sum total of about 340,000 men,[1] resulting from the data relative to the military contingents of the several tribes, agrees, on the whole, with other known data concerning the sum of the people of Israel equipped for war (for example, the 600,000 men in the time of Moses, the 800,000 Israelites and 500,000 Jews in the census of David), as, indeed, a full call of all those fit to bear arms could not be expected on the present occasion. On the contrary, the relation of the numbers in the several tribes presents much that is surprising. The strength of the three eastern tribes (120,000), exceeding a third of the sum total, and the likewise considerable strength of Zebulun (50,000), Naphtali (37,000), and Asher (40,000), seem to contrast in a manner scarcely conceivable with the small contingents of Judah, Simeon, Levi, and Benjamin. But—1. With regard to Benjamin, the ground of his only small share in the festivities at Hebron is expressly stated, and in a way entirely satisfactory, and admitting of no further objection. 2. The number of the Levites is, in vers. 27, 28, not fully given, inasmuch as of the third division of them, the house of Zadok, only the number of the chiefs (22) and not that of the common order is stated (as in Issachar only the

[1] Namely,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| from Judah, | 6,800 | men. | |
| „ Simeon, | 7,100 | „ | |
| „ Levi, | 4,600 | „ | |
| Also with Jehoiada, | 3,700 | „ | (with 22 chiefs of the house of Zadok). |
| From Benjamin, | 3,000 | „ | |
| „ Ephraim, | 20,800 | „ | |
| „ Half-Manasseh, | 18,000 | „ | |
| „ Issachar, | ? | „ | (200 chiefs "and all their brethren"). |
| „ Zebulun, | 50,000 | „ | |
| „ Naphtali, | 37,000 | „ | (with 1000 chiefs). |
| „ Dan, | 28,000 | „ | |
| „ Asher, | 40,000 | „ | |
| From the three eastern Tribes, | 120,000 | „ | |
| Sum, | 339,000 | men | (with 1222 chiefs and heads). |

number of the chiefs or heads is expressed, ver. 32). 3. Of Judah and Simeon are certainly only comparatively very small numbers given, for this reason, that the warriors of this tribe had long since, seven years before, ranged themselves on the side of David, and therefore, in the review on the occasion of the solemnities of his anointing, did not need to be represented in their full military strength (which would have reached in itself to between 100,000 and 200,000 men). These warriors of Judah and Simeon had rather to act as commissaries, to make provision for the greater bodies of troops; and most of them were to be sought, not among the ראשי החלוץ לצבא (vers. 24, 25 ff.), but among the אחיהם המכינים. 4. Yet highly surprising is the numerical relation of the middle and northern tribes west of the Jordan, namely, the smallness of Ephraim (20,800) beside Zebulun and Naphtali. "But if we consider that Ephraim, which had 40,500 men at the first census under Moses at Mount Sinai, had diminished to 32,500 at the second on the steppes of Moab, this tribe may not at this time have been very strong in men-at-arms, as it may have suffered and been weakened most of all the tribes in the last wars of Saul with the Philistines, and in the battles of Abner for the recovery of the region occupied by the Philistines for Ish-bosheth. Moreover, perhaps Ephraim, in his jealousy of Judah, dating from the time of the Judges, might not be altogether inclined to make David king over all Israel. That, however, Zebulun and Naphtali are here so numerously represented, though they played no important part in the history of Israel, is not enough to cast suspicion on the numbers given. As Zebulun under Moses numbered 57,400, and afterwards 60,500, and Naphtali then 53,400, afterwards 45,400 men-at-arms (comp. Num. i.–iii. with Num. xxvi.), the former might send 50,000, the latter 37,000, men to David at Hebron" (Keil). The subsequent smallness and insignificance of these tribes (comp Evangelical-Ethical Reflections on ch. i.–ix., No. 2, p. 92) is simply explained by their only imperfect restoration after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser.—The credibility of the data of our list cannot in general be doubted according to all this, that is, irrespective of particular corruptions of the text that are always to be admitted as possible. It would much more present matter for well-founded doubts if the numerical strength of the several tribes attested in it were exactly proportional to the data of Numbers regarding the early relations of the military divisions. The appearance of something surprising in the present numerical data speaks directly for their true historical origin, and imposes the greatest caution on the modern critic of the contents of our chapter, that exhibit so many traces of fresh originality and high antiquity. This also may perhaps be urged as a proof of the essentially unchanged transmission of the present documents from the author, that the tribe of Dan, which is elsewhere often omitted, as it seems intentionally, by the Chronist, is here expressly mentioned, and in no disparaging way; comp. ver. 35 with Introd. § 6, No. 1, p. 24, and with the remarks on vi. 46 and vii. 12.

### ε. *The Removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim:* ch. xiii.

CH. XIII. 1. And David consulted with the captains of thousands and of hundreds,
2 with every leader. And David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If it
seem good to you, and it be of the LORD our God, let us send quickly unto our
brethren remaining in all lands of Israel, and with them the priests and Levites
3 in the cities of their suburbs, that they gather unto us. And let us bring again
4 the ark of our God to us; for we inquired not at it in the days of Saul. And
all the congregation said, We must do so; for the thing was right in the eyes of
5 all the people. And David gathered all Israel, from Shihor of Egypt even unto
Hamath, to bring the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim.
6 And David went up, and all Israel, to Baalah, unto Kiriath-jearim, which be-
longed to Judah, to bring up thence the ark of God the LORD, that sitteth over
7 the cherubim, as He is called by name. And they carried the ark of God on a
new waggon from the house of Abinadab; and Uzza and Ahio drove the
8 waggon. And David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and
with songs and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and cymbals,
and trumpets.
9 And they came to the threshing-floor of Chidon; and Uzza put forth his
10 hand to hold the ark; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the LORD was
kindled against Uzza, and He smote him, because he put his hand to the ark; and
11 he died there before the Lord. And David was angry, because the LORD had
12 made a breach upon Uzza; and that place is called Perez-uzza to this day. And
David was afraid of God that day, saying, How shall I bring the ark of God to
13 me? And David removed not the ark to him to the city of David, but placed
14 it in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. And the ark of God remained in the
house of Obed-edom in his house three months; and the LORD blessed the house
of Obed-edom, and all that he had.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—In the second book of Samuel, where ch. vi. 1-11 corresponds to the present section, the history of the transference of the ark from Kiriath-jearim to the house of Obed-edom (which is there related, irrespective of the somewhat shorter introduction, almost word for word as here; comp. 2 Sam. vi. 2-11 with vers. 6-14 of our chapter) is immediately followed by the account of the removal three months later of the ark from that house to Zion. Our author, on the contrary, inserted (ch. xiv.) an account of David's house-building, his family, and his victory over the Philistines, which in 2 Sam. v. 11-25 follows the narrative of the taking of Zion, between the history of the removal of the ark to the house of Obed-edom and its introduction into Zion, and, moreover, on the ground of an old Levitical document, has treated this latter part of the history with vastly greater detail and fulness (see ch. xv. and xvi.). The more circumstantial introduction of our chapter, vers. 1-5, to which there is only one verse parallel in 2 Sam. vi., may spring from the same source as the following full detail in ch. xv., xvi.

1. Description of the Assembly in which the Removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim was resolved upon: vers. 1-5.—*And David consulted* (comp. 2 Chron. x. 6, xxx. 2) *with the captains of thousands and of hundreds* (comp. xv. 25), *with every leader.* לְ before כָּל־נָגִיד serves here for the brief recapitulation of the fore-mentioned, thus, "in short, namely;" comp. Gen. xxiii. 10.—Ver. 2. *And David said unto all the congregation of Israel,* that is, to those princes as the representatives of the community (to the *ecclesia repræsentativa*); comp. קָהָל in Lev. xiv. 3; Deut. xxxi. 30, etc.—*If it seem good to you,* properly, "if it be good with you;" comp. Neh. ii. 5, 7; Esth. i. 19, iii. 19. For the following: "and it be of the Lord our God," comp. Gen. xxiv. 50; Acts v. 39.—*Let us send quickly,* properly, "let us break through (פרץ) and send," that is, with all diligence, and instant suppressing of all hesitation; comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 23. Less certain is the interpretation, flowing from the notion of spreading out (so פָּרַץ, for example, Isa. liv. 3): "send far and wide."—*Unto our brethren remaining in all lands of Israel,* in all lands of the several tribes; comp. כָּל־אַרְצוֹת in Gen. xxvi. 3, 4; 2 Chron. xi. 23, xxxiv. 33. The preposition עַל before אַחֵינוּ, because in the sending is implied at the same time the commanding (comp. צִוָּה עַל). After עִמָּהֶם ("with them," that is, here, "likewise, besides"), this עַל, or even נִשְׁלְחָה עַל, is to be repeated.—Ver. 4. *We must do so,* literally, "to do so;" לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן, the infin. with לְ, as in v. 1, ix. 25.—Ver. 5. *All Israel, from Shihor of Egypt even unto Hamath,* that is, not all the individuals, but a large representation of the whole people (according to 2 Sam. vi. 1, a select number of 30,000). "From Shihor of Egypt even unto Hamath" means essentially the same as "from Dan to Beersheba," namely, Palestine from the south to the north border; comp. Judg. xx. 1; 2 Sam. iii. 10, xvii. 11. שִׁיחוֹר מִצְרַיִם is abbreviated for שִׁיחוֹר אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם, Josh. xiii. 3. It means the small stream between Palestine and Egypt, which is otherwise called the river of Egypt (נחל מצ׳, Josh. xiii. 4, 47; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8, etc.), the Rhinokorura of old, and the Wady el Arish of the present. The Nile certainly bears the name שִׁחֹר, that is, "black water" (Isa. xxiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18); yet smaller waters are also so named, as Josh. xix. 26, the Shihor Libnath, in the tribe of Asher, which, however, casts no doubt on our interpretation. On לְבוֹא חֲמָת, to denote the northern border of Palestine, comp. Num. xxxiv. 5, 8; 2 Kings xiv. 25. Hamath, on the river Orontes, on the southern slope of Antilibanus or Hermon, an old Canaanitish colony (Gen. x. 8), which the prophet Amos (vi. 2), in the 9th century B.C., designated "the great" (חֲמַת רַבָּה), and which still, in the Seleucidic and Roman times, when it was called Ἐπιφάνεια, belonged to the most considerable Syrian cities, was in David's time the seat of a king friendly to David, but independent of him, and tolerably powerful; see xviii. 9 f.; 2 Sam. viii. 9 ff.

2. The Execution of this Resolve: vers. 6-14. —*And David went up, and all Israel.* By "all Israel" is undoubtedly to be understood here, as well as in the foregoing verse, that assembly of select representatives of the people from every tribe, which amounted, 1 Sam. vi. 1, to 30,000 men. Neither the assumption that here, in the fetching of the ark, the participation of a much greater number is presupposed than in that preparatory assembly, nor the hypothesis that 2 Sam. vi. 1 originally conveyed the sense: "And David multiplied all the men of war in Israel, the Sheloshim and the captains of thousands" (instead of 30,000), is necessary (against Berth.), as the indefinite "all Israel" would suit even a smaller number of representatives than 30,000.—*To Baalah, unto Kiriath-jearim.* For בַּעֲלָתָה אֶל קִרְיַת י׳ might be expected, from Josh. xv. 9, perhaps בַּעֲלָתָה הִיא ק׳ י׳; for Baalah is the older Canaanitish name for Kiriath-jearim, which is also called Kiriath-baal (Josh. xv. 60, xviii. 14). Yet the thing is expressed intelligibly enough; the "to Baalah" is sufficiently explained by the addition, "unto Kiriath-jearim." For the addition, "which belonged to Judah," comp. on Judg. xviii. 12, and for the situation of Kiriath-jearim, the present Kureyet el Enab, on the way from Jerusalem to Ramleh and Lydda (three hours from Jerusalem), comp. Rob. *Pal.* ii. 589.—*That sitteth over the cherubim, as He is called by name.* אֲשֶׁר, here *ὡς*, "as" (comp. Ew *Lehrb.* § 333, *a*): the acc. of reference שֵׁם belongs not merely to יהוה, but to יהוה ישב הכרובים, and designates the whole phrase as a usual epithet of God in religious worship; comp. Isa. xxxvii. 16; Ps. lxxx. 2. Others would refer אֲשֶׁר to אָרוֹן, and

change שֵׁם into בְּשֵׁם (Kamph.: "which is called by the name"), or even change שֵׁם into שָׁם (with reference to 2 Sam. vi. 2, where also שָׁם is once to be read), and so get the sense: "who was there, at the ark, addressed" (Berth.; comp. Then. on 2 Sam. vi.). See, on the contrary, and in favour of our interp., Keil, p. 144.—Ver. 7. *And they carried . . . from the house of Abinadab.* This house lay on a hill in Kiriath-jearim (בַּגִּבְעָה, 1 Sam. vii. 1), not in a place Gibeah, near Kiriath-jearim, as the passage 1 Sam. vii. 1 seems to say in the faulty translation of the Vulg. and Luther (comp. C. Hoffmann, *Blicke in die früh. Gesch. d. gelobten Landes*, i. p. 156). Uzza and Ahio, the drivers of the waggon with the ark, are, 2 Sam. vi., expressly called the sons of Abinadab.—Ver. 8. *With all their might, and with songs, and with harps*, etc. The parallel: "with all woods of cypresses," in 2 Sam. vi. 5, rests on a corruption of the text, and is, as ἐν ἰσχύϊ of the Sept. there shows, to be amended by our passage (בְּכָל־עֹז); comp. 2 Sam. vi. 14. For the instruments here named, particularly the harps, psalteries, and cymbals, see on xv. 16.—*Cymbals and trumpets.* The words presented instead of במצלתים ובחצצרות in 2 Sam. vi. 5: וּבִמְנַעַנְעִים וּבְצֶלְצְלִים, "and with rattles and with cymbals," are perhaps more original; at least the מנענעים (Vulg. *sistra*), occurring nowhere else, might easily have been suppressed by the alleviating correction of a later hand (comp. Wellh. p. 167 f.).

3. Uzza's Fall, and the Placing of the Ark in the House of Obed-edom: vers. 9-14.—*And they came to the threshing-floor of Chidon.* The name כִּידֹן is written, in 2 Sam. vi. 6, נָכוֹן (Sept. Ναχώρ), a reading scarcely preferable to our own.—*For the oxen shook it*, were on the point of upsetting it (Sept. ἐξέκλινεν αὐτήν; Vulg. *paululum inclinaverant eam*); the ark of itself supplies the subject to שָׁמְטוּ. Others give "the oxen let go" (Berth.), or "stept aside" (Luther and many ancients), or "flung on every side," Ew., etc.—Ver. 10. *And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzza*, whose error might lie less in the accidental and involuntary touching of the ark, as in his conveying this sacred thing on an ox waggon, instead of having it borne according to the law (Num. vii. 9, x. 17); comp. what David afterwards did, xv. 2. For the parallel text of Samuel to be amended by our passage, comp. Thenius and Wellhausen.—Ver. 13. *In the house of Obed-edom the Gittite;* according to xv. 18, 24, this Obed-edom was one of the Levitical porters; whence we are not to think of the Philistine Gath, but the Levitical city Gath-rimmon (Josh. xix. 45, xxi. 24), as his birth-place.—Ver. 14. *In the house of Obed-edom in his house*, in his own tent, which was spread over it in the court of this Levite (thus, in his dwelling-house, עִם־בֵּיתוֹ). This text appears more correct than that in 2 Sam. vi., which only states that the ark remained "in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite."—*And all that he had.* For this 2 Sam. vi. has: "and all his house." The various reading of our passage "is well chosen, because, just before, בֵּיתוֹ was used of the tent of the ark" (Berth.). That the blessing which God gave to Obed-edom consisted chiefly in numerous offspring, appears from xxvi. 4-8. Yet, even during the three months mentioned in our passage, David must have clearly perceived that the Lord's anger was sufficiently appeased by the death of Uzza, and that the removal of the ark to Jerusalem involved no danger, but would be attended with blessed effects.

*ζ. David's House-Building, Family, and Victories over the Philistines:* ch. xiv.

CH. XIV. 1. And Hiram[1] king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar-wood,
2 and masons, and carpenters, to build him a house. And David perceived that
the LORD had confirmed him king over Israel; for his kingdom was lift up on
high, because of his people Israel.
3 And David took more wives in Jerusalem; and David begat more sons
4 and daughters. And these are the names of those born to him in Jerusalem:
5 Shammua and Shobab, Nathan and Solomon. And Ibhar, and Elishua, and
6, 7 Elpelet. And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia. And Elishama, and Beeliada,
and Eliphelet.
8 And the Philistines heard that David was anointed king over all Israel;
and all the Philistines went up to seek David: and David heard it, and went
9 out against them. And the Philistines came and spread themselves in the
10 valley of Rephaim. And David inquired of God, saying, Shall I go up against
the Philistines, and wilt Thou give them into my hand? And the LORD said
11 unto him, Go up, and I will give them into thy hand. And they went up to
Baal-perazim; and David smote them there: and David said, God hath
broken my enemies by my hand, like the breaking of waters; therefore they
12 called the name of that place Baal-perazim. And they left their gods there;
and David ordered, and they were burnt with fire.
13, 14 And the Philistines came again and spread themselves in the valley.[2] And
David inquired again of God; and God said unto him, Go not up after them;
15 turn away from them, and come upon them by the bacas. And it shall be,
when thou hearest the sound going on the tops of the bacas, then go out to

the battle: for God is gone out before thee to smite the camp of the Philistines.
16 And David did as God commanded him: and they smote the camp of the
17 Philistines, from Gibeon even unto Gezer. And David's fame went out into
all lands; and the LORD brought his fear upon all nations.

[1] *Kethib*· חִירָם. *Keri:* חוּרָם, as always in Chronicles (Sept. Χειράμ, as ever).

[2] For בָּעֵמֶק the Sept. and Syr. read בְּעֵמֶק רְפָאִים, which is perhaps original; comp. 2 Sam. v. 22.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—On the different position of this section in 2 Sam. v. 11–25, namely, before the history of the removal of the ark from Kiriath-jearim, comp. the Preliminary Remark on ch. xiii. The motive of the Chronist for the transposition is evidently the wish to represent the preparations for the removal of the national sanctuary to Jerusalem as the first undertaking of the king after the taking of the capital, to exhibit the building of his own palace as a work certainly taken in hand soon after, but still standing behind that all-important concern. To the history of the beginning of the palace-building is attached in the sources common to both historians a description of the blessing which attended David as a father and a captain in the battles with the Philistines. Our author took this description, in the main unaltered, along with the notice of the beginning of the palace-building, over into his narrative, undeterred by the appearance thence arising of the events in question, especially the two successful battles with the Philistines, having fallen in the three months between the removal of the ark to the house of Obed-edom and its introduction into Jerusalem. This grouping is here, as often in his representation of the history of David, determined by the order of thought rather than of time.

1. David's Palace-building and Family: vers. 1–7.—The text of the older parallel, 2 Sam. v. 11–16, agrees in the main with the present, only here and there more precise.—*And cedar-wood, and masons, and carpenters*, literally, "and timbers (beams) of cedars, and craftsmen of walls, and craftsmen of timbers" (Vulg. *artifices parietum lignorumque*).—Ver. 2. *And David perceived* (concluded from the high honour which was conferred upon him by this message from the Phenician king) *that the Lord had confirmed him king over Israel*, definitely transferred the kingdom to him, established ("bestätigt," Luther) him as king.—*For his kingdom was lift up on high.* נִשֵּׂאת, if genuine, would be an irregularly formed 3 fem. perf. *Niph.* (not, as 2 Sam. xix. 43, an *inf. abs. Niph.*) from נִשָּׂא, intensified by the לְמַעְלָה, "on high;" comp. xxii. 5, xxiii. 17, xxix. 3–25. But perhaps, as in 2 Sam. v. 12, the perf. *Piel* נִשֵּׂא is to be read, and Jehovah taken as the subject: "and that He had exalted his kingdom." For מַמְלַכְתּוֹ, 2 Sam. v., our text presents the later (occurring also xvii. 11, 14) form מַלְכוּתוֹ, perhaps merely by a slip of the pen; see Wellh. p. 164.—Ver. 3. *And David took more wives in Jerusalem.* Before נָשִׁים in 2 Samuel stands פִּלַגְשִׁים, which may have fallen accidentally out of our passage, as the concubines of David are mentioned in iii. 9. Comp. on iii. 5–9, where the names of the thirteen sons of David born in Jerusalem, and the partly different spelling here and there, are fully handled.

2. The First War with the Philistines: vers. 8–12 (comp. 2 Sam. v. 17–21).—*To seek David*, to attack, לְבַקֵּשׁ, *sensu hostili*, as in 1 Sam. xxiii. 15, 25, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 2.—*And David heard it, and went out against them*, properly, "before them;" comp. xii. 17. Into this general and indefinite expression our author has changed the more concrete, but also more obscure, statement of Samuel: "and went down to the hold" (the hold of Zion), perhaps designedly.—Ver. 9. *And spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim;* comp. on xi. 15, 2 Sam. v. 18: "sat down in the valley of Rephaim." The perhaps more original וַיִּנָּטְשׁוּ, 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, the Chronist has here and ver. 13 exchanged for the simpler and more intelligible וַיִּפָּשְׁטוּ.—Ver. 11. *Like the breaking of waters*, like an outburst of water (כְּפֶרֶץ מַיִם). We may think of the rending or outbursting of enclosing dams by rapid floods, perhaps after a water-spout. The situation of Baal-perazim cannot be exactly ascertained. Mount Perazim, Isa. xxviii. 21, is not essentially different from it.—Ver. 12. *And they left their gods there.* 2 Sam. v.: "their idols" (עֲצַבֵּיהֶם). The present phrase is the stronger; it yields, along with the following statement regarding the burning of these gods, a bitterly sarcastic sense. The burning took place, moreover, on the ground of the divine command in Deut. vii. 5, 25. The text of Samuel weakens the statement in a strange way: "and David and his men took them away." If the more concrete and stronger statement of our author is a traditional expansion of that text, the tradition on which it rests is at all events credible; comp. Movers, p. 224. By this victory, David wiped out the old disgrace of Israel, which rested on the people since Eli's time. "As then Israel lost the ark, 1 Sam. iv. 11, so now the sacred things of the Philistines fell into the hands of the Israelites" (Berth.).

3. The Second War with the Philistines: vers. 13–17 (comp. 2 Sam. v. 22–25).—*And spread themselves in the valley*, that is, as the parallel text (so as the Sept. and Syr.; see Crit. Note) shows, in the same valley as above, ver. 9, scarcely in another at Gibeon, as Movers, p. 243, thinks.—Ver. 14. *Go not up after them*, that is, as Samuel shows: "go not directly towards them; seek not to drive them before thee by a direct attack." Perhaps also our text is somewhat faulty, and to be amended, according to 2 Sam. v. 23: לֹא תַעֲלֶה הָסֵב אֶל אַחֲרֵיהֶם, by the change of אַחֲרֵיהֶם in עֲלֵיהֶם (Berth.).—*And come upon*

*them by the bacas*, literally, over against the bacas. These we must suppose, as the divine command implies a going round the Philistine army, to be behind them. The baca, mentioned only here and 2 Sam. v., and perhaps Ps. lxxxiv. 7, is, according to Abulfadi (in Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. 339), a plant related to the balsam tree, and resembling it, which, when cut, discharges a white, sharp, and warm resin in the manner of tears, and appears to have received its name from בכא, *flere*. The older expositors, wavering uncertainly, render the term variously: Sept. ἄπιος, Vulg. *pyrus;* Luther, after the Jewish expositors, mulberry tree.—Ver. 15. *The sound going on the tops of the bacas*, namely, the rustling of their leaves in the wind (Sept.: τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ συσσεισμοῦ αὐτῶν), not the sound occasioned by the entrance of God (supernatural, as in Gen. iii. 8). As the baca has much larger leaves than the ordinary balsam, the rustling of them may occasion a sufficiently loud sound; the rendering "baca trees" (Kamph.) is therefore unnecessary.—Ver. 16. *And they smote the camp of the Philistines, from Gibeon even unto Gezer.* Two places of this name lie to the north-west of Jerusalem, the former (now el Jib) 2½, the latter 4½, hours distant from it. If the battle-field is to be sought between the two, in the region of Upper and Nether Beth-horon, the valley, ver. 13, may still be the valley of Rephaim; only the site of it should be sought not so far south, as Thenius and Bertheau suppose (who also read for Gibeon in our passage, "Geba," according to 2 Sam. v. 25), and the battle must be regarded as moving in a north-westerly direction from its starting-point (comp. Wellh. on 2 Sam. v. 25, also Ew. *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* ii. 610).—Ver. 17. *And David's fame went out into all lands; and the Lord brought his fear upon all nations*, literally, "gave his fear upon all nations;" comp. Esth. viii. 17. A pragmatic reflection of our author added to the original text, as its absence in 2 Sam. v. 25 shows. Comp. the similar reflections in 2 Chron. xvii. 10, xx. 29. On יֵצֵא שֵׁם especially, comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

### a. *The Removal of the Ark to Jerusalem, with the Solemn Hymn sung on this occasion:* ch. xv., xvi.

CH. XV. 1. And he made him houses in the city of David, and he prepared a place
for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent.
2 Then David said, None should carry the ark of God but the Levites; for
the LORD hath chosen them to carry the ark of God, and to minister to Him
3 for ever. And David gathered all Israel to Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of
4 the LORD unto its place which he had prepared for it. And David assembled
5 the sons of Aaron, and the Levites. Of the sons of Kohath: Uriel the chief,
6 and his brethren a hundred and thirty. Of the sons of Merari: Asaiah the
7 chief, and his brethren two hundred and twenty. Of the sons of Gershom: Joel
8 the chief, and his brethren a hundred and thirty. Of the sons of Elizaphan:
9 Shemaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred. Of the sons of Hebron:
10 Eliel the chief, and his brethren eighty. Of the sons of Uzziel: Amminadab the
11 chief, and his brethren a hundred and twelve. And David called Zadok and
Abiathar the priests, and the Levites Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and
12 Eliel, and Amminadab. And said unto them, Ye chiefs of the Levites, sanctify
yourselves with your brethren, and bring up the ark of the LORD God of Israel
13 to the place I have prepared for it. For because ye were not at the first, the
14 LORD our God broke out upon us, because we sought Him not aright. And the
priests and Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark of the LORD God of
15 Israel. And the sons of the Levites bare the ark of God, as Moses commanded
by the word of the LORD, upon their shoulders, with staves upon them.
16 And David said to the chiefs of the Levites, to appoint their brethren the
singers with instruments, psalteries, and harps, and cymbals, sounding, to lift up
17 the sound with gladness. And the Levites appointed Heman son of Joel; and
of his brethren, Asaph son of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari their brethren,
18 Ethan son of Kushaiah.[1] And with them their brethren of the second degree:
Zechariah,[2] and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and
Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-
19 edom, and Jeiel, the porters. And the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, with
20 cymbals of brass to sound aloud. And Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth,
and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries,
21 in the way of maidens. And Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and
Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps after the octave to lead.
22 And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites;[3] for he instructed in bearing, for he
23 was skilful. And Berechiah and Elkanah were door-keepers for the ark.
24 And Shebaniah, and Joshaphat, and Nathaneel, and Amasai, and Zechariah,

and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, blew[4] with the trumpets before the ark of
God; and Obed-edom and Jehiah were door-keepers for the ark.
25 And David, and the elders of Israel, and the captains of thousands, were
going to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the house of Obed
26 edom with gladness. And when God helped the Levites bearing the ark of the
27 covenant of the LORD, then they offered seven bullocks and seven rams. And
David was clothed with a robe of byssus, and all the Levites bearing the ark,
and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of the bearing [the singers];[5] and upon
28 David was a linen ephod. And all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of
the LORD with shouting, and with sound of cornet, and with trumpets, and with
29 cymbals sounding, with psalteries and harps. And when the ark of the covenant
of the LORD came to the city of David, then Michal, daughter of Saul, looked out
from the window, and saw King David leaping and playing; and she despised him
in her heart.
CH. XVI. 1. And they brought the ark of God, and set it in the tent that David had
pitched for it; and they offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before God.
2 And David made an end of offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and blessed
3 the people in the name of the LORD. And he dealt to every one of Israel, both
man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and a measure [of wine], and a grape
cake.
4 And he appointed before the ark of the LORD ministers of the Levites, to
5 record, and to thank and to praise the LORD God of Israel. Asaph the chief, and
next to him Zechariah, Jeiel,[6] and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and
Eliab, and Benaiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, with psalteries and harps; and
6 Asaph sounding with cymbals. And Benaiah and Jahaziel the priests with
7 trumpets continually before the ark of the covenant of God. On that day then
David ordered for the first time to thank the LORD by Asaph and his
brethren.[7]

8 Thank ye the LORD, call on His name,
Make known His deed among the peoples.
9 Sing ye to Him, play ye to Him;
Muse on all His wonders.
10 Glory ye in His holy name;
Let the heart of them that seek the LORD be glad.
11 Seek ye the LORD and His strength,
Seek ye His face continually.
12 Remember His wonders that He hath done,
His signs, and the judgments of His mouth.
13 O ye seed of Israel His servant,
Ye sons of Jacob, His chosen.
14 He the LORD is our God,
His judgments are in all the earth.
15 Remember His covenant for ever—
The word He commanded to a thousand ages.
16 Which He made with Abraham,
And His oath unto Isaac.
17 And appointed it to Jacob for a statute,
To Israel for an everlasting covenant.
18 Saying, To thee I give the land of Canaan,
The line of your inheritance.
19 When ye were small in number,
Few, and strangers in it.
20 And they went from nation to nation,
And from one kingdom to another people.
21 He let no man do them wrong,
And reproved kings for their sake.
22 "Touch not mine anointed,
And do my prophets no harm."

23 Sing ye to the LORD, all the earth;
Proclaim from day to day His salvation.
24 Tell ye among the nations His glory,
His wonders among all the peoples.
25 For great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised;
And He is to be feared above all gods.
26 For all the gods of the peoples are idols;
But the LORD made the heavens.
27 Majesty and honour are before Him,
Strength and gladness are in His place.

28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the people,
Give unto the LORD glory and strength.
29 Give to the LORD the glory due to His name;
Bring an oblation, and come before Him;
Worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.
30 Tremble before Him, all the earth:
The world will also stand fast without moving.

31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them sing among the nations, The LORD reigneth.
32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;
Let the field rejoice, and all that is therein.
33 Then shall the trees of the wood sing out
Before the LORD; for He cometh to judge the earth.

34 Thank ye the LORD; for He is good;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
35 And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation,
And gather us and deliver us from the heathen,
To thank Thy holy name,
To glory in Thy praise.
36 Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel,
For ever and ever.

And all the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.
37 And he left there, before the ark of the covenant of the LORD, Asaph and
his brethren, to minister before the ark continually, for the day's work in its day.
38 And Obed-edom[8] and their brethren sixty and eight; and Obed-edom, son of
39 Jedithun, and Hosah, to be porters. And Zadok the priest, and his brethren
the priests, before the tabernacle of the LORD, in the high place that was at
40 Gibeon. To offer burnt-offerings to the LORD on the altar of burnt-offering con-
tinually morning and evening, and for all that is written in the law of the LORD,
41 which He commanded Israel. And with them Heman and Jeduthun, and the
rest that were chosen, who were expressed by name, to thank the LORD, that His
42 mercy endureth for ever. And with them, Heman and Jeduthun,[9] were trumpets
and cymbals for loud sounding, and [other] instruments of God; and the sons of
43 Jeduthun were at the gate. And all the people went every man to his house;
and David turned in to bless his house.

[1] קוּשָׁיָהוּ, without variation, while in vi. 29 the name is קוּשִׁי, and so the Sept. read here Κισαίου (Vulg. *Casaja*).

[2] בֵּן after זְכַרְיָהוּ has come into the text by a mistake of the pen, as the ו before the next name shows. On the contrary, the name עֲזַזְיָהוּ seems to have fallen out at the close of ver. 18 (see Exeg.).

[3] בְּמַשָּׂא. So most editions, in the first place; whereas R. Norzi has בַּמַּשָּׂא even the first time.

[4] *Kethib:* מַחְצְצְרִים. *Keri:* מַחְצְרִים (*partic. Hiph.*). The same variation recurs 2 Chron. v. 13, where, however, the *Keri* is to be read as *partic. Pi.* (לְמַחְצְּרִים).

[5] The words וּכְנַנְיָה הַשַּׂר הַמַּשָּׂא הַמְשֹׁרְרִים are wanting in the *Pesh.* At least, הַמְשֹׁרְרִים should apparently be erased as unmeaning (comp. Exeg.), though the Sept. and Vulg. have it.

[6] Instead of יְחִיאֵל after xv. 18 is certainly to be read here, in the first place (after שְׁמִירָמוֹת), יַעֲזִיאֵל.

[7] The variants in this song, from its parallel in the Psalter (Ps. cv., xcvi., cvi.), see in Exeg.

[8] After עבד אדם, as the plur. suff. in ואחיהם shows, must at least one name, probably וְחֹסָה (see the following), have fallen out.

[9] The names הֵימָן וִידוּתוּן were not read by the Sept. (*καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν σάλπιγγες καὶ κύμβαλα τοῦ ἀναφωνεῖν, κ.τ.λ.*), and appear to be repeated by mistake from the preceding verse, which also begins with וְעִמָּהֶם.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—Instead of the brief description of the parallel text 2 Sam. vi. 11–23, our author gives a detailed account: 1. Of the preparations for the solemn act of transferring the ark into its new sanctuary in Jerusalem, xv. 1–24, including *a.* The erection of the tent for the reception of the ark, ver. 1; *b.* a conference of the king with the priests and Levites, vers. 2–16; and *c.* the selection of the Levites appointed for the chief part in the solemnity (and therefore designated by name), vers. 16–24. 2. Then follows the execution of the so prepared holy act itself, xv. 25–xvi. 3; at the close of which comes the description of the first solemn service before the ark in its new sanctuary on Zion, xvi. 4–43, including the psalm of praise and thanks then sung, vers. 8–36. This long closing section is (except the last verse) peculiar to the Chronist. On its credibility, and especially on the genuineness and age of the psalm of praise and thanks, see at the close of these expositions.

1. *The Preparation for the Removal;* and first, *a.* The erection of the tent on Zion: xv. 1.—*And he made him houses in the city of David.* This may be understood of the building of other houses besides the palace built with the aid of Hiram of Tyre, xiv. 1 (Berth., Kamph.); but as the verb used is עָשָׂה, not בָּנָה, it appears rather to refer to the internal finishing of a palace for the abode of the king and his wives.—*And he prepared a place for the ark of God.* This was probably in the immediate neighbourhood of the king's house adjoining it; for here the one of the two existing high priests, Abiathar the Ithamaride, who, since the massacre at Nob, was constantly about David (as it were his court or domestic priest, while Zadok of the house of Eleazar officiated at Gibeon), was to exercise his functions.—*And pitched for it a tent,* we may suppose, after the model of the old tabernacle still existing at Gibeon (xvi. 39 f., xxi. 29; 1 Kings iii. 4 ff.), but only as a provisional sanctuary.

2. *Continuation. b.* The conference with the priests and Levites: vers. 2–15.—*Then David said,* namely, at the end of the three months, xiii. 14.—*None should carry,* properly, "it is not to carry." With this confession of the sole right of the Levites to carry the ark (comp. Num. i. 50, iv. 15, vii. 9, x. 17), David acknowledges that it was unlawful to convey it on a waggon, xiii. 7.—Ver. 3. *And David gathered all Israel,* by its natural representatives, the elders and captains of thousands; see ver. 25, and comp. 2 Sam. vi. 15: "all the house of Israel." Of this summons to a previous consultation in Jerusalem nothing further is reported, 2 Sam. vi. —Ver. 4. *And David assembled the sons of Aaron, and the Levites;* he formed of these representatives of the priesthood an inner circle in the assembly of the people, to hear their counsel regarding the order of the solemnities. "The sons of Aaron" are the high priests Zadok and Abiathar, ver. 11; the "Levites" are the six chiefs named in vers. 5–10, with their brethren.—Ver. 5. *Of the sons of Kohath: Uriel the chief;* see vi. 9. The Kohathite chief is named first, because the ministry of the most holy, the carrying of the most holy vessels of the tabernacle, belonged to the Kohathites, the family from which Aaron the high priest sprang, Num. iv. 4, 15, vii. 9 (Keil).—On the Merarite chief Asaiah, comp. vi. 15; on Joel, the chief of the sons of Gershom, vi. 21.—Vers. 8–10 name the chiefs of three other Kohathite families, those of Elizaphan (=Elzaphan son of Uzziel, Ex. vi. 22), of Hebron (son of Kohath, Ex. vi. 18; comp. 1 Chron. v. 28), and of Uzziel. The last named is probably not different from the Kohathite Uzziel, father of Elizaphan, Ex. vi. 22; there are thus formed of the sons of this Uzziel two houses, of which one is named after Elizaphan, the other after Uzziel himself, and not any of his other sons. There are then in all four Kohathite houses, with one Merarite and one Gershomite, here represented: a strong preference of the house of Kohath, which is not surprising, because the conveyance of the ark specially belonged to them.—Ver. 11. *And David called Zadok* (of Eleazar, v. 27 ff.) *and Abiathar* (of Ithamar), the high priests, who then acted together; see above on ver. 1, and comp. xxiv. 3; 2 Sam. xv. 24 ff., xx. 25.—Ver. 12. *Ye chiefs of the Levites,* literally, "ye chiefs of the fathers of the Levites;" comp. viii. 6, 10.—*Sanctify yourselves with your brethren,* properly, "ye and your brethren." The "sanctifying" consisted in keeping from their wives, from contact with unclean things, and also in washing the body and the clothes; comp. Gen. xxxv. 2 with Ex. xix. 10, 15, also 2 Chron. xxx. 3.—*To* (the place) *I have prepared for it,* אֶל־הֲכִינוֹתִי לוֹ. The same elliptical construction (with omitted אֲשֶׁר, or immediate connection of the relative sentence with the preposition) see in 2 Chron. i. 4; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 3; 2 Chron. xvi. 9, xxx. 18; Neh. viii. 10 (Ew. § 333, *b*).—Ver. 13. *For because ye were not at the beginning,* or "ye were not those who bare the ark." "At the beginning," on the former occasion, when three months before the ark was brought from Kiriath-jearim, xiii. On the peculiar construction לְמַבָּרִאשׁוֹנָה (from לְמָה and בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה), comp. מַה־תְּלָאָה = מַתְּלָאָה, Mal. i. 13, and Ew. § 91, *d.* לָמָה in this compound signifies "for this, that," "because;"

comp. Ew. § 222, *a*, 353, *a*.—*The Lord our God broke out upon us* (xiii. 11), *because we sought Him not aright*, because we approached Him not in the manner prescribed by law, had neglected to testify our reverence to Him by keeping the legal regulation, that only Levites should bear the holy things —Ver. 15. *And the sons of the Levites bear the ark of God.* An anticipation, occasioned by that which was said in the verse before of the immediate execution of the order for the purification of the Levites. See the particulars, ver. 25 ff.—*Upon their shoulders, with staves upon them*, upon their shoulders. On מֹוטָה (from מוט, "waver"), the pole, comp. Num. xiii. 23 (also Lev. xxvi. 13; Ezek. xxxiv. 27). In the Pentat. the poles are besides called בַּדִּים, Ex. xxv. 13 ff., etc.

3. *Close.* c. The appointment of the Levitical singers for the solemnity: vers. 16-24.—*To appoint their brethren the singers with instruments*, properly, "with instruments of song," that is, to accompany the singing. Such כְּלֵי שִׁיר (comp. Neh. xii. 36) are now named in three classes: 1. נְבָלִים, ψαλτήρια (Sept.), or *nablia* (Vulg.), guitar-like instruments, consisting of an oblong chest with flat bottom and convex sounding board, over which strings of wire were stretched, called by Luther, in accordance with the Sept. (and the Arab. *santir*), psalteries, by others "harps" or nablia; 2. כִּנֹּרוֹת (Sept. κινύραι, Vulg. *lyræ*), harps or lute-like instruments, rendered by Luther not unsuitably, "harps," though lutes would perhaps be more correct [rather should the former be called lutes]; 3. מְצִלְתַּיִם (equivalent to the older term צֶלְצְלִים, 2 Sam. vi. 5; Ps. cl. 5), here more fully defined by the epithet מַשְׁמִיעִים, "clear-sounding" (making to hear), which belongs neither to all the three instruments (Berth.), nor to the too remote "their brethren the singers" (Kamph.), but, as in vers. 19, 28, and xvi. 5, 42, only to מְצִלְתַּיִם; comp. Böttch. *Neue exeg.-krit. Aehrenl.* iii. 223 f. (who, however, assigns to the term the unsuitable meaning, "beating time").—*To lift up the sound with gladness*, to express or signify joy; comp. ver. 25; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 30. This telic clause refers not merely to the clear-sounding cymbals, but to the chief sentence.—Ver. 17. *And the Levites appointed Heman son of Joel.* That this Heman was of the family of the Kohathites, and Asaph of the Gershonites (comp. vi. 18, 24), is not here stated; only of the third song-master Ethan is his family, or his descent from Merari, expressly mentioned. On the name of Ethan's father, Kushaiah, see Crit. Note.—Ver. 18. *And with them their brethren of the second degree.* On הַמִּשְׁנִים, "the second in rank," comp. the sing. הַמִּשְׁנֶה, 2 Kings xxiii. 4 and 1 Chron. xvi. 5.—*Zechariah and Jaaziel.* For the certainly spurious בֵּן after זְכַרְיָהוּ, see Crit. Note. The here named Jaaziel is certainly identical with the Aziel, ver. 20, and with the Jeiel, xvi. 5, or rather these names are to be changed into the present one.—*And Obed-edom and Jeiel the porters.* The office of doorkeeper does not exclude their acting also as musicians, as ver. 21 shows. After Jeiel, as the same verse teaches, the name Azaziah must have fallen out, so that originally there were not thirteen but fourteen persons named as musicians of the second order. After these singers and musicians have been mentioned by name (and in two orders or ranks, vers. 17 and 18), they are again brought forward, vers. 19-21, divided into three choirs, after the musical instruments on which they played.—Ver. 19. *The Cymbal Players: Heman, Asaph, and Ethan.*—*With cymbals of brass to sound aloud*, they were bound, had this to do. The cymbals were wholly of brass; comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 1: χαλκὸς ἠχῶν, and Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 12. 3: κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα. The "loud-sounding" (הַשְׁמִיעַ) of the three cymbal players was designed to beat time or direct; for in ver. 17 they are placed before as leaders.—Ver. 20. The Players on Psalteries or Nablia: Zechariah and Seven Others. Of these, who are here repeated with slight changes from ver. 18 (instead of Jaaziel, the second is here called Aziel; and at the end of the first series stands here Maaseiah before Benaiah, there inversely), it is here stated that they played *with psalteries in the way of maidens.* עַל־עֲלָמוֹת is certainly the name of that tone, which sounds in a high, clear voice, that is, the soprano, as the following עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, "after (or on) the octave," is equivalent to "on the bass," *al ottava bassa.* Comp. Del. on Ps. vi. 1, xlvi. 1.—Ver. 21. The Harp or Lute Players: Mattaniah and Five Others.—*With harps after the octave to lead.* How this leading or directing expressed by נצח is distinct from that which is expressed, ver. 19, by הַשְׁמִיעַ, we can no longer define; at all events, it was not such directing as could belong only to the music-master. Comp. Delitzsch on Ps. iv. 1.—Vers. 22-24 bring forward the other Levites engaged in the solemn procession. —*And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, for bearing.* בְּמַשָּׂא (or as perhaps is to be read, with R. Norzi, בַּמַּשָּׂא) is scarcely to be understood of any presiding or overseeing action of Chenaniah (as the Sept. ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ᾠδῶν, Vulg. *prophetiæ præerat ad præcinendam melodiam;* Luth. "to instruct in singing;" L. Lavater, *supremus musicus;* Kamph. and others, "the leader in execution," etc.). The phrase is rather to be referred to the bearing of the ark, which, according to ver. 23 f., is here in question (comp. also מַשָּׂא in 2 Chron. xxxv. 3 and Num. iv. 19). With this agrees, rightly conceived, ver. 27, as well as the later mention of Chenaniah in xxvi. 29, where he is placed over the outward business of the Levites (rightly Berth. and Keil; undecided Kamph.).—*Instructed in bearing; for he was skilful*, acquainted with the ritual, experienced in the ceremonial relative to the bearing of the ark. Whether we take יָסֹר as *inf. abs. Kal* in the sense of the *verb. fin.* יסר, "instruct" (J. H. Mich., Gesen., etc.), or as imperf. of שָׂרַר = סרר, "be chief, command" (Berth., etc.), or as a subst. in the sense of "instructor" (Keil), the meaning of presiding, directing, leading, is at all events ex-

pressed by the word.—Ver. 23. *And Berechiah and Elkanah were doorkeepers for the ark,* who were to guard not so much the doors of the ark itself as those of the tent that gave access to it; thus, in general, to guard the ark. As these two at first, and then at the close of the following verse, Obed-edom and Jehiah also, are named as doorkeepers of the ark, we must regard the former two as going before the ark during the solemn procession, and the latter two as following after. Close by the ark, however, either immediately before it or on the two sides, the seven priests blowing trumpets, ver. 24, may be supposed to go. —Ver. 24. *And Shebaniah . . . blew with trumpets before the ark of God.* Whether the *Kethib* מַחְצְצְרִים (*denom.* from חֲצֹצְרָה) or the *Keri* מַחְצְרִים (*Hiph.* of חצר) is read does not affect the sense. The blowing of trumpets here is according to the prescription, Num. x. 1-10, and the example of the compassing of Jericho, Josh. vi. 4-6.—*And Obed-edom and Jehiah were doorkeepers for the ark.* Of these, Obed-edom was a son of Jeduthun, xvi. 38, and so perhaps different from him of the same name among the singers, vers. 18, 21 (though he also, ver. 18, is called a doorkeeper). Perhaps also the Jehiah named with him is not to be identified with Jehiel there (vers. 18 and 21) named with Obed-edom (against Raschi, Berth., etc.). It is plain that according to all this the whole procession included the following divisions:—1. The singers arranged in three choirs; 2. Chenaniah the captain of the bearers (as it were marshal); 3. Two doorkeepers; 4. Seven priests blowing trumpets close by the ark; 5. Two doorkeepers. After these followed, ver. 25, the king, with the elders and captains of thousands.

4. The Execution of that which was resolved in the Assembly: xv. 25–xvi. 3.—*And David and the elders of Israel, and the captains of thousands* (commanders over the thousands, chiliarchs). וַיְהִי דָוִיד וגו׳ connects this with ver. 3, after the details concerning the preparations have intervened. The parallel 2 Sam. vi. 12 wants this connecting וַיְהִי, and does not mention the elders and chiliarchs along with David.—Ver. 26. *And when God helped the Levites,* permitted them without danger or harm to convey the ark, thus to escape the fate of Uzza. The offering of seven bullocks and seven rams seems to have been made at the close of the procession, after the conveyance had been successfully conducted. Otherwise 2 Sam. vi. 13, where (at least in the Masoretic text) David, after the bearers of the ark had made the first six steps, offered a sacrifice. It is probable that both accounts are original, and that the two must be harmonized and combined.—Ver. 27. *And David was clothed with a robe of byssus.* Instead of these words (וְדָוִיד מְכֻרְבָּל בִּמְעִיל בּוּץ), 2 Sam. vi. 14 presents וְדָוִד מְכַרְכֵּר בְּכָל־עֹז (with the addition לִפְנֵי יְהוָה). That מכרבל is corrupted from מכרכר, and במעיל בוץ from בכל־עז (Berth., etc.; also Böttcher, *Neue Aehrenlese,* iii. 224), might be assumed, if the לפני יהוה, wanting in our text, did not create a difficulty. For this assumption, according to which the Chronist shall have thought it unbecoming to speak of David (and, with Berth., the Levites also) dancing, though in ver. 29 and xiii. 8 he states, or at least implies, this fact quite freely, it is at all events easier to regard both texts as abbreviations of one and the same narrative contained in the common sources of our author, which, besides the dancing of David (which the Chronist merely presupposes, while the author of 2 Samuel gives it prominence), contained full reports of the clothing of David, and of the Levites around him. It is accordingly to be supposed that the Chronist has taken only these latter reports in full, "because the statement concerning the clothing of the king and the Levites appeared more important for the purpose of describing fully the religious aspect of the procession, as this import of it was more conspicuous here; for the dress which the king wore had a priestly character" (Keil; comp. Movers, p. 168). That the verb כרבל, "to be wrapt up," belongs to the later usage of speech, or rather, is properly Chaldaic (Dan. iii. 21), can scarcely bring into question the justice of this harmonistic assumption (against Böttch.).—*And all the Levites . . . and the singers, and Chenaniah.* To these also obviously applies the being "clothed with a robe of byssus," which is first said of David. All these, who are here in apposition with David, are described as adorned with priestly attire, with the meïl of byssus (comp. the byssus attire of the Levites and singers in the dedication of the temple by Solomon, 2 Chron. v. 12, and for the meïl, the upper garment of distinguished persons, 1 Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27, xviii. 4, xxiv. 5; Ezra ix. 3; Job xxix. 14). The closing sentence, "and upon David was a linen ephod," first names the distinguishing part of the clothing of the king as the sovereign of the priestly people (comp. 2 Sam. vi. 14). The designation of Chenaniah as "the master of the bearing" (הַשַּׂר הַמַּשָּׂא with the double article; comp. Ew. § 290, *d*) is to be understood according to ver. 22; the unmeaning: "the singers," after הַמַּשָּׂא, appears spurious (see Crit. Note); even if we understood מַשָּׂא of musical performance, this addition would be disturbing.—Ver. 28. *With shouting, and with sound of cornet,* etc. Shorter and simpler 2 Sam. vi. 15, without naming the several instruments.—Ver. 29. *Then Michal . . . saw King David leaping and playing.* Instead of מרקד ומשחק, 2 Sam. vi. 16 has מְפַזֵּז וּמְכַרְכֵּר. This brief reference to the well-known history, fully reported in 2 Sam. vi. 16, 20–23, of the dispute between David and Michal, shows sufficiently that the Chronist did not wish to be silent concerning this matter from dogmatic or æsthetic considerations. Moreover, ver. 29–xvi. 3 agrees in all essentials with 2 Sam. vi. 16–19*a*.—Ch. xvi. 3. *To every one a loaf of bread* (כִּכַּר לֶחֶם, the more usual phrase for the rarer חַלַּת ל׳ used in 2 Sam. vi. 19), *and a measure* (of wine), *and a grape cake.* The אֶשְׁפָּר, occurring only here and 2 Samuel, is explained by the Vulg., Chald., and Syr., and by several Rabbis and moderns (Ew., Berth., Kamph.), as "a piece

of flesh" (roast), as if from בַּר, ox, and אֵשׁ, fire, or rather from שָׁפַר = שָׂרַף, "to burn." But the reference of the word to שָׁפַר, in the sense of the Aethiopic *safara = metiri*, "to measure," is better ascertained, according to which, אֶשְׁפָּר (with א *prosthet.*) signifies a portion of drink, a measure of wine (de Dieu, Gesen., Rödiger, Keil, etc.). On אֲשִׁישָׁה, "grape or raisin cake" (from אָשַׁשׁ, to make firm, press), comp. Song ii. 5, Hos. iii. 1, and the equivalent צִמּוּקִים, xii. 40.

5. *The First Solemn Service before the Ark in Jerusalem, and the Institution of Divine Service in general:* vers. 4–43.—*a.* The Levites appointed for service by David: vers. 4–6.—*And he appointed* (properly, "gave;" comp. ver. 7) *before the ark of the Lord ministers of the Levites*, namely, as the addition "to record, etc." shows, singers and players for the purpose of sacred singing, Levitical ministers (λειτουργοῦντας, Sept.).—*To record, and to thank, and to praise.* לְהַזְכִּיר, literally, "to bring to remembrance, to pray at the אַזְכָּרָה of the meat-offering" (Lev. ii. 2; comp. Ps. xxxviii. 1, lxx. 1, and Del. on the first passage). לְהוֹדוֹת, properly, "to confess" (Sept., ἐξομολογεῖσθαι), refers to the singing of psalms that prominently confess and express thanks to God, as לְהַלֵּל refers to the praises of the hallelujah songs.—Ver. 5. *Asaph the chief, and next to him Zechariah*, literally, "and as his second, his next man (follower);" comp. Esth. x. 3. Of the three song-masters and fourteen musicians named in the list xv. 19–21, a part only are named again: of the song-masters only Asaph, and of the musicians only nine (namely, six of the eight nebel-players and three of the six kinnor-players), and also, ver. 6, of the seven trumpet-blowers, only two, Benaiah and Jahaziel, the latter of whom did not appear in xv. 24. As we possess no parallel report to compare with the contents of our section, nothing definite can be conjectured of the relation of the present names to those of the longer series, and it must be left uncertain whether Jahaziel be identical with the Eliezer named, ver. 24, along with Benaiah.

6. *Continuation. b.* The song of praise and thanks by Asaph and his brethren: vers. 7–36.—*On that day then David ordered for the first time . . . by Asaph*, etc. Properly, "then David gave over . . . by the hand of Asaph;" נָתַן בְּיַד, here "to hand over, arrange." בָּרֹאשׁ, not "by the chief, by Asaph," but "first, for the first time;" comp. מֵרֹאשׁ, Isa. xl. 21. This is the first introduction of the new cultus. Along with Asaph are named "his brethren," the Levites arranged with (and under) him, enumerated in vers. 5, 6. We may observe, moreover, how clearly this verse, especially by its בָּרֹאשׁ, announces the following song as an ideal composition, characterizing only in general that which was to be sung by the musicians, but not expressing a stereotype form. Had the author wished to convey the sense that the song was sung for all time so as he communicated it, and not otherwise, he would have added, "and he commanded them *thus* to sing," or, "to sing this song."—Ver. 8 ff. *Thank ye the Lord, call on His name*, etc. Of the eight strophes of the song, the first four (vers. 8–22) correspond to the opening of Ps. cv. (vers. 1–15); the next three (vers. 23–33) to Ps. xcvi.; the last (vers. 34–36) to the first and last two verses of Ps. cvi., with some unimportant variations which are here to be noted.—*First Strophe:* vers. 8–11 (= Ps. cv. 1–4): Summons to sing praise to the Lord and to seek His face.—*Second Strophe:* vers. 12–14 (= Ps. cv. 5–7): Summons to think of the wonders of the Lord and His judgments. Here are the first variants, namely, ver. 12, פִּיהוּ instead of פִּיו, and, ver. 13, זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל instead of זֶ' אַבְרָהָם, of which the latter only is of any consequence. On account of the parallelism with the "sons of Jacob," the "seed of Israel" appears the better reading.—*Third Strophe:* vers. 15–18 (= Ps. cv. 8–11): Summons to think of the covenant made by the Lord with the fathers.—*Remember His covenant for ever.* Ps. cv. rather: "He remembereth, etc." (זָכַר for זִכְרוּ). Our reading, corresponding better with the application of the song to the end proposed in ver. 7, appears to be substituted for the more original one of the Psalm.—Ver. 16. *And His oath unto Isaac.* For לְיִצְחָק Ps. cv. 9 presents the weaker form לְיִשְׂחָק (found also in Amos vii. 9; Jer. xxxiii. 26), a critically unimportant variant, like that in ver. 18*a*, where אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן stands for "אֶת־אֶרֶץ כ.—*Fourth Strophe:* vers. 19–22 (= Ps. cv. 12–15): Reason of the summons to remember the covenant of the Lord with the fathers, because the Lord has so truly and mightily protected them according to His promise.—*When ye were small in number.* Instead of בִּהְיוֹתְכֶם Ps. cv. 12 presents בִּהְיוֹתָם. To address the children of Israel again corresponds better with the aim of the Psalm; this variant is thus similar to that in ver. 15, but affords no presumption in favour of the priority of this or that reading.—Ver. 20. *And from one kingdom.* Ps. cv. omits the "and" (ו before מִמַּמְלָכָה); critically unimportant, as also the two following variants (ver. 21, לְאִישׁ for אָדָם, and, ver. 22, וּבִנְבִיאַי for וְלִנְבִיאַי).—*Fifth Strophe:* vers. 23–27 (= Ps. xcvi. 1–6): All the world shall concur in praise of the greatness and glory of God.—The first verse of this passage seems compounded of the first two verses of Ps. xcvi., the first members being omitted. Whether this be an abbreviating process of the Chronist, or an amplifying one of the Psalmist, it is hard to determine; much may be said for each of the two assumptions (see Keil).—Ver. 27. *Strength and gladness are in His place* (חֶדְוָה בִּמְקֹמוֹ; comp. for this late, but in Aram. frequent, חֶדְוָה, Ezra vi. 16; Neh. viii. 10). On the contrary, Ps. xcvi. 6: "strength and beauty in His sanctuary" (וְתִפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ).—*Sixth Strophe:* vers. 28–30 (= Ps. xcvi. 7–9): All nations shall worship God

with offerings and confessions.—Ver. 29. *Give to the Lord the glory due to His name*, etc. Instead of two, this verse has, to our surprise, three members: the first two correspond to Ps. xcvi. 8; ver. 9 there to our ver. 29*c* and ver. 30*a*. The disturbance of the parallel in our verse rests on this, that after ver. 31*a* (=Ps. xcvi. 11*a*) the verse-member Ps. xcvi. 10*a* is placed, but Ps. xcvi. 10*c* is altogether omitted. Thus, in our text, the verse beginning with "give to the Lord the glory;" on the contrary, in Ps. xcvi., that beginning with "say among the heathen" (ver. 10), forms the exception to the otherwise constant bipartition of the verse. It is impossible, however, to arrive at a certain result on which side the priority lies (see on ver. 31).—*Bring an oblation, and come before Him.* Ps. xcvi. 8*b*: "and come to His courts" (לְחַצְרוֹתָיו for לְפָנָיו). This variant is similar to that in ver. 27, where "in His sanctuary" of the Psalm is changed into the more general "in His place," because the mention of the "sanctuary" (as here of the "courts") does not seem to comport well with the time and aim of the present song, which was sung before the erection of the temple.—Ver. 30. *Tremble before Him, all the earth.* For מִלְּפָנָיו Ps. xcvi. 9 has מִפָּנָיו, an unimportant difference.—*Seventh Strophe:* vers. 31–33 (=Ps. xcvi. 10–13): Even the inanimate creation will exult before the Lord of all nations coming to judgment. Ver. 31*a* corresponds to Ps. xcvi. 11*a*, but ver. 31*b* to Ps. xcvi. 10*a*.—*And let them say among the nations*, etc., is in Ps. xcvi. 10*a*: "say among the nations" (אִמְרוּ instead of וְיֹאמְרוּ). It is too much to say that this summons, addressed to the Israelites after the words "tremble before Him, all the earth" (which there go immediately before, as ver. 9*b*), yields a "rather tame thought," and speaks for the priority of the text of Chronicles (Keil). The position of the present summons among mere appeals to the representatives of inanimate nature, as the heavens, the earth, the sea, the field, may appear surprising and disturbing. There is something excited and wavering in the line of thought and mode of expression, there as well as here.—Ver. 32*b*. *Let the field rejoice*, etc. For יַעֲלֹץ הַשָּׂדֶה Ps. xc. 12*a* presents יַעֲלֹז שָׂדַי, in which the poetic and archaic שָׂדַי, instead of the prosaic הַשָּׂדֶה, seems not without significance.—Ver. 33. *Then shall the trees of the wood sing out.* For this Ps. xcvi. 12*b* has "all trees of the wood." The second member of this verse corresponds to the first in Ps. xcvi. 13, as far as the repetition of "for He cometh" (כִּי בָא), which occurs only once here. Ps. xcvi. 13*b*, the close of the whole Psalm, is wanting in our text, which the defenders of the priority of the latter explain thus: that when the contents of our verses 23–33 were made a distinct Psalm, it was found necessary to make at the close a suitable addition; whereas the matter may as well be explained by the abbreviating habit of our author (as the later compiler of the present song).—*Eighth Strophe:* vers. 34–36 (=Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48): Repeated summons to thank God, and to pray for His further help, with the closing doxology.—*Thank ye the Lord; for He is good*, etc. This verse is found not merely at the head of Ps. cvi., but also of Ps. cvii., cxviii., cxxxvi. (comp. also Ps. cxviii. 29 and Jer. xxxiii. 11); as an old and favourite liturgical form, it is not necessarily to be regarded as taken from Ps. cvi. in particular.—Ver. 35. *And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation.* Similar, but not verbally so, Ps. cvi. 47, where "and say ye" is wanting, and for "God of our salvation" stands "the Lord our God."—*And gather us and deliver us from the heathen.* For this Ps. cvi. 47 has: "and gather us from the heathen." The two following members agree verbally with the parallel verse of the Psalm.—*Blessed be the Lord*, etc. This closing doxology, which recurs exactly in Ps. cvi. 48, forms there the close of the fourth book of the Psalter, together with the words: "and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the Lord," which are here changed into the historical notice: "and all the people said, Amen, and praised the Lord" (וַיֹּאמְרוּ for the jussive וְאָמַר, and וְהַלֵּל יְהוָה for הַלְלוּ יָהּ). Even in these last deviations from the similar passages of the Psalter there is nothing that could prove with certainty the priority of our text, and a partly imitative, partly devious, procedure of the Psalmist. With regard to the doxology בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה וגו׳, which was originally nothing else than the liturgical close of the fourth book (analogous to those at the close of Ps. xli., lxxii., and lxxxix.), it is much more probable that our author changed, for his own purpose, this doxological formula, which may have been attached to Ps. cvi. long ago, from liturgical use. And the more probable this must appear to the unprejudiced mind, the more clearly all the other differences between our text and that of the corresponding Psalms appear as alterations, occasioned by the revising and compiling habit of the Chronist, of that which was before him in the Psalter. Comp. the closing remarks.

7. Division of the Levites and Priests for Divine Service (as continuation and close of the list of Levitical singers and players in vers. 4–6): vers. 37–43.—*Asaph and his brethren.* The לְ before the accus. of the object, according to later usage.—*For the day's work in its day*, literally, "for the matter of the day on its day," that is, according to the service required for every day; comp. 2 Chron. viii. 14, xxxi. 16.—Ver. 38. *And Obed-edom and their brethren sixty and eight.* That here should be read, according to what follows: "and Obed-edom and Hosah and their brethren," see Crit. Note. If, indeed, in the next clause of our verse: "and Obed-edom . . . and Hosah to be porters," another Obed-edom were meant, as the distinction of this as "son of Jedithun" (possibly, xxvi. 4, a Korhite Jedithun, and not the Merarite singer Jeduthun) appears to indicate, some other name than that of Hosah must be supplied along with the former Obed-edom. Even in xv. 21, 24 there seem to be two different Obed-edoms, a singer, ver. 21, and a porter, ver. 24. Yet the diversity of the two named in our verse is by no means certain; for in xxvi. 4–8, of Obed-edom with his sons and brothers, sixty-two men are mentioned as porters, which nearly agrees with the present number sixty-eight, and seems

to point to the identity of the first-mentioned and the second Obed-edom. Ver. 42 of our chapter also shows clearly enough the identity of the present Jedithun with Jeduthun. In the notorious defectiveness of the text, besides, we cannot attain to a certain decision.—Ver. 39. *And Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests.* וַיַּעֲזָב, ver. 37, still acts as the governing verb. For the continued religious use of the sanctuary at Gibeon under David, see on xv. 1. It is to be remarked that Zadok is designated only as priest, not as high priest, as he was made first by Solomon; see 1 Kings ii. 27, 35.—Ver. 40. *To offer burnt-offerings to the Lord on the altar of burnt-offering.* The mention here of burnt-offerings only at Gibeon proves nothing against the assumption that they were also offered in the sanctuary at Jerusalem; and ch. xxi. 26, 30 shows directly and expressly that these offerings were made here also, no doubt under the direction of Abiathar (comp. xviii. 16).—*Continually morning and evening.* Comp. the prescriptions of the law, Ex. xxix. 38; Num. xxviii. 3, 6.—*And for all* (that was prescribed besides the daily burnt-offering; comp. Num. xxviii.) *that is written.* לְכָל־הַכָּתוּב, briefly for לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּל־הכ'.—Ver. 41. *And with them*, etc., with Zadok and his brethren. This refers to the singers at the sanctuary in Gibeon, where Heman, Jeduthun (Ethan), and a number of subordinates were appointed. The Chronist points indeed to a list before him, in which the Gibeonite singers were named (on נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת, comp. xii. 31), but does not specify them, because the singers under Asaph at Jerusalem, who are enumerated vers. 4–6, interested him most. — Ver. 42. *And with them, Heman and Jeduthun, were trumpets and cymbals.* So, according to the Masoretic reading, which, however, appears suspicious, from the absence of the names Heman and Jeduthun in the Sept. (comp. Crit. Note), and gives no very suitable sense. If we erase the two names, the sense comes out: "and with them were, that is, they had trumpets and cymbals," a phrase somewhat strange, but still affording a suitable sense, which is at all events to be preferred to the artificial and forced emendation of Bertheau ("And Heman and Jeduthun were playing aloud with trumpets and cymbals, and with them the others chosen, with song-instruments of God"). —*For loud sounding,* לְמַשְׁמִיעִים. This epithet belonging to the מְצִלְתַּיִם defines the cymbals as giving the tone, or intoning the melody, and thus being a means of leading the song for the song-masters Heman and Jeduthun; comp. on xv. 16, 19. —*And* (other) *instruments of God*, other instruments of religious music besides those named, especially psalteries and harps.—*And the sons of Jeduthun were at the gate;* they were appointed to guard the entrance of the Gibeonite tabernacle. These are obviously Obed-edom, Hosah, and their brethren, who had been designated, ver. 38, as doorkeepers. — Ver. 43. *And all the people went every man to his house;* essentially as in 2 Sam. vi. 19, 20, where this closing verse of our chapter has its parallel in an otherwise much more concise report. The narrative there added, of David's altercation with Michal (comp. xv. 29), our author omits as a scene of a purely domestic character, unsuitable to his purpose.—*And David turned in to bless his house*, on this festive day, as he had before (ver. 2) blessed the whole people in the name of the Lord.

### *Appendix: On the Credibility of the Contents of* ch. xvi.

As ch. xii., notwithstanding its exclusive transmission by our author, makes the impression of the highest credibility, the statistical data and registers also of our section, just because they are mostly of a concrete and detailed kind, afford the warrant of a true rendering of the historical facts. Important there as well as here is the reference to greater and richer registers, that must have served the Chronist as sources, without being exhausted by him; comp. the characteristic אֲשֶׁר־נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת, xii. 31, xvi. 41, and such specifications of names as vers. 4–6 and ver. 38 ff., which clearly indicate in the author a process of abstracting and contracting more copious lists. It is manifest enough that he was in a position, as belonging himself to the corps of Levitical singers after the exile (Introd. § 3), to draw these statements from the full fountains, and to depend on copious written and oral traditions.

Only with respect to the song given in vers. 8–36, at the dedication, the assumption of strict historical accuracy appears to be given up on account of its relation to several parallel Psalms; and an ideal composing process of the writer, similar to that of Livy and Thucydides in their speeches, is assumed as necessary. We know not, in fact, what could stand against the admissibility of this assumption, defended by Bertheau, Kamph., Dillmann, Davidson, Ewald (*Bibl. Jahrb.* vi. 24), Delitzsch (*Komm. zum Psalter*, ii. p. 93 f.), A. Köhler (*Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.* 1867, p. 295 ff.), C. Ehrt (*Abfassungszeit und Schluss des Ps.*, Leipzig 1869, p. 41 ff.), Hupfeld, and others. If, of recent scholars, on the one hand Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, 2 Bd. 1865, p. viii. ff.), on the other Keil (*Komm.* p. 155 ff.),—the former impelled by a hypercritical zeal to show the Maccabean origin of those Psalms to be probable, the latter by an apologetic motive in favour of the Chronist,—have endeavoured to prove our form to be original, and the passages of the Psalms cv. 1–15, xcvi. 1–13, cvi. 1, 47, 48, to be mere fragments of the original song, against this the following considerations remain still in force:—

1. The constitution of both the texts, even if the greater number of defects and corruptions occur in the Psalms, and the text of Chronicles be comparatively older and better, admits of no certain conclusion with respect to the greater or less age of the one or the other recension. For, irrespective of the many cases in which Chronicles most probably contains the later readings (for example, ver. 27, חֶדְוָה; ver. 32, הַשָּׂדֶה; ver. 29, לְפָנָיו for לַחֲצְרוֹתָיו; and again, ver. 27, בִּמְקֹמוֹ for בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ), the more archaic form of the text cannot of itself decide in favour of priority, as younger MSS., and certainly Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin, often enough present a more original text than older ones, and the text of the passages in the Psalms are not to be judged according to their external written form. For

"the text of the Psalms, while they were in liturgical use, was more exposed to alterations from the influence of the later speech than that of a historical book; and on this ground, more ancient turns and phrases in Chronicles could not be at once maintained as proofs that Chronicles was original and the Psalms an imitation" (Berth.).

2. If we consider the matter and line of thought in our song, and compare it with the corresponding Psalms, the latter appear simple, well connected, and well-ordered wholes in a higher degree than the former. The transition from strophe four to strophe five of our song (see vers. 22, 28) is abrupt and sudden. We expect that after ver. 22, either the agency of Jehovah in the early time of Israel will be further depicted, as is done in Ps. cv., where complete connection and unity of thought prevails,[1] or at least, by a description of His agency in the heathen world or in inanimate nature (comp. Ps. civ.), the way will be prepared for the summonses contained in vers. 23–33. A similar hiatus again appears between vers. 33 and 34 (or between strophes seven and eight), and also after the section parallel with Ps. xcvi. For the summons of ver. 34, as appears undeniable from ver. 35, is to be regarded as specially directed to Israel; but Israel is not spoken of either in ver. 34 or in the whole preceding paragraph, vers. 23–33. If Hitzig thinks that here the end of the song only returns to its beginning, he has not sufficiently considered that petitions such as those contained in ver. 35, for the deliverance and gathering of Israel from the heathen, do not occur at the beginning of the song, and that these petitions come in here quite unexpectedly after the previous line of thought in vers. 8–33; whereas they are very well introduced in Ps. cvi. 47, after vers. 40–46.

3. Decisive for the priority of the Psalter is the transference of the closing doxology of the fourth book of Psalms (Ps. cvi. 48) by the redactor of our song; see on this passage, and comp. Delitzsch on the Psalm.

4. The manner in which the song is introduced (see on ver. 7) points also to an ideal composing activity of the author of it.

5. Our combining of a number of passages from the Psalms into one whole should not be regarded as a product of mere trifling and insipid compilation, like the Homeric or Virgilian cantos of the declining old classical poetry, because it applies to a festal song to be used for a definite liturgical purpose, and because nothing certain can be opposed to the assumption, that not the Chronist in the times after the exile, but the writer of his source, the older report (certainly before the exile) which he follows throughout the section vers. 4–42, is to be regarded as the author of the present composition.

6. Whether the present attempt to exhibit the opening of the worship on Zion in Davidic strains is to be considered older than the composition of our book, or contemporary with it, we are not to find an offence against the obligation of historical fidelity in this ideal composition, which seeks to reproduce the fundamental tone of the song sung on that occasion. The author knew that in the religious festivals of his people songs were sung of the tone of Ps. xcvi., cv., cvi., from the oldest times; hence he puts in the mouth of the Levitical singers in David's time a song formed out of these Psalms as a probable expression of the spiritual thanksgiving presented to the Lord by the community of that day, without in the least making himself guilty of a falsehood. He appears on this ground as little a falsifier as the author of the song of Mary, of Zacharias, or of Simeon in the introductory chapter of Luke's Gospel, the verbal recitation of which, according to the form there given, need scarcely be insisted on, and the harmony of which with so many characteristic phrases of the Psalms and Prophets, has its historical precedent in the relations of our song to the Psalms in question.

[Ps. xcvi., cv., and cvi. are anonymous in the Hebrew; but on examination, there is no convincing reason why they may not have been composed by David. Ps. xcvi. is actually ascribed to him in the Sept., with the following remarkable addition: "when the house was built after the captivity." Here the captivity seems to refer to the captivity of the ark when far from the sanctuary, 1 Sam. iv., and the house to the tabernacle which David erected on Zion. The other two Psalms may be as old as David; and there is therefore no reason to doubt the historical veracity of the statement made by the Chronist, that David selected from these Psalms the piece that was actually sung at the dedication of the tabernacle on Zion.—J. G. M.]

[1] For the picture of the benign sway of God over Abraham, in vers. 10–15 of this Psalm, forms only the beginning of that which is said in the further course of the same picture, of Jacob, of Joseph and his brethren, of Moses, and of the whole of God's people in the patriarchal and Mosaic times.

### *6. The Purpose of David to build a Temple, and the Objection raised by the Prophet Nathan: ch. xvii.*

CHAP. XVII. 1. And it came to pass, as David sat in his house, he said unto Nathan
the prophet, Lo, I dwell in a house of cedars, and the ark of the covenant of the
2 LORD is under curtains. And Nathan said unto David, Do all that is in thine
3 heart; for God is with thee. And it came to pass in that night, that the word of
4 the LORD came to Nathan, saying, Go and say unto David my servant, Thus
5 saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in. For I have not
dwelt in a house from the day that I brought up Israel unto this day; but I was
6 from tent to tent, and from one tabernacle to another. As long as I have walked
in all Israel have I spoken a word with any of the judges of Israel, whom I com-
7 manded to feed my people, Why have ye not built me a house of cedars? And
now, thus shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts,

I took thee from the common, from behind the sheep, to be ruler over my people
8 Israel. And I was with thee, whithersoever thou wentest; and I cut off all thy
enemies from before thee, and made thee a name like the name of the great on
9 the earth. And I ordained a place for my people Israel, and planted them, and
they dwelt in it, and were no more troubled; and the sons of evil no more wasted
10 them as before. And since the days that I appointed judges over my people
Israel: and I subdue all thy enemies; and I tell thee that the Lord will build
11 thee a house. And it shall come to pass, when thy days are fulfilled to go unto
thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons,
12 and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build me a house, and I will estab-
13 lish his house for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son; and I will
14 not take my mercy from him, as I took it from him who was before thee. But
I will settle him in my house and in my kingdom for ever; and his throne shall
be established for ever.
15 According to all these words and all this vision, so Nathan spake unto David.
16 And King David went and sat before the LORD, and said, Who am I, O LORD
17 God, and what is my house, that Thou hast brought me hitherto? And this was
a small thing in Thine eyes, O God; and Thou hast spoken of the house of Thy
servant for a great while to come, and regardest me after the way[1] of man that
18 raiseth up, O LORD God. What shall David add to Thee of the glory of Thy
19 servant?[2] and Thou knowest Thy servant. O LORD, for Thy servant's sake, and
after Thy heart, hast Thou done all this greatness, to make known all these great
20 things. O LORD, there is none like Thee, and no God besides Thee, according to
21 all that we have heard with our ears. And what one nation in the earth is like
Thy people Israel, whom God went to redeem to Himself as a people, to make
Thee a name of great and terrible deeds, to drive out nations before Thy people,
22 whom Thou didst redeem from Egypt? And madest Thy people Israel a people
23 to Thee for ever; and Thou, LORD, becamest their God. And now, LORD, let the
word which Thou hast spoken of Thy servant and of his house be maintained for
24 ever, and do as Thou hast said. Yea, let it be maintained, and let Thy name be
magnified for ever, saying, JEHOVAH Zebaoth, the God of Israel, is God to Israel;
25 and the house of David Thy servant is established before Thee. For Thou, O my
God, hast opened the ear of Thy servant, that Thou wilt build him a house; there-
26 fore Thy servant hath found [courage] to pray before Thee. And now, LORD,
27 Thou art God, and hast spoken this goodness concerning Thy servant. And now
Thou art pleased to bless the house of Thy servant, that it may be before Thee
for ever; for Thou, LORD, hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever.

[1] For כְּתוֹר a good many MSS. read בְּתוֹךְ, which is as unsatisfactory as the obscure כְּתוֹר, or as תּוֹרַת, 2 Sam. vii. 19, or as the reading of the Sept.: *καὶ ἐπεῖδές με ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὕψωσάς με*, or that of the Vulg.: *et fecisti me spectabilem super omnes homines.*

[2] אֶת־עַבְדֶּךָ, wanting in the Sept. and in 2 Sam. vii. 21, is perhaps spurious. But see Exeg. Expl.

### EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—After the history of the transplanting of the ark to Jerusalem, the author of the books of Samuel has given the account of David's purpose to build a temple, and of the word of God communicated to him by Nathan, 2 Sam. vii., and, indeed, in a form substantially agreeing with the present text, though occasionally deviating from it in words. Besides the expositors of Chronicles are therefore here to be compared also those of the corresponding parts of the books of Samuel, namely, C. A. Crusius (*Hypomnemata*, ii. pp. 190-219), Thenius, Keil, Hengstenberg (*Christol.* 2d edit. i. 143 ff.), L. Reinke (*Die Weissagung des Propheten Nathan*, in his contributions to the explanation of the O. T., vol. iv. p. 427 ff.), and, in a critical respect, Wellhausen (p. 170).

1. David's Purpose, and Nathan's Consent at first to it: vers. 1, 2.—*As David sat in his house*, in that cedar palace described in xiv. 1, xv. 1 ff. After בְּבֵיתוֹ 2 Sam. vii. 1 has the further chronological determination: "and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his enemies." Our author leaves out this determination intentionally, to avoid the apparent contradiction with the circumstance that the severest wars of David are introduced afterwards, and so, according to his arrangement of the material, following the order of thought rather than of time.—Ver. 2. *Do all . . . for God is with thee.* In 2 Sam.: "Go and do . . . for the Lord is with thee." The omission of לֵךְ before עֲשֵׂה rests on the strong abbreviating and simplifying tendency of our author; the substitution of אֱלֹהִים for

יהוה on his aim to choose the current expressions of his day. The older practical expositors justly designate this preliminary consent of Nathan as proceeding "from his merely human judgment" (*bona intentione et sincero animo, non tamen ex divina revelatione*, J. H. Mich.).—Luth.: "The prophets themselves occasionally err and sin, as Nathan when he says to David of his own spirit that he shall build a house to the Lord, which is soon after altered by a divine revelation."

2. God's Revelation to Nathan: vers. 3-15.—On the night as the time of divine revelations by dreams, visions, etc., comp. our remarks on Job iv. 13 (pp. 75, 84).—*Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in.* In 2 Samuel this prohibition is put in the form of a question: "Shalt thou build me a house?"—Ver. 5. *But I was from tent to tent, and from tabernacle;* that is, from one tabernacle to another. For this sentence, which is obscure from its pregnant brevity, 2 Samuel gives: "but have walked (have been walking) in a tent and in a tabernacle." The tabernacle (מִשְׁכָּן) is presented along with the tent (אֹהֶל) as the more comprehensive notion, including court, altar of burnt-offering, etc.—Ver. 6. *With any of the judges of Israel.* 2 Samuel: "with any of the tribes of Israel" (שִׁבְטֵי for שֹׁפְטֵי). Our reading is perhaps the older; comp. Berth. and Wellh.—Ver. 7 ff. give the proper contents of the divine revelation, as far as it concerns David's relation to the building of the temple.—Ver. 8. *And made thee a name, like the name of the great on the earth*, referring to the kings of the heathen monarchies. These words (ver. 8*b*) formed the text of the memorial sermon preached in all the churches of the Prussian state on the death of Frederick II. (1786).—Ver. 9. *And I ordained a place for my people Israel.* The perfects (with ו *consec.*) וְשַׂמְתִּי, וּנְטַעְתִּיהוּ, etc., may be taken as future statements of that which God will further show to His people. Yet it seems better to make these promises of future salvation begin with ver. 11.—*And the sons of evil no more wasted them as before.* The Egyptians are no doubt chiefly intended; comp. xvi. 20. On בַּלֵּה in the sense of wasting (= עַנּוֹת in 2 Samuel), comp. Dan. vii. 25.—Ver. 10. *And since the days that I appointed judges over my people Israel.* וּלְמִיָּמִים, "and until the days" (Ew. § 218, *b*); comp. the still more definite phrase: וּלְמִן־הַיּוֹם, 2 Sam. vii. 11. The whole time from Joshua to Saul is here included.—*And I subdue all thy enemies.* 2 Samuel: "and I give thee rest from all thy enemies" (וַהֲנִיחֹתִי לְךָ for וְהִכְנַעְתִּי), perhaps more original. The change of the suffix of the 2d pers. into that of the 3d (Berth., Ew.) is not necessary, either in our passage or there, as the enumeration of the divine benefits extends to the present, and even to that which was experienced by David himself.—*And I tell thee that the Lord will build thee a house*, and not inversely: thou build Him a house. The building of the house is here naturally figurative of the bestowment of a blessed posterity, etc. There is no allusion to David's house of cedar (ver. 1, xiv. 1). Inadmissible is the past meaning of וָאַגִּד, "and I have told them," etc. (Berth., Wellh.); for we cannot discover that such an announcement was made before, as our historical books nowhere mention it. Even 2 Sam. (וְהִגִּיד) speaks of an announcement in the present or immediate future.—Ver. 11. *To go unto thy fathers.* 2 Sam. vii.: "to lie with thy fathers." For the phrase, comp. Deut. xxxi. 16; 1 Kings ii. 2.—*Thy seed . . . which shall be of thy sons.* Instead of this somewhat pleonastic reference to Solomon, 2 Samuel presents perhaps the original: "which shall proceed out of thy bowels" (אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֵּעֶיךָ; comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 11; Gen. xv. 4). Probably the chronological difficulty contained in this phrase, according to which Solomon appeared to be not yet born at the time of this promise, led our author to choose the more general expression, as he had in ver. 1 altered the text for a chronological reason by means of an omission. That here, as in the two following verses, he meant to designate not so much Solomon as the Messiah, is asserted by the older orthodox exegesis (for example, L. Lavater: "*Si tantum de Salomone h. l. intelligendus esset, non dixisset semen quod erit de filiis tuis, sed quod erit de te;*" and so Starke and others), and recently still by Keil. But the very next prediction: "He shall build me a house" (ver. 12), applies clearly to Solomon only, as in 2 Chron. vii. 18 his person, and not that of some future Messianic descendant, is manifestly designated. Accordingly, as in 2 Samuel, so also in Chronicles the Messianic element is limited essentially to the eternal duration that is promised (vers. 12-14) to the kingdom of Solomon; comp. Hengstenb. *Christol.* i. 152 ff.—Ver. 13. *And he shall be my son.* The words following this promise: "whom I will chasten with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men," the Chronist has designedly omitted, to bring out more sharply the thought of the everlasting divine favour, in harmony with his usual practice to set the light before the shade of the house of David.—*From him who was before thee*, from Saul, whose name is added, 2 Sam. vii., perhaps by the hand of a glossator. The present text is certainly more original, even with respect to the foregoing לֹא אָסוּר (for לֹא יָסוּר), as Bertheau and Wellh. justly assert against Thenius.—Ver. 14. *But I will settle him in my house and in my kingdom for ever;* הֶעֱמִיד לְעוֹלָם, as in 2 Chron. ix. 8, 1 Kings xv. 4, of enduring foundation or preservation, causing perpetual existence. The "house" or "kingdom" of God, in which this preservation or confirming of the seed of David is to take place, is first the Old Testament theocracy, then the Messianic kingdom of the new covenant. The text of Samuel differs: "and thy house and thy kingdom shall endure for ever before thee, and thy throne shall be established for ever," of which form it can scarcely be so absolutely asserted, as is done by Bertheau and others, that it is the more original. Moreover, the sense of the one as of

the other form is Messianic.—Ver. 15. *According to all these words and all this vision.* A hendiadyoin, by which the words addressed by Jehovah to Nathan are characterized as spoken, בחזון (comp. 1 Sam. iii. 1) or בחזיון (2 Sam. vii. 17), as a divine revelation or prophetic message from God. It is to be observed also that this prophetic message is communicated not as it was related by Nathan before the king, but as it was revealed to him of the Lord by night, which is a plain indication that we are to hold by the matter rather than the form of the words in question. The case is the same as in 1 Sam. iii. 10–14 (the disclosure made to the young Samuel concerning the fate of Eli) and in 1 Sam. viii. 7–9 (God's word to Samuel on the introduction of the kingdom in Israel).

3. David's Thanksgiving for the Promise made to him through Nathan: vers. 16–27.—*And King David went,* into the sanctuary erected by him, as the following words: "and sat before the Lord," show.—*Who am I, O Lord God?* 2 Samuel: "my Lord God," a difference actually not existing for the Masoretic reader, as our יהוה is to be read by אדני.—Ver. 17. *And this was a small thing in Thine eyes.* This is the literal rendering.—*And Thou hast spoken of the house of Thy servant for a great while to come,* literally, "hast spoken that which points far away;" למרחוק is an accusative depending on תדבר, of the same force as in Prov. vii. 19, Job xxxix. 29; comp. ver. 14.—*And regardest me after the way of man that raiseth up.* So should the obscure וראיתני כתור האדם המעלה perhaps be rendered; "the way of man leading upwards" (תור, abbreviated from תורה) would then be the gracious and upholding (thus not merely condescending, but positively furthering and improving) disposition and conduct of human benefactors, with which the gracious procedure of God towards David is here compared. Nearly so Keil, who makes המעלה correspond to the parallel למרחוק, whereas Hengstenberg, like many ancients, conceives the phrase to be an address to God: "Thou highest Lord God;" and other expositors take it as an adverb of place equivalent to במרום (*et me intuitus es more hominum in cœlis*). It is natural enough to assume some corruption of the text here, as in the parallel reading of Samuel: וזאת תורת האדם, though none of the proposed emendations give satisfaction, neither Ewald's and Bertheau's change of the *Kal* ראיתני into the *Hiph.* הראיתני, and of המעלה into למעלה (resulting in the sense: "and hast caused me to see, as it were, the order of men upwards"), nor Böttcher's reading וראיתיני, "so that I saw myself as the order of men that is upwards" (saw myself as the after-age at the head of a ruling race), nor Wellhausen's conjecture that ותראני דרות (at least in 2 Samuel) should be read. That the בתוך of some Heb. MSS. affords no sufficient help, see Crit. Note.—Ver. 18. *What shall David add to Thee of the glory of Thy servant,* of the honour pertaining to Thy servant, of the high honour which Thou hast vouchsafed to Thy servant (me, David). So conceived, את־עבדך gives a tolerable sense, and need not be erased, with the modern critics, though its absence in the Sept. and in 2 Samuel (where there is merely: "what shall David say further to Thee?") is fitted to create suspicion.—Ver. 19. *O Lord, for Thy servant's sake.* 2 Sam. vii. 21: "for Thy word's sake." The original reading is not necessarily to be sought in the text of Samuel (see Wellh.). In *b* our author has contracted the longer form of the other text.—Ver. 21. *Whom God went to redeem to Himself as a people.* After this certainly correct reading (הלך האלהים) is that in 2 Samuel (אשר הלכו אלהים) to be altered.—*To make Thee a name of great and terrible deeds.* The words גדלות ונוראות appear to be loosely annexed to שם, to define the way in which God made him a name (comp. Ew. § 283). If this construction seem too harsh, לעשות must be inserted (as in 2 Sam. vii. 23) after שם: "that Thou makest Thee a name, and doest great and terrible things."—*To drive out nations before Thy people.* The here much deviating text in 2 Samuel should be altered partly according to the present text, namely, by inserting the certainly original לגרש; see Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzung des A. T.*, and Wellh., who follows him.—Ver. 24. *Yea, let it be maintained,* etc. This ויאמן is wanting in 2 Samuel, and is perhaps repeated from ver. 23, to set forth more clearly the connection with the following: "and let Thy name be magnified." On the copula ו, in the sense of our "yea," comp. Dan. x. 19.—Ver. 25. *For Thou, O my God, hast opened the ear of Thy servant,* revealed, disclosed, made known to him; comp. 1 Sam. ix. 15.—*That Thou wilt build him a house,* figuratively, by the increase of his posterity and the prosperity of his dynasty; comp. ver. 10.—*Therefore Thy servant hath found to pray before Thee,* namely, "the courage, the heart to do so" (את־לבו, 2 Sam. vii. 28), which is, at all events, here to be supplied, if not necessarily inserted in the text.—Ver. 27. *For Thou, Lord, hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever;* comp., for the sentence and the expression, Ps. xxxiii. 9. On the credibility of the thanksgiving of David given here and 2 Sam. vii. 18 ff., Thenius and Bertheau express themselves very favourably. They refer its main elements to David, on account of its many properties harmonizing with other genuine Davidic documents. In particular the last words of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 5 ff.), in which the joyful confidence founded on the divine promises in the happy continuance of his house has found a quite similar expression, count with them as a proof that our verses rest on a definite recollection of the utterance of David, and that exact reports of important expressions

concerning the history of salvation, as they were handed down partly by David, partly concerning him, must have been contained in the sources of the books of Samuel and of Chronicles.

*i. David's Wars and Officers of State, especially his Victorious Battles with the Ammonites and the Philistines:* ch. xviii.–xx.

CH. XVIII. 1. And after this it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and
subdued them, and took Gath and her daughters out of the hand of the
2 Philistines. And he smote Moab; and the Moabites became David's servants,
and brought gifts.
3 And David smote Hadadezer[1] king of Zobah towards Hamath, as he went
4 to set up his sign at the river Euphrates. And David took from him a thousand
chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: and
5 David lamed all the teams, but reserved of them a hundred teams. And the
Syrians of Damascus[2] came to help Hadadezer king of Zobah; and David slew
6 of the Syrians twenty and two thousand men. And David put [men[3]] in Syria
Damascus; and the Syrians became David's servants, and brought gifts: and
7 the LORD preserved David wherever he went. And David took the arms of
gold that were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem.
8 And from Tibhath and from Chun, cities of Hadadezer, David took very much
brass, of which Solomon made the brazen sea, and the pillars, and the brazen
vessels.
9 And Tou king of Hamath heard that David had smitten all the host of
10 Hadadezer king of Zobah. And he sent Hadoram his son to King David, to
greet him and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and
smitten him; for Tou was at war with Hadadezer; and [with him] all manner
11 of vessels of gold, and silver, and brass. These also King David dedicated unto
the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he had taken from all the nations,
from Edom, and from Moab, and from the sons of Ammon, and from the Philis-
tines, and from Amalek.
12 And Abshai the son of Zeruiah slew of Edom in the valley of salt eighteen
13 thousand. And he put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became
servants of David: and the LORD preserved David wherever he went.
14 And David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice for all
15 his people. And Joab the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat
16 the son of Ahilud was recorder. And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Abimelech[4]
17 the son of Abiathar, were priests; and Shavsha was scribe. And Benaiah the
son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethi and Pelethi; and David's sons were the
chief beside the king.
CH. XIX. 1. And it came to pass after this, that Nahash king of the sons of Ammon
2 died, and his son reigned in his stead. And David said, I will show kindness
unto Hanun the son of Nahash, because his father showed kindness to me; and
David sent messengers to comfort him concerning his father: and the servants of
3 David came to the land of the sons of Ammon, to Hanun, to comfort him. And
the princes of the sons of Ammon said to Hanun: Thinkest thou that David
doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? are not his
servants come to thee to search and to turn over, and to spy out the land?
4 And Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them, and cut off half their
5 garments by the breech, and sent them away. And they went, and they told
David about the men, and he sent to meet them; for the men were greatly
ashamed: and the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beard be grown, and
then return.
6 And the sons of Ammon saw that they had made themselves stink with David:
and Hanun and the sons of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire
them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syria-maachah, and
7 out of Zobah. And they hired them thirty and two thousand chariots, and the
king of Maachah and his people; and they came and pitched before Medeba:
and the sons of Ammon gathered together from their cities, and came to battle.

8, 9 And David heard, and sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men. And the
sons of Ammon came out, and set the battle in array at the gate of the city; and
the kings that were come stood by themselves in the field.
10 And Joab saw that the battle was directed against him before and behind;
and he chose out of all the choice in Israel, and drew up against the Syrians.
11 And the rest of the people he gave into the hand of Abshai his brother, and
12 they drew up against the sons of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too
strong for me, then thou shalt come to my help; and if the sons of Ammon be
13 too strong for thee, then I will help thee. Be courageous, and let us do valiantly
for our people and for the cities of our God; and the LORD do that which is good
14 in His sight. And Joab, and the people that were with him, drew nigh before
15 the Syrians to the battle; and they fled before him. And the sons of Ammon
saw that the Syrians fled, and they also fled before Abshai his brother, and went
into the city; and Joab went to Jerusalem.
16 And when the Syrians saw that they were smitten before Israel, they sent
messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the river; and Sho-
17 phach, captain of the host of Hadadezer, went before them. And it was told
David; and he gathered all Israel, and passed the Jordan, and came to them,[5]
and drew up against them; and David drew up against the Syrians for battle,
18 and they fought with him. And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew
of the Syrians seven thousand teams, and forty thousand footmen; and he killed
19 Shophach, captain of the host. And when the servants of Hadadezer saw that
they were smitten before Israel, they made peace with David, and served him;
and the Syrians would not help the sons of Ammon any more.
CH. XX. 1. And it came to pass, when the year was ended, at the time when the
kings go out, that Joab led forth the strength of the host, and wasted the land
of the sons of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah; but David tarried in
2 Jerusalem; and Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it. And David took the
crown of their king from his head, and found it in weight a talent of gold, and
set with precious stones; and it was put upon David's head, and he brought
3 very much spoil out of the city. And he brought out the people that were in
it, and cut them with saws, and iron threshing-carts and saws;[6] and so David
did to all the cities of the sons of Ammon; and David returned with all the
people to Jerusalem.
4 And it came to pass after this, that a war arose at Gezer with the Philis-
tines; then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew Sippai, one of the sons of Rapha; and
5 they were subdued. And there was a war again with the Philistines; and
Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lachmi, brother of Goliath the Gittite; and his
6 spear's staff was like a weaver's beam. And again there was war in Gath, where
was a man of [great] stature, and his fingers were six and six, twenty and four
7 [in all]; and he also was born to Rapha. And he reproached Israel; and Jona-
8 than the son of Shima, David's brother, slew him. These were born to Rapha
in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his
servants.

[1] הדדעזר is the *Kethib* in all passages of our chapter, but the *Keri*: הדרעזר (so in 2 Sam. x. 16-19). The first form, the more usual in the books of Samuel and Kings, is also the more original, because הדד, a Syrian idol name, occurs in other Syrian proper names.

[2] Properly Darmascus (דרמשק—so here and ver. 6, also 2 Chron. xvi. 2, xxiv. 23, without variation; elsewhere always דמשק).

[3] After וישם דויד there seems to have fallen out נציבים; comp. Sept. ([illegible]) and Vulg. (*milites*), and see Exeg. Expl.

[4] For אבימלך read rather (with the Sept., Vulg., and xxiv. 3, 6) אחימלך.

[5] For ויבא אלהם the text in Samuel (2 Sam. x. 17) has ויבא חלאמה, "and went to Helam," perhaps more correct and original (comp. Exeg. Expl.), though all the translations and mss. confirm the אליהם of our passage.

[6] Rather, perhaps, "and scythes," as for ובמגרות is (with 2 Sam. xii. 31) no doubt ובמזרות to be read.

### EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—The present group of war reports runs parallel to four sections of 2 Samuel, separated from one another by other accounts. To the present summary accounts of the victorious warfare of David with all surrounding enemies in general, in ch. xviii., corresponds 2 Sam. viii.; to the more copious description of the peculiarly difficult war with Ammon, in ch. xix., corresponds 2 Sam. x.; the close of this war, described in ch. xx. 1-3, by the taking of Rabbah, has its parallel in 2 Sam. xii. 26-31; the shorter reports of the several heroic acts of David's warriors in conflict with giants from the land of the Philistines, ch. xx. 4-8, corresponds with the section 2 Sam. xxi. 18-22. The statements of 2 Samuel coming between these sections (namely ch. ix. and xi. 1-12, 25; but also ch. xiii. and xiv.-xviii.) are particulars from the private life and domestic history of David, which the Chronist, in conformity with his plan, neither could nor would take up.

1. *General Report of David's Victorious Wars with his Neighbours:* ch. xviii. 1-13. Ver. 1 treats of the victories over the Philistines.—*And took Gath and her daughters out of the hand of the Philistines.* This statement is surprising, because 2 Sam. viii. 1 has the more general and withal poetical expression: "and David took the arm-bridle from the hand of the Philistines" (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה for גַּת וּבְנֹתֶיהָ). To assume a purely arbitrary change of text on the part of our author is questionable; and against, at least, a passing seizure of the metropolis Gath with its daughter towns (vii. 28) by David, it can scarcely be maintained that in Solomon's time Gath was again an independent city under its own king.—Ver. 2. *And the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts,* in short, became tributary subjects (ver. 6). Why our author has omitted the notice, following here in 2 Sam. viii. 2, of the severe handling of the Moabites by David, is uncertain. It scarcely rests on an apologetic tendency in favour of David; comp. in xx. 3 the account of the cruel punishment of Rabbath Ammon. Moreover, this war of David with Moab seems to be that in which Benaiah slew the two sons of the king of Moab, xi. 22.—Vers. 3-8. The War with Hadadezer of Zobah.—*King of Zobah towards Hamath.* This closer determination of the situation of Zobah (חֲמָתָה), which is peculiar to our text, places it pretty far north, not far from Hamath, the later Epiphania, on the Orontes; scarcely Haleb or Nisibis, both of which lay farther north than Hamath, and can scarcely, from an Israelitish point of view, be described as lying "towards Hamath" (against the Rabbis of the middle ages on the one hand, and J. D. Mich. on the other). Zobah is perhaps = Zabe of Ptolemy; at all events, it is to be sought north or north-east of Damascus (with Ew., Then., Berth., etc.).[1] On the spelling peculiar to Chronicles and 2 Sam. x. 16-19, Hadarezer (Sept. Ἀδρααζάρ), see Crit. Note.—*As he went to set up his sign at the river Euphrates,* to establish his power (properly "hand") there; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 12. Whether these words refer to David or Hadadezer is doubtful; the latter (which J. H. Mich., Ew., Berth., etc., assume) may be the more probable, on account of the mention of David as subject at the beginning of the following verse. The various reading in 2 Sam. viii. 3: לְהָשִׁיב יָדוֹ, "to turn his hand," is perhaps to be amended from our passage, as it gives a less suitable sense.—Ver. 4. *And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen.* For this 2 Sam. viii. 4 has "1700 horsemen and 20,000 footmen," perhaps defectively; after אֶלֶף, and before וּשְׁבַע־מֵאוֹת, it appears necessary to insert רֶכֶב there, for which also the Sept. speaks. Yet comp. Wellh. on this passage, who questions the insertion of רֶכֶב, on account of the close of the verse.—*And David lamed all the teams, but reserved of them a thousand teams,* for his own use; in fact, therefore, he lamed only 900. For this custom of laming (עִקֵּר) war-horses, comp. Josh. xi. 6, 9.—Ver. 6. *And David put in Syria Damascus,* men, soldiers, garrison troops. From 2 Sam. viii. 6 and ver. 13 of our chapter the word נְצִיבִים appears to have fallen out after וַיָּשֶׂם דָּוִיד; comp. also xiii. 3; 1 Sam. x. 5.—Ver. 7. *And David took the arms* (or equipments) *of gold,* שִׁלְטֵי־הַזָּהָב; so rightly the moderns, instead of the golden collars (κλοιοί) of the Sept., the quivers (*pharetræ*) of the Vulg., and the golden shields of the Chald., of some Rabbis, and of Luther.—*Which were on the servants of Hadadezer,* his military servants, soldiers. On the addition of the Sept., in 2 Sam. viii. 7 relative to the later capture and carrying away of these golden arms by Shishak of Egypt, under Rehoboam, comp. the expositors of that passage.—Ver. 8. *And from Tibhath and from Chun,* etc. Tibhath (טִבְחַת), or, as it is perhaps to be read, Tebah (טֶבַח, for which, 2 Sam. viii., stands erroneously בֶּטַח), appears to be identical with the family mentioned, Gen. xxii. 24, among the descendants of Nahor; whether it be the present Taibeh, on the caravan road between Aleppo and the Euphrates, is questionable. In place of כּוּן 2 Samuel gives בֵּרֹתַי (= *Barathena,* Ptol. v. 19? or בֵּרֹתָה, Ezek. xlvii. 16?). On what this diversity of name rests, whether on the corruption of the original בֵּרֹתַי into כּוּן, as Berth. thinks, or on a double name of the place in question, must remain doubtful.—*Of which Solomon made the brazen sea, and the pillars, and the brazen vessels.* These words, wanting in 2 Sam. viii. 8 in the Masoretic text, are perhaps to be restored according to our passage, and according to the Sept. and Vulg.—Vers. 9-11. Embassy and Present of Tou King of Hamath to David. In the parallel account, 2 Sam. viii. 9-12, this Tou is called Toi (תֹּעִי).—Ver. 10. *And he sent Hadoram his son.* 2 Samuel: "Joram," at all

[1] Recently Th. Bischoff (*Das Ausland,* 1878, p. 136) thinks he has found the ruins of Zobah south-east of Aleppo, near the salt lake Jabul. He appears to mean the same ruins which J. W. Helfer (*Helfer's Reisen in Vorderasien,* by Countess Pauline Nostitz, Leipz. 1873, i. p. 174 ff.) saw in 1830.

events incorrect, as a name compounded with יְהוָה would scarcely have suited a member of a Syrian royal house; and the Sept. gives there Ἰεδδουράμ (here Ἀδουράμ).—*To greet him*, to wish him health. So is לִשְׁאָל־לוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם to be taken, according to the parallel passages, as Gen. xliii. 27, not, with the Sept. and Vulg., in the sense of a prayer for peace (*ut postulant ab eo pacem*).—*For Tou was at war with Hadadezer*, literally, "For Hadadezer was a man of wars of Tou," a constant assailant and adversary to him; comp. xxviii. 3; Isa. xlii. 13. After these words, which form a parenthetical explanation to the foregoing, follows the wider object of וַיִּשְׁלַח: "and all manner of vessels of gold and silver and brass," which Luther erroneously refers to ver. 11.—Ver. 11. *With the silver and the gold that he had taken.* For אֲשֶׁר נָשָׂא 2 Samuel presents אֲשֶׁר הִקְדִּישׁ, perhaps the original form.—*From all the nations . . . and from Amalek.* In 2 Samuel a more complete and probable text is found (in which, besides, מֵאֲרָם is to be read for מֵאֱדוֹם).—Vers. 12, 13. *Abshai's Victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt.—And Abshai . . . slew of Edom* (literally, "slew Edom") *in the valley of salt, 18,000 men.* In Bertheau's combination of the very different reading in 2 Sam. viii. 13 with our passage, for "Abshai son of Zeruiah" would have to be read "Joab, etc.," and after "slew of Edom" would have fallen out the words "when he (Joab) returned from the conquest of Aram." Otherwise Ew., Then., Wellh., Keil, etc., the latter of whom upholds the statement of Chronicles, that Abshai gained this victory, by reference to ch. x. 10 ff. of our book (where Abshai appears as commander under his brother Joab), and declares it consistent as well with Ps. lx. 2 as with 1 Kings xi. 15.—Ver. 14. *And all the Edomites became servants of David.* For this 2 Samuel has more fully, and perhaps originally: "and in all Edom he appointed officers; and all the Edomites became David's servants."

2. *David's Officers of State*: vers. 14–17,—a list in 2 Sam. viii. also appended to the above summary war reports (= 2 Sam. viii. 15–18), that was certainly found here in the old common sources of both authors, introduced by the general remark on the ability and excellence of the government of David (ver. 14).—Ver. 15. For Joab, comp. on ii. 16.—*Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder.* מַזְכִּיר, properly "remembrancer," that is, not annalist (Sept. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων; Vulg. *a commentariis*), but chancellor, who makes to the king a report of all that takes place in the kingdom, and conveys his commands; comp. the *magister memoriæ* of the later Romans, and the *Waka Nuvis* in the Persian court (Chardin, *Voyages*, v. p. 258).—Ver. 16. For Zadok, comp. on v. 30 ff.—*Abimelech the son of Abiathar.* For אֲבִימֶלֶךְ is certainly to be read, with the Sept., Vulg., and 2 Sam. viii. 17, אֲחִימֶלֶךְ; for so is this priest called in xxiv. 3, 6, 31, where he is likewise named as the representative of Ithamar with Zadok of Eleazar, and where he appears as the son of Abiathar. That Abiathar's father was also called Ahimelech, 1 Sam. xxii. 20, does not warrant the assumption that in our passage, as in xxiv., there is an exchange of the father and the son; and thus a transposition of the names into "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech" is necessary (as Movers, Then., Ew., Wellh. think). Rather is our Ahimelech to be regarded as a son of the same name with his grandfather, according to the known Hebrew custom, who, even during his father's lifetime, acted in the priestly office. Comp. the frequent recurrence of the grandfather's name in the grandson in v. 30–41.—*And Shavsha was scribe*, that is, secretary of state. This Shavsha (Luth. "Sausa") is called in 1 Kings iv. 3 Shisha (שִׁישָׁא, differing only in spelling from שַׁוְשָׁא), but in 2 Sam. xx. 25 שְׁוָא (שְׁיָא). If 2 Sam. viii. 17 exhibits שְׂרָיָה, this is to be considered, perhaps, an error of the pen.—Ver. 17. *And Benaiah . . . was over the Cherethi and the Pelethi.* So also 2 Sam. viii. 18, with the more correct reading עַל הַכְּרֵתִי for וְהַכְּרֵי, as in 2 Sam. xx. 23. That "Cherethi and Pelethi" denote the two divisions of the royal guard (the σωματοφύλακες, Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 5. 4) is undoubted, though, with Gesen., Then., Bähr (on 1 Kings i. 36), Keil, etc., the former name be explained by *confossores, lictores*, executioners, the latter by *celeres*, ἄγγαροι, runners (couriers), and thus both appellatively, for which the passages 1 Kings ii. 25, 2 Kings xi. 4 appear to speak, or though (with Lakemacher, Movers, Ew., Berth., Hitz., etc.) they be regarded as the nationalities of the Cretans (Carians) and the Philistines. Comp. the latest discussion of this controversy by J. G. Müller (*Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Chamiten und Japhetiten*, 1872, p. 263 ff.), who decides for the latter interpretation. For Benaiah, comp. also xi. 22 ff.—*And David's sons were the chief beside the king*, the next to him. In 2 Sam. viii. 18 the ancient term כֹּהֲנִים, privy counsellors, is chosen to designate the high rank of the royal princes (comp. 1 Kings iv. 5).

3. *The War with Ammon and Syria*: ch. xix. 1–xx. 3; comp. 2 Sam. x.—*And it came to pass after this.* The loose form of connection וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי כֵן serves sometimes to introduce new reports, even if there be no strict chronological order, or if, as here (comp. xviii. 3–5 with xix. 16 ff.), that which is to be related has been partly mentioned before. Comp. for example, 2 Sam. viii. 1, x. 1, xiii. 1. For the Ammonite king Nahash, and his war with Saul, see 1 Sam. xi.—*And his son reigned in his stead.* The following certainly shows that this son was called Hanun; yet the name חָנוּן, from 2 Sam. x. 1, appears to have originally stood in the text after בְּנוֹ, as inversely there, the omitted name נָחָשׁ must apparently be supplied from our passage.—Ver. 3. *Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father?* literally, "Does David honour thy father in thine eyes?" The emphasis in this question rests on the notion of honouring, of which the questioners doubt whether it really forms the object of David's embassy.—*To search and to turn over* (turn up-

side down, examine thoroughly), *and to spy out the land.* This sentence is also in Hebrew a question, but, as an affirmative answer is expected, introduced, not with הֲ, but with הֲלֹא: "Are they not come to search, etc.?" In 2 Sam. x. 3, the sentence runs somewhat different, so that not the land (הארץ), but the city (הָעִיר), is the object of the verbs, and the הָפַךְ removed to the end has the sense, not of turning over, but of destroying. But it is scarcely necessary to change our text accordingly (against Berth.).—Ver. 4. *And shaved them.* 2 Samuel more exactly: "shaved off the half (the one side) of their beard." —*And cut off half their garments by the breech.* הַמִּפְשָׂעָה, properly, "the step, the step-region in the middle of the body," here euphemistic for שְׁתוֹת, *nates*, which is used in 2 Samuel.—Ver. 5. *And they went.* This is wanting in 2 Samuel, but not therefore to be erased as superfluous (against Berth.).—*And the king said, Tarry at Jericho.* So far they were then come on their way to Jerusalem. The following "then return" is naturally completed by adding "to Jerusalem" or "hither."—Ver. 6. *That they had made themselves stink with David*, had drawn his hatred on them. For the *Hithp.* התבאשו 2 Samuel has the *Niph.* of the same verb, in the same reflexive sense.—*Hanun . . . sent a thousand talents of silver to hire*, etc. The statement that this hiring of auxiliaries took place is wanting in 2 Samuel, but is certainly genuine.—For Mesopotamia = Aram-naharaim, 2 Samuel names, as the first of the countries from which Hanun hired his auxiliaries, Aram-beth-rehob, which can scarcely be only another name of Mesopotamia (as some ancients have assumed, identifying the city Beth-rehob with Rehobath, now Rahabe, on the Euphrates, Gen. xxxvi. 37), but the kingdom or territory of Beth-rehob, a Syrian city, Num. xiii. 21, Judg. xviii. 28, lying south of Hamath. For the following name, Aram-Maachah, 2 Sam. x. (as ver. 7 of our ch.) has only Maachah (on which region, bordering northward on the trans-jordanic Palestine, comp. Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11). On the contrary, Zobah is there called more fully: Aram-Zobah (comp. on xviii. 3).—Ver. 7. *And they hired them* 32,000 *chariots*, that is, chariots with riders, רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים, as the foregoing verse shows. The number 32,000 agrees substantially with the deviating statement in 2 Samuel, in which these auxiliaries appear rather as footmen, and, indeed, consisting of 20,000 footmen from Aram and Aram-beth-rehob, 1000 men from Maachah, and 12,000 men from the kingdom of Tob (Judg. xi. 3), which latter our author has left undistinguished.—*And they came and pitched before Medeba*, the city of the tribe of Reuben mentioned Josh. xiii. 16, two miles (about nine English miles) south-east of Heshbon. This statement as well as the following, relative to the simultaneous assembling of the Ammonite troops, is wanting in 2 Sam. x., but was found no doubt in the old sources used by our writer, in common with the author of the books of Samuel.—Ver. 8. *And all the host of the mighty.* Different, but merely in expression, from 2 Samuel: "the whole host, the mighty men."—Ver. 9. *And the sons of Ammon . . . at the gate of the city*, before the gates of Rabbah, their capital. This reading: פֶּתַח הָעִיר, is to be preferred, as clearer than that in 2 Sam. x.: פֶּתַח הַשָּׁעַר, "at the gate, outside the gate."—Ver. 10. *And Joab saw that the battle was directed against him before and behind*, literally, "that the face of the battle (= the front of the line) was before and behind him:" that before him stood the Ammonites, and in his rear the Syrians. Opposite the latter, as the stronger foe, Joab took his ground, while, ver. 11, he entrusted the engagement with the Ammonites to his brother Abshai. —Ver. 13. *For our people, and for the city of our God:* that these may not fall into the hands of the heathen, and from cities of the Lord become cities of idols.—Ver. 15. *And went into the city*, fled into their capital Rabbah, while Joab first returned to Jerusalem, reserving the siege and capture of this strong fortress for the following campaign.—Vers. 16-19. The Conquest of the Syrians allied with the Ammonites.—*They sent messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the river Euphrates*, the Mesopotamians, who must have been somehow subject to Hadadezer, and laid under tribute; comp. 2 Sam. x. 16. —Ver. 17. *And came to them.* Instead of this notice, which is superfluous, along with the following words: "and drew up against them," should be read, with 2 Sam. x. 16 (see Crit. Note): "and he came to Helam." This elsewhere not occurring local name חֵילָם or חֵלָאם (Sept. Αἰλάμ, Vulg. *Helam*) the Chronist quite omits in its first place (in 2 Sam. x. 16 = ver. 16 of our ch.), and changes it the second time, whether intentionally or not, into אֲלֵיהֶם. Comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 6. 3, where the name is regarded as a proper name of a king beyond the Euphrates, the master of the general Shophach (Sabekos). It is, moreover, not impossible that the local name Helam corresponds to the Alamatha on the Euphrates in Ptolem. xv. 5, in which case ch. xviii. 3 might be combined with our passage, if the same war with Hadadezer and the Syrians be spoken of there as here.—Ver. 18. *And David slew of the Syrians* 7000 *teams* (chariot horses) *and* 40,000 *footmen.* On the contrary, 2 Samuel has 700 teams and 40,000 horsemen. Perhaps the smaller number of teams in 2 Samuel and the designation of the 40,000 as footmen in our text deserve the preference; comp. Wellh. p. 180.—Ver. 19. *And when the servants of Hadadezer*, here not his warriors, but his allies or subject kings (vassals); comp. 2 Sam. x. 19: כָּל הַמְּלָכִים עַבְדֵי הֲדַדְעֶזֶר.—Ch. xx. 1-3. The Siege and Conquest of Rabbah, here more briefly related than in 2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 26-31, and therefore without any reference to the death of Uriah.—*When the year was ended, at the time when the kings go out*, in the spring, as most suitable for re-opening the campaign. The last described battle with the Syrians appears accordingly to have fallen in the autumn of the previous year.—*Joab led forth the strength of the host;* more circumstantially 2 Sam. xi. 1: "David sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel." On חֵיל הַצָּבָא, comp.

the similar חֵיל צָבָא, 2 Chron. xxvi. 13.—*And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it*, properly, pulled it down; comp. Ezek xvi. 39, xxvi. 4, 12; Lam. ii. 2, 17. Compared with 2 Sam. xii. 26 ff., where it is reported that Joab first only took the so-called city of waters, but called King David to the taking of the proper fortress (citadel, acropolis), that the honour of completing the conquest and destruction of the city might be his, the present report appears brief and summary. —Ver. 3. *And cut them with saws, and iron threshing-carts and saws.* וַיָּשַׂר, ἅπ. λεγ., from the root שׂוּר, "cut"; comp. מְשׂוֹר, "saw," from the cognate root נשׂר. In 2 Sam. xii. 31, וַיָּשֶׂם is perhaps only an error of the pen for וַיָּשַׂר or וַיָּשֶׂם (Böttcher).—For וּבַמְּגֵרוֹת, as in 2 Samuel, וּבְמַגְזְרוֹת, "and with scythes" (or like iron-cutting instruments, scarcely "wedges," as Luther, or "axes," as Kamph., thinks), is perhaps to be read. A twofold mention of saws, first in the sing., then in plur., would be an intolerable tautology. Moreover, this cutting and grinding of the vanquished Ammonites with iron saws, threshing sledges, and the like, is in itself horrible and barbarous enough (comp. Prov. xx. 26; Amos i. 3); and we need not assume that the Chronist intentionally, and from an apologetic tendency, passed over a still more horrid kind of punishment then inflicted on the vanquished Ammonites, burning in tile-kilns (2 Sam. xii. 31); comp. on xviii. 2.

4. *Appendix: Briefer Report of the Heroic Deeds of some of David's Warriors in the Conflict with Philistine Giants:* vers. 4-8.—This report is also treated as an appendix in 2 Samuel, where it is found quite at the end of the history of David, ch. xxi. 15-22, and, indeed, enlarged by a fourth heroic deed (vers. 15-17), there related in the first place, but here wanting—the dangerous conflict of David with the giant Ishbi-benob, whom Abshai at length slew. It appears as if the Chronist had omitted this story intentionally, because it might have lessened the military fame of David. Comp. Lightfoot, *Chronol. V. T.* p. 68: *Illud prælium, in quo David in periculum venit et unde decore et illæsus prodire non potuit, omissum est;* as Starke: "The dangerous combat of David with Ishbi is not mentioned here, as the book of Chronicles, as some remark, conceals or passes over the shame of the saints; whence also nothing occurs here of the adultery and murder by David, or of the idolatry of Solomon." —Ver. 4. *And it came to pass after this.* This formula stood here originally not so unconnected as in xix. 1; but the event to which it referred, 2 Sam. xxi. 18, was that history of the combat with Ishbi which is intentionally omitted by our author, on which account the formula does not now appear very suitable.—*A war arose at Gezer.* וַתַּעֲמֹד (perhaps arising out of וַתְּהִי עוֹד, 2 Sam. xxi. 18), here = וַתָּקָם, according to later usage. For Gezer (in the tribe of Ephraim, to the south-west, near the north border of the Philistines), see vii. 28. For בְּגֶזֶר, moreover, we should apparently (2 Sam. xxi. 18) read בְּגֹב, or perhaps בְּנֹב; that passage is not inversely to be amended from ours (against Berth.).—*Then Sibbecai the Hushathite* (one of David's Gibborim; see xi. 29 and xxvii. 11) *slew Sippai, one of the sons of Rapha*, one of the Rephaites or descendants of Rapha, that gigantic tribe that before the invasion of the Philistines inhabited the south-west of Canaan, and of which several families of gigantic size still lived among the Philistines; comp. Josh. xi. 22; Deut. ii. 6, 23.—*And they were subdued*, namely, by the conquest of this giant; comp. Judg. xi. 33; 1 Sam. vii. 13. The absence of this remark in 2 Samuel does not make its originality suspicious.—Ver. 5. *And there was a war again with the Philistines*, namely, 2 Sam. xxi. 19, at Gob (or Nob), and so at the same place as the former.—*Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lachmi, brother of Goliath the Gittite.* According to this certainly original reading is the defective text, 2 Sam. xxi. 19: "Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite," to be amended (with Piscat., Cleric., Mich., Mov., Then., Keil, Wellh.). "The form יַעְרֵי, instead of יָעִיר of Chronicles, would be caused by the following אֹרְגִים, the accidental insertion of which from the line underneath is easily understood" (Wellh.). Besides, the here quite unexplained mention of the celebrated captain of David, Elhanan of Bethlehem (xi. 26), will have occasioned a change of אֶת־לַחְמִי into בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי. Accordingly, the question started by Berth., as defender of the originality of the text of Samuel: "Have there been two Goliaths?" falls to the ground as an idle one.—Ver. 6 ff. The Last of the Four Heroic Deeds.—*Where was a man of* (great) *stature:* אִישׁ מִדָּה = the אִישׁ מָדוֹן, *vir mensurarum*, in 2 Samuel.—*And his fingers were six and six* (namely, on the hands and the feet, therefore in all), *twenty and four.* Comp. the *sedigiti* mentioned by Plin. *H. N.* xi. 43; also Trusen, *Sitten, Gebräuche, und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer*, p. 198 f.; Carlisle, "An account of a family having hands and feet with supernumerary fingers and toes" (in *Philos. Transac.* 1814, part 1, p. 94); Rosbach, *Diss. de numero digitorum adaucto*, Bonn 1838; Blasius, *Fall von Ueberzahl der Zehen*, in Siebold's *Journ. für Geburtshülfe*, vol. xiii. Art. 1; also *Lond. Medic. Gaz* vol. xiv. Apr. 1834, and Friedrich, *Zur Bibel*, i. p. 298 f. Recently the well-known Arabian traveller F. v. Maltzan, in the Berlin Anthropological Society, reported as follows: "Among the Himyarites (in South Arabia), in the dynasty of Forli, the six fingers are hereditary, and the pride of the ruler and the people. Indeed, this property of six fingers, a sign of bodily or, if not bodily, of mental strength among the Arabs, is still kept up artificially, as the six-fingered princes of the reigning house are allowed to marry only six-fingered members of the family, to avoid as much as possible the appearance of five fingers. In short, the twenty-four fingers and toes of the ruler are the pride of the country; and any one out of the country might prove his nearer or further connection with the ruling house by a greater or smaller superfluity of fingers" (*Correspondence Sheet* of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnol., etc., 1872,

No. 8, p. 60).—Ver. 7. *Jonathan the son of Shima, David's brother, slew him.* Comp., on this Shima, ii. 13.—Ver. 8. *These were born.* אֵל for אֵלֶּה is an archaism, that occurs eight times in the Pentateuch, but always with the article (הָאֵל), and stands only here without it, for which reason it appears suspicious; the following נוּלְּדוּ also probably contains an error; comp. the regular אֵלֶּה יֻלְּדוּ in 2 Sam. xxi. 22, where it is preceded by the number "four" (which is naturally omitted by the Chronist).—*And they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants*, namely, by David's hand in a mediate way, as he was the supreme commander and military chief of the victorious Israelites, but immediately by the hand of his so-called servants or heroes. The whole remark forms a concluding subscription, that appears no less suitable in our passage than in 2 Sam. xxi. 22 (against Berth.).

x. *The Census and the Plague:* ch. xxi.

CH. XXI. 1. And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number
2 Israel. And David said unto Joab, and to the rulers of the people, Go,
number Israel from Beersheba even to Dan; and bring it to me, that I may
3 know their number. And Joab said, The LORD add to His people an hundred-
fold as many as they are. Are they not, my lord the king, all my lord's ser-
vants? Why doth my lord require this thing? Why shall it be a trespass
4 to Israel? But the word of the king prevailed against Joab; and Joab de-
5 parted, and went through all Israel, and came to Jerusalem. And Joab gave
the sum of the number of the people unto David; and all Israel were a
thousand thousand and a hundred thousand men that drew sword; and
6 Judah was four hundred and seventy thousand men that drew sword. But
Levi and Benjamin he counted not among them; for the king's word was
abominable to Joab.
7, 8 And God was displeased with this thing; and He smote Israel. And
David said unto God, I have sinned greatly, because I have done this thing:
but now take away the iniquity of Thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.
9, 10 And the LORD spake unto Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and tell David,
saying, Thus saith the LORD, Three things I lay before thee; choose thee one
11 of them, that I may do it unto thee. And Gad came to David, and said unto
12 him, Thus saith the LORD, Choose thee either three years of famine; or three
months to be driven[1] before thy foes, and the sword of thy enemies to over-
take thee; or three days the sword of the LORD and pestilence in the land,
that the angel of the LORD may destroy in all the border of Israel; and now
13 consider what word I shall return to Him that sent me. And David said
unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let me now fall into the hand of the
LORD; for very great are His mercies: but let me not fall into the hand of
man.
14 And the LORD sent pestilence upon Israel; and there fell of Israel seventy
15 thousand men. And God sent an angel to Jerusalem to destroy it; and as
he was destroying, the LORD beheld, and repented of the evil, and said to the
destroying angel, It is enough now, stay thy hand: and the angel of the
16 LORD stood by the floor of Ornan[2] the Jebusite. And David lifted up his
eyes, and saw the angel of the LORD standing between the earth and the
heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched over Jerusalem; and
17 David and the elders, clothed in sackcloth, fell on their faces. And David
said unto God, Have not I commanded to number the people? it is I that
have sinned, and done evil indeed; and these sheep, what have they done?
O LORD my God, let Thy hand now be on me and on my father's house, and
not on Thy people to smite.
18 And the angel of the LORD commanded Gad to say unto David, that
David should go up and set up an altar unto the LORD in the floor of Ornan
19 the Jebusite. And David went up at the word of Gad, which he spake in
20 the name of the LORD. And Ornan turned, and saw the angel; and his four
21 sons with him hid themselves: and Ornan was threshing wheat. And David
went to Ornan; and Ornan looked, and saw David, and came out of the floor,

22 and bowed to David with his face to the ground. And David said unto
Ornan, Give me the place of this floor, that I may build therein an altar
unto the LORD: thou shalt give it me for the full price, that the plague be
23 stayed from the people. And Ornan said unto David, Take thee, and let my
lord the king do that which is good in his eyes: lo, I give thee the oxen for
burnt-offerings, and the threshing-rollers for wood, and the wheat for the
24 meat-offering: I give all. And King David said unto Ornan, Nay; but I will
verily buy it for the full price; for I will not take that which is thine for the
25 LORD, nor offer burnt-offerings without cost. And David gave to Ornan for
26 the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight. And David built there
an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; and
he called upon the LORD, and He answered him by fire from heaven on the
27 altar of burnt-offering. And the LORD commanded the angel; and he put
his sword again into its sheath.
28 At that time, when David saw that the LORD had answered him in the floor
29 of Ornan the Jebusite, he sacrificed there. For the tabernacle of the LORD,
which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of burnt-offering, were at
30 that time in the high place at Gibeon. And David could not go before it
to inquire of God; for he was afraid before the sword of the angel of
the LORD.

according to the parallel text 2 Sam. xxiv. 13 (נְסֻךְ for נִסְפָּה), rather "flight." So the Sept., Vulg., and Luther.

[2] אָרְנָן the Sept. renders here and in the whole chapter by 'Ορνά, as it conforms to אוֹרְנָה, the *Kethib* in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 (for which elsewhere there the *Keri* אֲרַוְנָה always stands). Our text has throughout invariably אָרְנָן, which the Vulg gives rightly Ornan, Luther wrongly "Arnan."

### EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK. *Relation of the Foregoing Account of Chronicles to* 2 Sam. xxiv.—As clearly as the mostly verbal agreement of our account with the parallel text of Samuel points to one common source of both, so numerous and important are also their deviations from one another. They chiefly consist of the following:—*a*. The position of the history of the census in 2 Samuel is that of an appendix to the history of David's reign already in the main completed. In our book, on the contrary, it closes only that section of the history of this king which refers to the external security and enlargement of his power by wars, buildings, etc.; but it thereby leads (in connection with the following description of his preparation for the building of the temple, xxii.) to a new section, that by means of full details of his temple, state and war officers, is fitted to present a picture of the inner character of his government. *b*. The event is so introduced in 2 Samuel, that reference is made to a former plague, a famine (2 Sam. xxi. 1–14) which God had brought on the kingdom, so that David's pernicious project of a census is represented as the direct effect of the divine anger ("And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and He moved David, etc."), but, in our account, so that the whole is referred to a tempting influence of Satan on David, and connected neither with that famine nor any former visitation of Israel under David (not, for example, with the insurrections of Absalom and Shebna, which, like the famine, are entirely unnoticed by our author). For the question, whether the representation of Satan as the moral originator of the census rests on the influence of the religious ideas of a later time, see on ver. 1. *c*. The census executed by Joab at the command of David is described pretty fully in 2 Sam. xxiv. 4–9, but only summarily in our chapter, with the chief emphasis on the numerical result, and the notice of a special circumstance unmentioned in 2 Samuel, namely, that Joab, because the royal commission was repugnant to him, neglected to enumerate the tribes of Levi and Benjamin (vers. 4–6). *d*. On the purchase of Ornan's (or, as the *Keri* is in 2 Samuel, Araunah's) floor and the sacrifice by David, our text (vers. 19–27) is more full than 2 Sam. xxiv. 19–25. *e*. The statement, forming the close of our account and its connection with what follows, regarding the selection of the floor of Ornan for the constant place of sacrifice by David (and for the site of the temple), in vers. 28–30, is wholly wanting in 2 Sam. xxiv., as, indeed, an express reference to the fact that that place attained a special sacredness under David by the angelic appearance and the sacrifice during the plague is absent there, while the whole occurrence is presented under the prevailing view of such a judicial punishment as the rebellions of Absalom and Shebna, and the famine already reported there, but by our author entirely omitted. That the most of these deviations are occasioned by the peculiar pragmatism and the special tendency of the author of the books of Samuel on the one hand and of the Chronist on the other, is already apparent from this brief survey, and will receive further confirmation from the following exposition.

1. *The Census, its Occasion and Effect:* vers. 1–6.—*And Satan stood up against Israel.* That, instead of the divine anger, here Satan, the personal evil principle (see on Job i. 6, ii. 1), is named as the hostile power that occasioned the pernicious expedient of the census, is now usually explained (even by Keil) as a later idea of the

Israelites, and accordingly reckoned among the proofs that our book was composed after the exile. That this view is at least hasty, if it does not involve an error, is plain when we reflect—1. That the way in which the prologue of the book of Job presupposes the idea of Satan, as long naturalized in the belief of Israel, speaks for the origin of this idea, not only before the exile, but before the time of Solomon; 2. That passages such as Gen. iii. 1 ff. and 1 Kings xxii. 19 ff., though the name שָׂטָן does not occur in them, show that the materials of this idea arose from that early time; and 3. That to the parallel passage 2 Sam. xxiv., though not using the name, the notion of an intervention of Satan in the temptation of David is by no means foreign; indeed, even a positive hint of this is implied in it. Ew. and Wellh. justly assume that in the verb used, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, וַיָּסֶת, "provoked," lies an allusion to a personal tempting power, which cannot be God or the divine anger;[1] that, indeed, according to the original, now mutilated, text of Samuel, probably הַשָּׂטָן was the subject of וַיָּסֶת.—*And provoked David to number Israel.* The injury of the census, indicated by this expression, rests on this, that such an undertaking in and of itself counted as an act exciting the anger of God, and therefore demanding propitiation (comp. the expiatory customs in the enumerations of the Romans, according to Valerius, Maximus, Varro, and Livius, as also that census instituted by Moses, Ex. xxx. 11–16, which did not provoke God, only because the money collected by it as a gift to the tabernacle had a holy purpose, and therefore an expiating significance in itself). But a special wrong and blame was attached to the census of David, because it was a work of proud boastfulness and wicked haughtiness, not valuing, but over-valuing, his own power and greatness (comp. Joab's warning, ver. 3). The measure can scarcely be regarded as an expression of despotic wilfulness and tyrannic oppression of the people, or as a preparation for the imposition of an oppressive war tax or other tribute (Berth., etc.), or even as expressive of a lust for warlike conquest in the king (J. D. Mich.; comp. Kurtz in Herzog's *Real-Encyl.* iii. 306); at least the text in nowise indicates that blame was attached to it on any of these grounds.—Ver. 2. *Go, number Israel from Beersheba even to Dan*, the usual formula to designate the land of Israel in all its length; comp. Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 1 Kings iv. 25, etc. The plain customary phrases: "Go, number" (לְכוּ סִפְרוּ), are simplifying and explanatory for those selected in 2 Samuel: שׁוּט־נָא (specially addressed to Joab) and פִּקְדוּ (including the assistants of Joab in the enumeration, the captains or commanders of the army).—*And bring it to me, that I may know their number*, the number of the Israelites.—Ver. 3. Joab's Warning.—*The Lord add to His people a hundredfold as many as they are.* In 2 Samuel stands, in accordance with the preference of this author for repetitions of the same phrase (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 8), a double כָּהֵם, "so many as they are, so many as they are, a hundredfold," or more briefly: "so and so many as they are a hundredfold." For the present simpler expression, comp. Deut. i. 11.—*Are they not all . . . my lord's servants?* Does any one doubt that this great multitude of people is subject to thee? Will any one check thy joy in the greatness and power of thy kingdom? This question is wanting in the often deviating text of Samuel, in place of which are the words: "that the eyes of my lord the king may see it" (the hundredfold increase of the people).—*Why shall it be a trespass to Israel?*—a trespass (אַשְׁמָה) that brings divine punishment on the people instead of thee, the king, who art guilty of this wicked haughtiness.—Ver. 4. *But the word of the king prevailed against Joab*, literally, "was strong above Joab" (which form חזק על is perhaps to be restored in 2 Samuel in place of the present 'חָ אֶל), overcame his resistance (Luth.: "succeeded against Joab"); comp. 2 Chron. viii. 3, xxvii. 5.—Ver. 5. *And all Israel were a thousand thousand and a hundred thousand men that drew sword*, literally, "that bare the sword;" comp. Judg. viii. 10, xx. 2, 15, 17, 46, etc. The number 1,100,000, compared with the 800,000 men-at-arms in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, involves an actual deviation, which either depends on an ancient variety in the traditions concerning the numerical result of the census, or what is more probable, must be derived from a confusion of the numbers; comp. the cases of this kind cited in the Introd. § 6, No. 5. The difference in the number of the Jewish men-at-arms is smaller, in which the 500,000 in 2 Samuel is merely a round number, for the more exact one, 470,000, contained in our text. Moreover, differences in the later traditions might the more easily arise in this Davidic census, because it was merely oral, as, according to 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, the result was not entered in the annals of the kingdom. The general correctness of the account, that Israel then numbered about a million, and Judah about half a million warriors, is warranted by the communications of the author, which attest even for much later times the extraordinary density of the population in the formerly so fruitful land of promise. And that the actual army of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 1 ff., amounted only to 288,000 men, by no means contradicts the present statement relative to the total number of men fit to bear arms; comp. our remark on iv. 18.—Ver. 6. *But Levi and Benjamin he counted not among them; for the king's word was abominable to Joab;* on account of the reluctance with which he obeyed the command of the king, the numbering was not quite completed: it was stopped, perhaps at the king's command, before Benjamin, the last of the tribes to be numbered, was taken in hand; comp. the more exact statements in 2 Sam. xxiv. 5 ff. concerning the order pursued by the commission under Joab, that, starting from the southern tribes east of Jordan, went round over the north of the land to the south of Judah, and thence arrived at Jerusalem. As no time remained for the numbering of Benjamin

[1] Comp. Volck, *De summa carminis Jobi sententia*, p. 33 sqq.: *Hoc si tenes, Deum non sine causa populo suo atque ejus regi, superbienti illi quidem, succensuisse, Satanumque eum esse, qui, ut homines propter delicta apud Deum accuset eorum pœnas repetiturus, ita hoc efficiat, ut peccati pullulantis vis erumpat: difficultatem ita expedies, ut Davidem, quia Deus iratus pravitatis pœnam irrogare voluerit ad infelix illud consilium adductum fuisse dicas diaboli divinæ voluntati inservientis impulsu*, etc.—Comp. also Hofmann, *Schriftbew.* ii. p. 431 ff., and Schlottmann, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 33 ff.

(comp. xxvii. 23 f.—the express statement that the numbering was not completed; also Josephus, *Antiq.* vii 13. 1: χωρὶς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς. ἐξαριθμῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔφθασεν), so the tribe of Levi was omitted on account of its legal exemption from numerations for political or military objects (comp. Num. i. 47–54). In the present statement, therefore, there is nothing incredible; and neither its absence in 2 Samuel, nor the circumstance that the Chronist, instead of the unfinished state of the census, puts forward in his subjective pragmatism the reluctance of Joab as the cause of the omission of those tribes, justifies the suspicions entertained by de Wette and Gramberg against it. Comp. Keil, *Apologet. Versuch*, p. 349 ff.

2. *The Divine Displeasure with the Numbering of the People by the Voice of the Seer Gad:* vers. 7–13.—*And God was displeased with this thing,* literally, "and it was evil (וַיֵּרַע) in God's eyes for this thing:" the same construction appears in Gen. xxi. 22; usually without עַל before the displeasing object, Gen. xxxviii. 10; 2 Sam. xi. 27, etc.—*And He smote Israel.* This is not so much an anticipation of that which is narrated ver. 14 ff., as a generalizing description of the mode in which God's anger took effect on Israel. It does not appear that the words are to be amended (Berth.), according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 10: וַיַּךְ לֵב־דָּוִד אֹתוֹ, "and the heart of David smote him." We have here simply two modes of narrative, one of which regards more the human thought and deed, the other more the divine.—Ver. 10. *Three things I lay before thee,* concerning thee, with thee, laying the choice before thee. Wellh. justly declares, not the strange נטל of Samuel, but our נטה to be original (against Berth.).—Ver. 12. *Either three years of famine.* This time is certainly the original, not the seven years of the text in Samuel, which has arisen by the easy change of the letters (שבע for שלש), and finds its emendation in the Sept.—*Or three months to be driven before thy foes.* What is here original, whether נִסְפֶּה of our text (*nom. particip. Niph.:* "to perish, be swept away") or נֻסְךָ in 2 Samuel, must remain doubtful. On the contrary, the following וחרב אויביך למשגת, "and the sword of thy foes to overtake" (= so that the sword of thy foes overtake thee), is certainly to be preferred to the reading וְהוּא רֹדְפֶךָ in 2 Samuel.—*That the angel of the Lord destroy in all the border of Israel.* This enforcing addition to the third question is wanting in 2 Samuel, but must be no less original than that parallel addition to the second question. And the hendiadyoin: "the sword of the Lord and pestilence," for the simple pestilence (דֶּבֶר) in 2 Samuel, can scarcely be regarded as an arbitrary addition of the Chronist. Comp., moreover, with respect to the triad of divine judgments—famine, sword, and pestilence—the parallels, Lev. xxvi. 25 f.; 1 Kings viii. 37; 2 Chron. xx. 9; Jer. xiv. 12 ff., xxi. 7–9, xxiv. 10, xxvii. 8, 13, xxix. 17 f., xxxii. 24–36, xxxiv. 17, xxxviii. 2, xlii. 17, 22, xliv. 13; Ezek. v. 12, vi. 11 f., vii. 15, xii. 16; also Ezek. xxi. 19, where this woful triad is indicated by the figure of three swords; likewise Ezek. v. 17, xiv. 13–19, Rev. vi. 8, where the triad is extended to a quatrain by the addition of beasts of prey (comp. still other appropriate parallels in my *Theol. naturalis*, i. p. 637).

3. *The Judgment, and David's Repentant Entreaty for its Removal:* vers. 14–17.—*And the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel.* That this pestilence continued "from the morning even to the time appointed" is stated in the precise account in 2 Samuel; likewise that it affected all the people "from Dan even to Beersheba." Wellh. (p. 220) defends, perhaps not unjustly, the extended form of our first verse-member, which the Sept. presents, as original: "And David chose the pestilence; and when the days of wheat harvest came (comp. ver. 20), the plague began among the people."—Ver. 15. *And God sent an angel to Jerusalem.* The מַלְאָךְ without the article, "an angel," is strange, as the angel in question, ver. 12, was named before. Berth. gives the preference to the text 2 Sam. xxiv. 16: "And the angel stretched out his hand to Jerusalem," whereas Movers (p. 91) defends our text as original. Perhaps neither text now contains exactly and fully the original, whether we amend, with Keil: "And the angel of God stretched out his hand toward Jerusalem," or declare the restoration of the original now impossible (with Wellh.).—*And as he was destroying, the Lord beheld, and repented of the evil;* that is, as soon as the angel had begun to destroy, Jehovah considered, and repented that He had decreed the heavy stroke. On this repentance of God, comp. Gen. vi. 16; Ex. xxxii. 14; Jer. xlii. 10; Jon. iii. 10; Ps. cvi. 23.—*It is enough now, stay thy hand.* Notwithstanding the *acc. distinct.* over רַב, this word is to be connected with the following עַתָּה, and taken in the sense of "enough" (*sufficit*); comp. Deut. i. 6; 1 Kings xix. 4. Against Berth., who in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 connects רב with בָּעָם, and regards this "a great mass of people" as the original reading, see not only Keil, but also Wellh.—*And the angel of the Lord stood by the floor of Ornan the Jebusite.* That this Ornan (or Araunah, as the *Keri* writes his name in 2 Samuel; comp. Crit. Note here) had been king of the Jebusites cannot be inferred from 2 Sam. xxiv. 23, as the word הַמֶּלֶךְ there is either to be erased, with Then., or (with Böttcher and Wellh.) to be referred by emendation to David (there addressed by Araunah). That the floor of Ornan was on Mount Moriah, the subsequent site of the temple, north-east of Zion, is stated in the sequel; see ver. 28 ff.—Ver. 16. *And David . . . saw the angel of the Lord standing between the earth and the heavens.* This whole verse, as also ver. 20, with the statement of the hiding of Ornan and his four sons before the angel, and ver. 26, with the mention of the fire coming down from God on David's offering, are wanting in the shorter and simpler account in 2 Samuel. These may be called embellishments of tradition, but they are not to be regarded as inventions of our historian (against Berth., etc.).—*And David and the elders . . . fell on their faces.* The mention of the elders is wanting in 2 Samuel, but is not the least strange, as it was a solemn act of expiation

and penitence on behalf of the whole nation. Comp. also the mention, 2 Sam. xxiv. 20, of the retinue of servants accompanying the king when he went to Ornan.—Ver. 17. *Have not I commanded to number the people?* In 2 Samuel the prayer of David is much briefer. But for this very reason the attempt of Bertheau to show that our text here and in the sequel arises from the effort to explain and improve the other text is altogether unjustified. Neither are the present words הלא אני אמרתי למנות בעם corrupted from those in Samuel: בראתו את־המלאך המכה בעם, nor is וְהָרֵעַ הֲרֵעוֹתִי to be changed into a supposed original וְאָנֹכִי הָרֹעֶה הֲרֵעוֹתִי, "and I, the shepherd, have done wrong;" for the question: "but these sheep, what have they done?" is easily understood without the previous mention of the shepherd; comp. Ps. xcv. 7, c. 3, etc.

4. *The Purchase of Ornan's Floor, and the Offering of the Burnt-Sacrifice there:* vers. 18–27.—Ver. 20. *And Ornan turned.* So וַיָּשָׁב is certainly to be translated (comp. 2 Kings xx. 5; Isa. xxxviii. 5; and such New Testament passages as Luke xxii. 61, etc.), not "returned," as Bertheau does against the context, at the same time defending the conjecture that וישב is corrupted from וַיַּשְׁקֵף.—*And Ornan was threshing wheat,* a clause wanting in 2 Samuel, but certainly original, which is confirmed by the notice of the Sept. already mentioned on ver. 15 concerning the wheat harvest as the time when the pestilence began.—Ver. 22. *Give me the place of this floor.* So it is to be translated, not as in Luther: "Give me space in this floor." The whole floor was necessary for the king's object; it is also all bought by him. The history of this purchase recalls in general the similar incident in the life of Abraham, Gen. xxiii., but does not necessitate the assumption that the recollection of Gen. xxiii. 9 affected the forms of the text, nor in particular that the twofold בכסף מלא was taken thence.—Ver. 23. *Lo, I give the oxen for burnt-offerings.* Along with וְהַמּוֹרִגִּים stands also 2 Samuel: וכלי הבקר, "and the harness of the oxen," their wooden yokes, a certainly original phrase, that has only fallen out of our text by a mistake. The other text also requires the mention of "the wheat for the meat offering," which can be no late addition.—Ver. 24. *Nor offer burnt-offerings without cost,* that is, without having paid the full price for them. The infin. וְהַעֲלוֹת after the finite verb as a continuation is not surprising; comp. Ew. § 351, *c.* Here also Bertheau's emendations are superfluous. —Ver. 25. *And David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight.* Otherwise 2 Samuel xxiv. 24, where David purchases the floor with the oxen for fifty shekels of silver. The one of these two contradictory statements is certainly corrupt, and more probably that in 2 Samuel, as fifty shekels of silver is too low a price; comp. Abraham's 400 shekels of silver for the cave of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 15. The sum of 600 shekels of gold appears, indeed, too high; but an over-payment corresponds better with the crisis than a much smaller price, which might have been interpreted as an act of mean covetousness. That the Chronist has "intentionally exaggerated" (Then.) is a conjecture as little to be justified as the different harmonizing attempts of the ancients; for example, that each of the twelve tribes must have given fifty shekels, whereby the 600 shekels mentioned by the Chronist were raised (Raschi), or that the 600 shekels are to be reckoned as silver, but to be paid in gold, and with fifty pieces of gold, of which each was = twelve silver shekels (Noldius, *ad concord. Part. not.* 719), etc.—Ver. 26. *And David . . . offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings.* After the sentence corresponding to these words in 2 Sam. xxiv. 25 is found in the Sept. an addition that anticipates in brief the contents of xxii. 1–6.—*And he called upon the Lord, and He answered him by fire* (or heard him with fire) *from heaven on the altar of burnt-offering.* For these words, to be understood according to Lev. ix. 24, 1 Kings xviii. 24, 38, 2 Kings i. 12, and 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2 Samuel has simply: "and the Lord was entreated for the land" (comp. on ver. 16); likewise for our ver. 27, with its mention of the angel's sword returned into its sheath, the plainer and less poetical: "and the plague was stayed from Israel."

5. *David's repeated Offering on the Floor of Ornan, with the Reason:* vers. 28–30.—*At that time . . . he sacrificed there;* that is, repeatedly, frequently; Luther rightly: "was wont to offer there." Only this sense of ויזבח שם agrees with the sequel, especially with xxii. 1.—Vers. 29, 30 explain this selection of Ornan's floor for the regular place of sacrifice for the king more precisely, by referring to the older sanctuary at Gibeon, and to the apparent neglect of it; comp. on ch. xv. 1, xvi. 39 f.—*And David could not go before it,* the tabernacle at Gibeon, and the altar there; comp. for לִפְנֵי in this connection, xvi. 4, 37, 39.—*For he was afraid before the sword of the angel of the Lord;* the appearance of the angel, with its desolating effects, had left in his mind an awfully strong impression of the holiness of the place, so that he did not venture to sacrifice in any other place. This interpretation only (comp. Berth.) suits the fact and the context, not that of various recent expositors, who wish to extract strange motives out of the words; for example, J. H. Mich.: "*quia ex terrore visionis angelicæ infirmitatem corporis contraxerat,*" or O. v. Gerlach: "because Gibeon was too far away," or Keil: "because Gibeon, notwithstanding the sanctuary existing there with the Mosaic altar, was not spared by the plague," etc.

Comp., moreover, for the various details of the present account, the evangelical and ethical reflections at the close of the exposition of this book.

### c. David's Arrangements for the Building of the Temple; other Spiritual and Temporal Regulations; last Will and Death.—Ch. xxii.–xxix.

#### α. *Provisions for the Building of the Temple:* ch. xxii.

Ch. xxii. 1. And David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the
altar of burnt-offering for Israel.
2 And David commanded to gather the strangers that were in the land of
Israel; and he appointed masons to hew square stones to build the house of
3 God. And David prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of
4 the gates, and for braces; and brass in abundance without weight. And
cedar-trees without number; for the Zidonians and Tyrians brought much
5 cedar-wood to David. And David said, Solomon my son is young and
tender, and the house to be builded for the Lord must be highly magnifical
for name and glory in all countries: I will now prepare for it: and David
prepared abundantly before his death.
6 And he called for Solomon his son, and charged him to build a house for
7 the Lord God of Israel. And David said to Solomon, My son,[1] I had it in
8 mind to build a house unto the name of the Lord my God. But the word of
the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou hast shed much blood, and made great
wars; thou shalt not build a house unto my name, because thou hast shed
9 much blood on the earth in my sight. Behold, a son shall be born to thee,
who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies
around; for Solomon shall be his name, and I will give peace and rest unto
10 Israel in his days. He shall build a house to my name; and he shall be my
son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom
11 over Israel for ever. Now, my son, the Lord be with thee; and prosper
12 thou, and build the house of the Lord thy God, as He hath said of thee. Also
the Lord will give thee wisdom and understanding, and ordain thee over
13 Israel, that thou mayest keep the law of the Lord thy God. Then shalt thou
prosper, if thou takest heed to fulfil the statutes and judgments which the
Lord commanded Moses concerning Israel: be firm and strong; fear not, nor
14 be dismayed. And, behold, in my trouble I have prepared for the house of
the Lord a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand
talents of silver, and of brass and of iron without weight; for it is in abun-
dance: and I have prepared timber and stone, and thou shalt add thereto.
15 And with thee are workers in abundance, hewers and carvers of stone and of
16 timber, and all skilful men in all work. Of the gold, the silver, and the brass,
and the iron there is no number: arise and do, and the Lord be with thee.
17 And David commanded all the princes of Israel to help Solomon his son:
18 Is not the Lord your God with you? and hath He not given you rest on
every side? For He hath given the inhabitants of the land into my hand;[2]
19 and the land is subdued before the Lord, and before His people. Now give
your heart and your soul to seek the Lord your God; and arise and build
the sanctuary of the Lord God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord,
and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of
the Lord.

[1] בְּנִי, according to the *Keri;* the *Kethib* has בְּנוֹ, "unto Solomon his son;" but it scarcely deserves the preference, as בנו might easily arise from לִשְׁלֹמֹה בְּנוֹ, ver. 6.

[2] So the Masoretic text and a part of the mss. of the Sept. (A[2] F X: ἐν χειρί μου). But the Sept. *cod. Vat*, Vulg., Luther, etc.: "into your hands."

EXEGETICAL.

1. *Connection with the Foregoing Section:* ver. 1.—The present chapter, which opens the second half of David's history referring to the inner side of his government, is, by its introductory verse, closely connected with the foregoing account of the pestilence, and the consequent elevation of

the floor of Ornan to be the place of sacrifice for the king. The further accounts, relating directly or indirectly to the security of David's kingdom for his successor, to the end of the book, are thus in a suitable way connected with the last-mentioned important event in the external history of the government of David.—*This is the house of the Lord God*, or: "shall be a house of the Lord God." David gives this determination to the former threshing-floor on the same ground that moved Jacob to consecrate his resting-place at Luz to be a Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 17), because Jehovah had there revealed to him His saving presence.

2. *The Preparation of Materials for the future Temple:* vers. 2–5.—*And David commanded to gather the strangers that were in the land of Israel*, the descendants of the Canaanites subdued in the conquest of the land, who lived as bondmen under his government; comp. 2 Chron. viii. 7–10 and ch. ii. 16, 17, where the number of these bondmen under Solomon is stated to be 150,000, whom he employed as bearers and workmen in building the temple.—*Masons to hew square stones.* Comp. 1 Kings v. 17, 31; also the simple גָּזִית, square stones, 1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 9 ff.; Ex. xx. 25; Isa. ix. 9.—Ver. 3. *For the nails for the doors of the gates, and for braces.* לַמְחַבְּרוֹת, properly, "for joining things" (Sept. στροφεῖς; more correctly Vulg. *commissuræ atque juncturæ*); comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11, where, however, braces of wood are meant.—Ver. 4. *For the Zidonians and Tyrians* (= Phenicians; comp. Ezra iii. 7) *brought much cedar-wood to David;* this at first naturally, as an article of trade for the exports of Palestine, corn, wine, fruit, etc., not yet by a contract of supply for building the temple, such as Solomon afterwards made with Hiram, 1 Kings v. 15 ff.—Ver. 5. *Solomon my son is young and tender.* So (נַעַר וָרָךְ, *parvulus et delicatus*, Vulg.) David names Solomon also, ch. xxix. 1, in one of his last speeches to the people, although, born shortly after the Syrian Ammonite wars (2 Sam. xii. 24), he must have been at this time, shortly before David's end, above twenty years of age. But even shortly after the beginning of his reign, Solomon calls himself נַעַר קָטֹן, 1 Kings iii. 7; comp., for example, also Benjamin, Gen. xliii. 44; Joshua, Ex. xxxiii. 11; Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xiii. 7, etc.—*And the house to be builded for the Lord must be highly magnifical* (properly, "great to make"). לְמַעְלָה, properly, "upward," "above measure great;" comp. on xiv. 2.—*For name and glory in all countries*, that it tend to the glory of the Lord in all countries; comp. xiv. 17.—*I will now prepare for it.* The meaning of this cheerful offering is somewhat weakened, if, with the Vulg. (*præparabo ergo*, etc.) and Luther ("therefore will I make preparation"), we take נָא as a particle of inference.

3. *The Charge to Solomon to build the Temple:* vers. 6–16. This charge is obviously to be regarded as given to Solomon shortly before the death of David; see the לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ at the close of ver. 5. The whole address on to ver. 16, besides being a legacy of the predecessor to his successor, is therefore to be regarded in some measure as parallel to 1 Kings ii. 2–9, and as essentially contemporary with the contents of ch. xxviii. and xxix. of our book. On its perhaps not strictly historical but ideal character, which is common to it with those addresses of David in ch. xxviii. and xxix., see Introd. § 6, No. 6.—Ver. 7. On the *Keri* בְּנִי to be preferred to the *Kethib* בְּנוֹ, see Crit. Note.—*I had it in mind*, literally, "I, it was in my heart;" quite so (with the same emphatic position of אֲנִי before עִם לְבָבִי) also ch. xxviii. 2. The phrase: "it is or was in my heart," for: "I have (had) in mind," appears also in 2 Chron. i. 11, vi. 7 f., ix. 1, xxiv. 4, xxix. 10, as in other historical books, Josh. xiv. 7; 1 Kings viii. 17 f., x. 2.—Ver. 8. *But the word of the Lord came unto me, saying.* What was a historical necessity in the course of David's government is by this concrete description referred to a definite word of the Lord communicated somewhere and sometime to David, as in ch. xxviii. 3 (comp. 1 Kings v. 17). It is not necessary to seek a definite place, where such a divine command was at least intimated to him. What Nathan says, xvii. 4 ff., of David's wars, concerns only the help which God gave him in these, but does not give prominence to the circumstance that he was by those frequent wars unfitted for building the temple. Comp. also Hengstenb. *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, iii. 124.—Ver. 9. *Behold, a son shall be born to thee.* The participle (נוֹלָד) is here in the sense of the future; comp. ver. 19 and 1 Kings xiii. 2.—*Who shall be a man of rest*, not a man who makes rest (Jer. li. 59; comp. Hitzig on this passage), but, as the sequel shows, a man who enjoys rest, who has the blessings of peace, and therefore rightly bears his name שְׁלֹמֹה. Comp. the description of the profound peace during the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings v. 4 f.—On ver. 10, comp. ch. xvii. 12 f., which prediction of Nathan is briefly repeated in our passage.—Ver. 11. *The Lord be with thee* (comp. vers. 16, 18); *and prosper thou;* comp. ver. 13; Josh. i. 8; and lastly, on דִּבֶּר עַל, to charge any one, ver. 8 (עָלַי) and xi. 10.—Ver. 12. *Also the Lord will give thee wisdom and understanding;* the same terms are so connected in 2 Chron. ii. 11. The fulfilment of this prophecy, as of the similar one of Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 11), see in 1 Kings iii. 5 ff.—*That thou mayest keep the law of the Lord*, properly, "and to keep the law," etc. Comp., on this continuation of the *verb fin.* by the *infin.* with לְ, Ew. § 351, *c.*—Ver. 13. *If thou takest heed to fulfil* ("to do") *the statutes and judgments.* The language here frequently coincides with the prescriptions and promises of Deuteronomy; comp. Deut. iv. 1, v. 1, vii. 4, 11, xi. 32; and respecting the closing admonition: "be firm and strong," Deut. xxxi. 6, 8; Josh. i. 7, etc.—Ver. 14. *And behold, in my trouble*, etc. So is בְּעָנְיִי to be taken here (comp. Gen. xxxi. 42, and the parallel meaning, ch. xxix. 2), not "in my labour," as the Sept.,

Vulg., and Luther have misunderstood the phrase. The following numbers, 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver, are only free from the suspicion of wilful exaggeration by the Chronist or an error of transcription, if we are permitted to introduce a reckoning according to other, that is, smaller units than those customary in the O. T. (comp. Introd. § 6, No. 5). If we reckon the talent (כִּכָּר) of silver at 3000 shekels of silver, according to the usual Mosaic or sacred value of about 2s. 3¾d. each, it would amount to £342, and therefore 1,000,000 such silver talents would make the large sum of £342,000,000; and 100,000 talents of gold, if the gold shekel be sixteen times that of silver, would reach the still higher sum of £547,500,000. The gold and silver thus gathered by David would amount to £889,500,000, a sum incredibly high for the requirements of worship at that time. On the contrary, if we assume, with Keil, that the present shekel is not the sacred (Mosaic) but the civil so-called shekel, after the king's weight, and that these royal shekels were only half as weighty as the others, and so equal in weight and value to the bekah or Mosaic half-shekel (Ex. xxxviii. 26),—an assumption that seems to be corroborated by the comparison of 1 Kings x. 17 with 2 Chron. ix. 16,[1] the sum named is reduced by at least a half. That so large a sum gathered and saved by David is not inconceivable, but has its parallel in other high sums of oriental antiquity, Movers (*Die Phönizier*, ii. 3, p. 45 ff.) and Keil (p. 182 f. of his *Comment.*) have rendered probable by examples from the history of Persia and Syria, those exceedingly rich countries adjacent to the kingdom of David; comp. the £34,000 of gold and 500,000 talents of silver which Cyrus seized in the conquest of Athens (Varro, in Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 15), the 40,000 talents of uncoined gold and silver and 9000 talents of coined silver which Alexander seized in Susa alone, the 120,000 talents which the same conqueror acquired in Persepolis; likewise the colossal treasures of Syria, with its numerous great idols of solid gold, its gold shields for the servants of Hadadezer, 2 Sam. viii. 7 ff., its gold pins as ornaments of the boots of the common soldiers of an Antiochus the Great, etc. At all events, it is hasty in Bertheau, who, besides, commits a great error in asserting that 5000 millions of thalers (about £750,000,000) would suffice to pay off the debt of all European states, to deny the credibility of the present high numbers, and suppose that they could be "nothing but the first circumlocution of the notion, 'great, exceedingly great,'—a circumlocution that may still be heard in the mouth of those who have not reflected on the value and import of the numbers, and therefore deal quite freely with thousands and hundred thousands." Neither the fact that Solomon's annual revenue amounted only to 666 talents of gold, nor that the queen of Sheba made him a present of 120 talents of gold (comp. 1 Kings x. 10, 14; 2 Chron. ix. 9), is sufficient to confirm this suspicion of a boastful exaggeration as the ground of the present statements. For, besides the 666 talents in gold expressly mentioned in those passages, Solomon must have had still other revenues considerably higher in their total amount (especially from tolls and tributes of the subject nations); but the value of a single gift in money and precious metals cannot in itself be compared with that of a great treasure amassed during several years. And should not David have actually contemplated the foundation of a temple treasure, of which the surplus remaining after defraying the cost of building should be kept in the sanctuary, and saved for covering the future expenses of it (as Solomon actually did after the building was finished with the money remaining over, 2 Chron. v. 1; 1 Kings vii. 51), and therefore have accumulated so vast a sum? Comp. that which is expressly reported to this effect, and see Keil's full discussion of all questions and opinions on this matter (pp. 181–184).—*And thou shalt add thereto.* That Solomon followed this advice of his father, to add to the building materials, is clear from 2 Chron. ii., where also the activity of the here (ver. 15, and in ver. 2) mentioned workers in stone and wood, as well as the "skilful men in all work" (חָכָם, to denote the ingenious mastery in the crafts of building and figuring, as in Bezaleel, Ex. xxxi. 3), is again mentioned.—Ver. 16. *Of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, there is no number*, properly, "for gold," etc. The לְ before the several words serves to make more prominent that which is hitherto enumerated (Ew. § 310, *a*). On the following קוּם וַעֲשֵׂה, "arise and do," comp. Ezra x. 4.

4. *Invitation to the Princes of Israel to aid in the building of the Temple*: vers. 17–19.—*Is not the Lord your God with you?* The remembrance of God's former grace toward the people is a ground for the invitation. That the words communicated here and in ver. 19 are David's words to the princes, is sufficiently clear even without לֵאמֹר from the foregoing וַיְצַו; comp. the same immediate introduction of the address in xxiii. 4. *He hath given the inhabitants of the land into my hand*, the Canaanites, Jebusites, Philistines; comp. xiv. 10 f., Josh. ii. 24, as on the following: "the land is subdued," Josh. xviii. 1, Num. xxxii. 22, 29.—Ver. 19. *Now give your heart and soul to seek the Lord your God;* comp. 2 Chron. xvii. 4, Ezra iv. 2, where the same construction of דרשׁ with לְ is found, whereas elsewhere it usually has the simple acc. of the object after it (xvi. 12, xxi. 30, etc.).—*To bring the ark of the covenant* (xv. 1; 2 Chron. v. 2) . . . *into the house*, etc. לְ in לְבֵית stands (as in Josh. iv. 5) for אֶל, and is not perhaps *nota accusativi* (Berth.), as הֵבִיא is never constructed with the *acc. loci*, but with אֶל, or with the acc. and ה local. For the future sense of הַנִּבְנֶה, comp. on ver. 9.

[1] See Mosis Maimon. *Constitutiones de siclis,—quas illustravit*, Jo. Esgers, Lugd. Bat. 1718, p 19, and comp the remarks on 2 Chron. iii. 3 concerning the relation of the older (sacred or Mosaic) cubit to the shorter civil cubit of later times. [In the text, English money has been substituted for foreign.]

*β. Distribution of the Levites and Priests, and Order of their Service:* ch. xxiii.–xxvi.

CH. XXIII. 1. And David was old and full of days, and he made his son Solomon
king over Israel.

1. *Enumeration of the Levites, and Arrangement of their Work:* vers. 2–5.

2 And he gathered all the princes of Israel, and the priests and the Levites.
3 And the Levites were numbered from the age of thirty years and upwards;
4 and their number by their polls in men was thirty and eight thousand. Of
these, twenty and four thousand were to oversee the work of the house of the
5 Lord, and six thousand were to be officers and judges. And four thousand
porters; and four thousand praising the LORD with instruments which I have
made[1] for praise.

2. *The Twenty-four Houses of the Levites:* vers. 6–23.

6 And David divided them[2] into courses for the sons of Levi, for Gershon,
Kohath, and Merari.
7, 8 Of the Gershonites were Ladan and Shimi. The sons of Ladan were the
9 chief Jehiel, and Zetham, and Joel, three. The sons of Shimi were Shelomith,[3]
and Haziel, and Haran, three: these were the chiefs of the fathers for Ladan.
10 And the sons of Shimi were Jahath, Zina, and Jeush, and Beriah: these four
11 were Shimi's sons. And Jahath was the chief, and Zizah the second; and
Jeush and Beriah had not many sons; and they formed one father-house and
one class.
12, 13 The sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, four. The sons
of Amram: Aaron and Moses; and Aaron was separated to sanctify him as
most holy, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the LORD, to
14 minister to Him, and to bless in His name for ever. And Moses, the man of
15 God, his sons were called after the tribe of Levi. The sons of Moses were
16, 17 Gershom and Eliezer. Of the sons of Gershom, Shebuel was the chief. And
the sons of Eliezer were Rehabiah the chief: and Eliezer had no other sons;
18 but the sons of Rehabiah were very many. The sons of Izhar, Shelomith the
19 chief. The sons of Hebron: Jeriah the first, Amariah the second, Jahaziel
20 the third, Jekamam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel: Micah the first, and
Jesiah the second.
21 The sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushi; the sons of Mahli: Eleazar and
22 Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but only daughters; and their
23 brethren, the sons of Kish, took them. The sons of Mushi: Mahli, and
Eder, and Jeremoth, three.

3. *Closing Remarks on the Levites:* vers. 24–32.

24 These are the sons of Levi after their father-houses; the chief of the
fathers for those mustered by the number of the names for their polls, doing
the work for the service of the house of the LORD from twenty years old and
25 upwards. For David said, The LORD God of Israel hath given rest to His
26 people, and He dwelleth in Jerusalem for ever. And also the Levites have
27 no more to carry the tabernacle, with all its vessels for its service. For, by
the last words of David, these were the number of the Levites from twenty
28 years old and upward. For their post was at the hand of the sons of Aaron,
for the service of the house of the LORD, for the courts, and for the chambers,
and for the purifying of everything holy, and the work of the service o the
29 house of God. And for the shew-bread, and the fine flour for meat-offering,
and the unleavened cakes, and pancakes, and that which is fried, and all
30 measures of capacity and length. And to stand every morning to thank and
31 praise the LORD, and so in the evening. And to offer all burnt-offerings to
the LORD for the Sabbaths, for the new moons, and the set feasts by number,

32 after the order of them, continually before the LORD. And they shall keep
the charge of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the sanctuary, and the
charge of the sons of Aaron their brethren, for the service of the house of the
LORD.

4. *The Twenty-four Classes of Priests:* ch. xxiv. 1-19.

CH. XXIV. 1. And for the sons of Aaron, these are the divisions: the sons of Aaron:
2 Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before
3 their fathers, and had no sons; and Eleazar and Ithamar became priests. And
David distributed them, so that Zadok of the sons of Eleazar and Ahimelech
4 of the sons of Ithamar were for their office in their service. And the sons of
Eleazar were found more numerous in chief men than the sons of Ithamar;
and they were thus divided: for the sons of Eleazar sixteen chiefs of father-
5 houses; and eight of father-houses for the sons of Ithamar. And they
divided them by lot, one with the other; for the holy princes and the princes
6 of God were of the sons of Eleazar, and of the sons of Ithamar. And
Shemaiah son of Nethaneel, the scribe of the Levites, wrote them before the
king and the princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar,
and the chiefs of the fathers for the priests and for the Levites: one father-
house being taken for Eleazar, and one[4] taken for Ithamar.
7, 8 And the first lot came out to Jehoiarib, the second to Jedaiah. The third
9 to Harim, the fourth to Seorim. The fifth to Malchijah, the sixth to
10, 11 Mijamin. The seventh to Hakkoz, the eighth to Abijah. The ninth to
12 Jeshuah, the tenth to Shecaniah. The eleventh to Eliashib, the twelfth to
13, 14 Jakim. The thirteenth to Huppah, the fourteenth to Jeshebab. The
15 fifteenth to Bilgah, the sixteenth to Immer. The seventeenth to Hezir, the
16 eighteenth to Hapizez. The nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth to
17 Jehezkel. The one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and twentieth to Gamul.
18 The three and twentieth to Delaiah, the four and twentieth to Maaziah.
19 These are their offices for their service, to go into the house of the LORD
according to their order by Aaron their father, as the LORD God of Israel had
commanded him.

5. *The Classes of the Levites:* vers. 20-31.

20 And for the remaining sons of Levi: for the sons of Amram, Shubael; for
21 the sons of Shubael, Jehdeiah. For Rehabiah: for the sons of Rehabiah, the
22 chief was Isshiah. For the Izharites, Shelomoth; for the sons of Shelomoth,
23 Jahath. And the sons [of Hebron][5]: Jesiah [the first], Amariah the second,
24 Jahaziel the third, Jekamam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel, Micah; for the
25 sons of Micah, Shamir.[6] The brother of Micah was Isshiah; for the sons of
26 Isshiah, Zechariah. The sons of Merari were Mahli and Mushi: the sons of
27 Jazziah, Beno.[7] The sons of Merari, by Jaaziah his son: Shoham,[8] and
28, 29 Zaccur, and Ibri. To Mahli belonged Eleazar;[9] and he had no sons. Con-
30 cerning Kish, the sons of Kish, Jerahmeel. And the sons of Mushi: Mahli,
and Eder, and Jerimoth: these were the sons of the Levites after their
31 father-houses. And these also cast lots like their brethren the sons of Aaron,
before David the king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech, and the chiefs of the
fathers for the priests and for the Levites: the fathers, the chief like his
younger brother.

6. *The Twenty-four Classes of Singers:* ch. xxv.

CH. XXV. 1. And David and the captains of the host separated for service the sons
of Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun, who prophesied[10] with harps, with
psalteries, and with cymbals: and the number of the workmen for the service
2 was. For the sons of Asaph: Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nethaniah, and
3 Asharelah; sons of Asaph, under Asaph, who prophesied under the king. For
Jeduthun: the sons of Jeduthun were Gedaliah, and Zeri, and Jeshaiah,
Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, six, under their father Jeduthun, on the harp who

4 prophesied to thank and praise the LORD. For Heman: the sons of Heman
Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel, Shebuel, and Jerimoth, Hananiah, Hanani,
Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir,
5 Mahazioth. All these were the sons of Heman, the king's seer in the words
of God, to lift up the horn: and God gave Heman fourteen sons and three
6 daughters. All these were under their father for song in the house of the
LORD, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps for the service of the house of God
7 under the king, with Asaph, and Jeduthun, and Heman. And their number
with their brethren that were instructed in singing to the LORD, all that
8 were cunning were two hundred eighty and eight. And they cast lots for the
charge, the small as the great, the teacher with the scholar.
9 And the first lot came forth for Asaph to Joseph:[11] the second to
10 Gedaliah; he and his sons and his brethren were twelve. The third to
11 Zaccur, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The fourth to Izri, his sons and
12 his brethren, twelve. The fifth to Nethaniah, his sons and his brethren,
13, 14 twelve. The sixth to Bukkiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The
15 seventh to Jesharelah, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The eighth to
16 Jeshaiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The ninth to Mattaniah, his
17 sons and his brethren, twelve. The tenth to Shimei, his sons and his
18 brethren, twelve. The eleventh to Azarel, his sons and his brethren, twelve.
19, 20 The twelfth to Hashabiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The thirteenth
21 to Shubael, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The fourteenth to Mattithiah,
22 his sons and his brethren, twelve. The fifteenth to Jerimoth, his sons and
23 his brethren, twelve. The sixteenth to Hananiah, his sons and his brethren,
24 twelve. The seventeenth to Joshbekashah, his sons and his brethren, twelve.
25, 26 The eighteenth to Hanani, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The nineteenth
27 to Mallothi, his sons and his brethren, twelve. The twentieth to Eliathah,
28 his sons and his brethren, twelve. The one and twentieth to Hothir, his sons
29 and his brethren, twelve. The two and twentieth to Giddalti, his sons and
30 his brethren, twelve. The three and twentieth to Mahazioth, his sons and
31 his brethren, twelve. The four and twentieth to Romamti-ezer, his sons and
his brethren, twelve.

7. *The Classes of Porters:* ch. xxvi. 1–19.

CH. XXVI. 1. Concerning the divisions of the porters: to the Korhites was Meshele-
2 miah son of Korah, of the sons of Asaph.[12] And Meshelemiah had sons:
Zechariah the first-born, Jediael the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the
3, 4 fourth. Elam the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Elioenai the seventh. And
Obed-edom had sons: Shemaiah the first-born, Jehozabad the second, Joah
5 the third, and Sacar the fourth, and Nathaneel the fifth. Ammiel the sixth,
6 Issachar the seventh, Peulthai the eighth; for God blessed him. And to
Shemaiah his son were born sons, that ruled in the house of their father; for
7 they were valiant men. The sons of Shemaiah: Othni, and Rephael, and
8 Obed, Elzabad,—his brethren, strong men,—Elihu, and Semachiah. All these
of the sons of Obed-edom, they and their sons and their brethren, strong men
9 of ability for service, were sixty and two of Obed-edom. And Meshelemiah
10 had sons and brethren, strong men, eighteen. And Hosah, of the sons of
Merari, had sons: Shimri the chief; for he was not the first-born, but his
11 father made him chief. Hilkiah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah
the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah were thirteen.
12 To these divisions of the porters, to the chiefs of the men, were the wards
13 like their brethren, to minister in the house of the LORD. And they cast
14 lots, the small as the great, after their father-houses, for every gate. And
the lot eastward fell to Shelemiah: and for Zechariah his son, a wise coun-
15 sellor, they cast lots, and his lot came out northward. To Obed-edom south-
16 ward; and to his sons the house of Asuppim. To Shuppim[13] and to Hosah
westward, at the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of ascent, one ward like
17 another. Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day, southward four

18 a day, and towards Asuppim two and two. At Parbar westward, four on
19 the causeway, and two at Parbar. These were the divisions of the porters
for the sons of Kore, and for the sons of Merari.

### 8. *The Administrators of the Treasures of the Sanctuary, with the Officers for the External Business:* vers. 20–32.

20 And the Levites their brethren[14] were over the treasures of the house of
21 God, and over the treasures of the holy things. The sons of Ladan, the sons
of the Gershonite of Ladan, chiefs of the father-houses of Ladan the Ger-
22 shonite, Jehieli. The sons of Jehieli: Zetham, and Joel his brother, over the
23 treasures of the house of the LORD. Of the Amramites, the Izharites, the
24 Hebronites, and the Uzzielites. Shebuel son of Gershom, the son of Moses,
25 was ruler of the treasures. And his brethren by Eliezer were Rehabiah his
son, and Jeshaiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelo-
26 moth[15] his son. This Shelomoth and his brethren were over the treasures of
the holy things, which David the king had dedicated, and the chiefs of the
fathers, and[16] the captains of thousands and hundreds, and the captains of
27 the host. Out of the wars and of the spoil they dedicated to maintain the
28 house of the LORD. And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish,
and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah, had dedicated; every-
thing dedicated was under Shelomoth and his brethren.
29 Of the Izharites was Chenaniah with his sons, for the outer business over
30 Israel, for officers and judges. Of the Hebronites were Hashabiah and his
brethren, valiant men, a thousand and seven hundred, for the oversight of
Israel on this side Jordan westward, for all the business of the LORD, and for
31 the service of the king. Of the Hebronites was Jeriah the chief; for the
Hebronites, in their generations for the fathers, in the fortieth year of the
reign of David, they were sought, and there were found among them men of
32 valour in Jazer of Gilead. And his brethren, valiant men, two thousand and
seven hundred fathers of families; and David the king appointed them over
the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, for every matter
of God, and of the king.

[1] For עָשִׂיתִי the Sept. (ἐποίησεν) and Vulg. (fecerat) have the 3d person. But see Exeg. Expl.

[2] For וַיֶּחָלְקֵם read (here and xxiv. 3) וַיֶּחָלְקֵם. See Exeg. Expl.

[3] So the *Keri:* in the *Kethib* the name is Shelomoth. The same difference appears in another Shelomith, xxvi. 25.

[4] For וְאֶחָיו is perhaps to be read וְאֶחָד (with L. Cappell., H. Grotius, Gesen., etc.), as some late and unimportant mss. in de Rossi exhibit in the *var. lect.*

[5] The insertion of חֶבְרוֹן after בְּנֵי (Luther., Berth., and most moderns) is certainly confirmed neither by the Hebrew *Cod.* nor by the old translations (Sept., Vulg., etc.), but appears necessary from xxiii. 19.

[6] So the *Keri*· the *Kethib* has Shamur: the old Vers. (Sept. Σαμήρ, Vulg. *Samir*) as the *Keri.*

[7] Before בְּנוֹ a name seems to have fallen out. The text in vers. 26 and 27 is corrupt. See the Exeg. Expl.

[8] Properly, "and Shoham" (וְשֹׁהַם).

[9] After the name of Eleazar the Sept. (*cod. Vat.*) adds καὶ Ἰθάμαρ, καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἐλεάζαρ, a gloss which is wanting in A E F X.

[10] The *Kethib* הנביאים is an error of transcription for the certainly correct *Keri* הַנִּבָּאִים (partic. *Niph.*); comp. the sing. הַנִּבָּא in vers. 2 and 3, and see Exeg. Expl.

[11] After לְיוֹסֵף, the notice constantly recurring in the following verses: "his sons and his brethren, twelve," appears to have fallen out by an oversight. Yet it is to be observed that this notice in ver. 9*b*, after גְּדַלְיָהוּ הַשֵּׁנִי, is different from that in all subsequent cases, namely, "he and his brethren and his sons" (אֶחָיו before, not בָּנָיו, as afterwards) whence it is probable that the writer did not mention with the first singer the eleven companions, whom he preceded as the twelfth.

[12] For אָסָף, according to ch. ix. 19, אֶבְיָסָף appears to have been read, though no external evidence confirms this conjecture.

[13] לְשֻׁפִּים (Sept. τοῦ Σαφείν; but *cod. Vat.* εἰς δεύτερον) appears to have come into the text by the repetition of the last two syllables of the foregoing הָאֲסֻפִּים, which was perhaps aided by an obscure remembrance of the root שֻׁפִּים, vii. 12.

[14] So according to the Sept. (Καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν), which has here certainly the right text; comp. הַלְוִיִּם אֲחֵיהֶם, 2 Chron. xxix. 34. If the אֲחִיָּה of the Masoretic text be original, מֵהַלְוִיִּם must have stood in place of וְהַלְוִיִּם (comp. the Vulg., which has wholly omitted that והלוים).

[15] *Kethib:* שְׁלֹמוֹת; *Keri:* שְׁלֹמִית (comp. xxiii. 9). The *Kethib* is proved by ver. 26 to be more correct, though the name recurs, ver. 28, as שְׁלֹמִית without variation.

[16] For לְשָׂרֵי־הָאֲלָפִים should apparently be read וְשָׂרֵי־ה'; comp. xxix. 6.

## EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK, especially regarding the introductory notice, ch. xxiii. 1.—The connected survey of the condition, distribution, and ministerial functions of the tribe of Levi at the end of the reign of David, which fills the four ch. xxiii.-xxvi. (and falls into eight subdivisions, as is noted in the superscriptions of the above translation), is introduced by the statement, ch. xxiii. 1, that the aged and life-weary King David appointed his son Solomon to be king over Israel, formally appointed him his successor on the throne, and regularly delivered over the kingdom to him. The numbering and classification of the Levites, and the order of their service in the sanctuary, appears accordingly to be the principal measure by which David introduces the transference of the kingdom to his successor. A survey of the state of his army and of his military and civil officers (ch. xxvii.) is appended as the second of these measures, after which the final arrangements committed in solemn assembly to Solomon and the heads of the people, referring chiefly to the building of the temple (ch. xxviii., xxix.), form the close of these measures, and the immediate transition to the death of the king (ch. xxix. 26 ff.). As sources in communicating these accounts of the order of the Levites and their service, the Chronist had no doubt liturgical precepts and statistical notes proceeding (mediately or immediately) from David, that כְּתָב דָּוִיד, which he mentions, 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, along with a מִכְתַּב שְׁלֹמֹה, and which we may regard either as part of the royal annals of this king or as an independent document. Comp. Introd. § 5. —*And David was old and full of days.* זָקֵן is here not an adjective, but 3d p. perf. of the verb, as in Gen. xviii. 12; and so שָׂבַע with its accusative of restriction יָמִים, for which elsewhere usually the adj. שְׂבַע יָמִים (Gen. xxxv. 29; Job xii. 17), or even שָׂבֵעַ alone (Gen. xxv. 8). —*He made his son Solomon king over Israel.* This notice does not perhaps forestall the more precise and definite statement of the appointment of Solomon to be king in ch. xxix. 22 (which reports also the mode of appointment, by the anointing of the successor), but forms a general introduction to all that follows to the end of our book (comp. the similar general but not forestalling statement in ch. xxii. 7), and serves to place all that is here related of the Levites, the military and civil officers, under the head of the last will and concluding acts of the king. A statement in many respects similar occurs in John xiii. 1, which characterizes all that follows to the end of this Gospel as a "loving of his own unto the end." Against the opinion of Bertheau, that the Chronist has in our verse given briefly the contents of the narrative 1 Kings i., the remarks of Keil suffice; comp. also our exegetical exposition of ch. xxix. 22.

1. *Enumeration of the Levites, and Arrangement of their Work:* ch. xxiii. 2-5.—*And he gathered all the princes of Israel.* These, the representatives of the tribes, had to co-operate in this mustering and regulation of the Levites, because this was a general concern of the kingdom. The present account concerning the holding of a great *census Levitarum* in a solemn assembly of the spiritual and temporal chiefs of the people, shortly before the end of David, is confirmed by the passage xxvi. 30 f., which speaks specially of the result of this muster "in the fortieth year of the reign of David" with regard to the family of Hebronites in Gilead.—Ver. 3. *And the Levites were numbered from the age of thirty years and upwards.* This accords with the proceeding of Moses, who, Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 39 ff., likewise numbers the Levites from thirty years of age (to fifty) for service in the sanctuary. But as he had already included younger men, namely, from twenty-five years of age (Num. viii. 23-26), David's muster may also have extended not merely to those of thirty years and upwards, but rather, according to the express statement of ver. 24, reached the Levites of twenty years and upwards. That this later statement does not contradict the present one, and that it is not necessary to amend our passage by inserting עֶשְׂרִים for שְׁלֹשִׁים (Keil), see on ver. 24.—*By their polls in men,* thus excluding women and children; the לִגְבָרִים defining more exactly the לְגֻלְגְּלֹתָם.—Ver. 4 f. contain the words of the king, as appears from the 1st perf. עָשִׂיתִי at the end of ver. 5, for which the Sept. and Vulg. have unnecessarily, and only from ignorance of the true state of the matter, substituted the third person.—*Of these, twenty and four thousand were to oversee the work of the house of the Lord,* the duties of the Levitical temple service in general, to which belonged not—*a.* the proper priestly

functions (xxiv. 1–19); *b.* those of the Levitical civil and judicial officers (the שֹׁטְרִים and שֹׁפְטִים, ver. 4*b*; comp. xxvi. 29–32); *c.* those of the porters (ver. 5*a*; comp. xxvi.); *d.* those of the singers and musicians (ver. 5; comp. xxv.).—*With instruments, which I have made for praise*, which I have introduced to accompany the sacred singing in the service of God; comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 26; Neh. xii. 36; also Amos vi. 5, where David is mentioned as inventor of sacred musical instruments.

2. *The Twenty-four Houses of the Levites:* ch. xxiii. 6–23.—*And David divided them into courses for the sons of Levi.* In his new muster and order of the Levitical houses he thus founded upon the three old well-known branches of this tribe (comp. v. 27–vi. 15). וַיֶּחָלְקֵם, for which, here and xxiv. 3, R. D. Kimchi would read rather וַיְחַלְּקֵם (see Crit. Note), stands for וַיַּחְלְקֵם (comp. ch. xxiv. 4, 5), and is merely a by-form of the *imperf. Kal*, not *Piel*, as Ges. and Ew. think. Bertheau asserts that not all the Levites, but only the 24,000 specially appointed for the service in the house of the Lord, are to be regarded as the object of וַיֶּחָלְקֵם; and, in fact, ver. 24 appears to favour this, as well as the circumstance that a great part of the names here enumerated recur in xxiv. 20–31 and xxvi. 20–28; whereas in the enumeration of the twenty-four classes of singers (xxv.), porters (xxvi. 1–19), and officers, and judges (xxvi. 29–32), quite other names occur. What Keil adduces against this (p. 188) is by no means sufficient to invalidate it.—*a.* The Houses of the Gershonites: vers. 7–11.—*Of the Gershonites were Ladan and Shimi.* In ch. vi. 2, as already in Ex. vi. 17, Num. iii. 18, these two sons and founders of the two chief branches of the Gershonites are called Libni and Shimi. Our Ladan appears not to be identical with Libni, but rather to have been a descendant of this son of Gershon, after whom, in David's time, a greater branch of the family was named. Vers. 8, 9 analyze this branch of the Ladanites as falling into the two chief stems of the sons of Ladan and the sons of Shimi, a descendant of Libni, by name Shimi, not the brother of Ladan or Libni named in ver. 7, whose branch is more fully described in vers. 10, 11. Those belonging to the branch of Ladan fall altogether into six houses, namely, three of the sons of Ladan (ver. 8) and three of the sons of Shimi (ver. 9). On the contrary, the descendants of the other Shimi (brother of Ladan, ver. 10) form only four, or rather only three, houses, as the two youngest of the families belonging to them, Jeush and Beriah, from their numerical weakness, are included in one house, and also in one class (פְּקֻדָּה, ver. 11). The Gershonites, therefore, in David's time counted in all nine houses.—*b.* The Houses of the Kohathites: vers. 12–20.—*Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel.* So are the four sons of Kohath named also in v. 28, vi. 3, and previously in Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 27. —*Aaron was separated to sanctify him as most holy.* So is לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים to be understood of Aaron's choice and anointment to be the most holy person of a high priest, not from his ministering in the most holy place (Vulg. *ut ministraret in sancto sanctorum;* likewise the Peschito), nor from his appointment to consecrate the most holy utensils (Clericus, against which see Hengsten. *Christol.* ii. 50, and Keil on the passage).—*And to bless in His name for ever*, in Jehovah's name, to pronounce the blessing on the community (after the prescription of Moses, Num. vi. 23, xvi. 2; Deut. xxi. 5); not to bless the name of Jehovah, or call upon Him, as Ges. and Berth. think.—Ver. 14. *And Moses the man of God, his sons were called after the tribe of Levi*, were reckoned among the simple Levites, and not among the priests. On נִקְרָא עַל, comp. Gen. xlviii. 6; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63.—Ver. 15. *Of the sons of Gershom, Shebuel was the chief*, properly, "Gershom's sons, Shebuel the chief;" comp. the numerous cases in which "sons" are announced, and yet only one follows, as ch. ii. 31, etc. That, moreover, Gershom had other sons, who were reckoned with the house of Shebuel (or Shubael, as he is called in ch. xxiv. 20), appears to follow from ver. 17, where it is expressly said of Eliezer that he had no sons besides Rehabiah. Shebuel and Rehabiah therefore were the names of the houses of the family of Amram that sprang from Moses. To these two non-sacerdotal houses of the Kohathites are to be added, according to vers. 18–20, of the family of Izhar, the house of Shelomith (or Shelomoth, ch. xxiv. 22); of the family of Hebron four houses, Jeriah, Amariah, Jahaziel, and Jekamam; of the family of Uzziel two, Micah and Jesiah,—in all, nine Levitical houses of Kohathite origin.—*c.* The Houses of the Merarites: vers. 21–23—*The sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushi.* So are called the two sons of Merari also, vi. 4; Ex. vi. 19; Num. iii. 33; whereas in xxiv. 27 a third son of Merari is named, Jaaziah, the founder of the three houses of Shoham, Zaccur and Ibri. The conjecture is obvious, that the name of this Jaaziah with his three sons has fallen out of our passage by an old oversight, as Bertheau assumes when he supplements the text of our passage from ch. xxiv. 26, 27. But, 1. The Sept., Vulg., and Syr. present our text, that gives only two sons of Merari; 2. The books of Moses, and indeed the whole of the Old Testament elsewhere, know nothing of a third son of Merari and his descendants; 3. The passage xxiv. 26, 27 bears manifest traces of an interpolation in itself, by which the name Jaaziah must have come into the text; 4. The names of the supposed sons of Jaaziah occur nowhere else, with the exception of Zaccur alone (see xxv. 2); 5. The only gain that the assumption of the names in question into our text could be,—that, namely, the number of the Merarite houses should be brought up to six, and so a total of twenty-four houses of Levites should be shown in our section (nine Gershonite, nine Kohathite, and six Merarite), analogous to the number of twenty-four houses and classes of priests (ch. xxiv.), and of twenty-four classes of singers (ch. xxv.), and corresponding with the express assertion of Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 14. 7), that David divided the Levites into twenty-four classes,—this single gain is lost by this, that there should be not twenty-four but twenty-five houses resulting from the addition of the three sons of Jaaziah, as our passage (vers. 21–23) derives not three but four houses from Merari: one from Mahli (named

after Eleazar the father of the heiress, or after his brother Kish, and then after Jerahmeel, chief son of this Kish; see xxiv. 29), and three from Mushi, namely, Mahli, Eder, and Jeremoth. Now of these three sons of Mushi, Bertheau will certainly exclude from the text the first, Mahli, on account of his identity of name with Mahli the brother of Mushi, to obtain the desired result of six Merarite houses; but the arbitrariness of this procedure is obviously greater and more unjustifiable than the boldness of our condemnation of the vers. 26 and 27 in ch. xxiv. as interpolated, that has sufficient ground in the clearly corrupt text of this verse. It necessarily follows that our section yields only four Merarite, and therefore in all only twenty-two Levitical houses.

3. *Closing Remarks respecting the Levites:* ch. xxiii. 24-32.—*These are the sons of Levi . . . for those mustered,* לִפְקוּדֵיהֶם (comp. Ex. xxx. 14, Num. i. 21 ff., as on the following words: "by the number of the names," Num. i. 18, iii. 43).—*Doing the work for the service of the house of the Lord.* עֹשֵׂה הַמְּלָאכָה is, as also in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 10, 13, Ezra iii. 9, Neh. ii. 16, not sing. but plur. = עֹשֵׂי הַמְּל׳, and differing only in writing from this regular form (that occurs, for example, 2 Chron. xxiv. 13); comp. Ew. § 16, *b*.—*From twenty years old and upwards.* This statement, that the twentieth year is fixed as the starting-point for the entrance of the Levites on their official duties, is more exactly explained in the following words, by reference to the lighter labour which fell upon the Levites when the wandering life of the wilderness ceased,—a conclusion that is not fully expressed, but indicated clearly enough by vers. 25, 26.—Ver. 27. *For by the last words of David these were,* etc. Thus it is obvious we are to understand the orders of David issued shortly before his end by the words בְּדִבְרֵי דָוִיד הָאַחֲרוֹנִים (with the Vulg.: *juxta præcepta David novissima,* and so Clericus, J. H. Mich., Keil, etc.), not "in the later histories of David" (Kimchi, Berth.),—a conception which imports into the text a thought quite foreign to the context, and by no means justified by referring to ch. xxix. 29. Even because a last arrangement of David is now expressly named as the ground of the introduction of Levites of twenty years into the sacred service, it is to be assumed that that statement in ver. 3 respecting the entrants at the age of thirty years refers to an earlier numeration, in which David had adhered to the legal determination in Num. iii. 23, 30 (so Kimchi, J. H. Mich., and others), though the words and the connection of that passage, especially the circumstance that there the number 38,000 is given as the result of the muster, and that here no greater number takes its place, may not appear to favour such a distinction between an earlier and a later muster. It is conceivable, though not indicated by our author, that David may have established a distinction of classes, in such a way that he introduced the Levites of twenty years to the lower and easier duties, and those of thirty years to the higher and holier functions. At all events, any mode of harmonizing the two accounts appears more reasonable than the expedient of Bertheau, that the Chronist placed side by side two different accounts, the one giving twenty, the other thirty, years, without explanation as they were found in his sources, or than the emendation of Keil, who changes שְׁלֹשִׁים, ver. 3, into עֶשְׂרִים.—Vers. 28-31. Here follows an enumeration of the duties to be performed by the Levites, rising from the lower and more external (referring to the court and its chambers, to purification and the like) to the higher, and closing with the assistance given in the sacrifices of the great feasts.—*And for the shew-bread,* that is, the preparation, not the presentation of it, which belonged exclusively to the priests (Lev. xxiv. 8 ff.).—*And pancakes,* properly, "the pan," comp. Lev. ii. 5.—*And that which is fried* (Lev. vi. 14), *and all measures of capacity and length,* for measuring flour, oil, and wine, which were added to the sacrifices, which the Levites had to clean and keep (comp. Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 24; Lev. xix. 35).—*And to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord.* This naturally refers to the duties of the 4000 Levitical singers and musicians (ver. 5; comp. ch. xxv.); for here are enumerated the offices of all classes of the Levites, not merely of the 24,000 (against Berth.).—*And to offer all burnt-offerings to the Lord.* "Hereby the Levites were obliged to prepare the requisite number of victims, to examine the fitness of them, to slay the animals, to flay them, etc." (Keil.)—*By number after the order of them continually before the Lord,* that is, by number as they are to be presented continually before the Lord, according to the prescriptions of the law regarding them. The תָּמִיד continually refers to "the offering" (הָעֹלוֹת עֹלוֹת) as a business recurring regularly on the appointed day; comp. עֹלַת תָּמִיד, Num. xxvii. 6, etc.—Ver. 32. *And they shall keep the charge of the tent of meeting* ("the temple," comp. Num. xviii. 4), *and the charge of the sanctuary* (of all holy things connected with worship, Num. xviii. 5), *and the charge of the sons of Aaron* (the care of all that the priests enjoin upon them, all the help given to the priests). On this particular recapitulation of all the functions of the Levites, comp. the similar passage, Num. xviii. 3 ff.

4. *The Twenty-four Classes of Priests:* ch. xxiv. 1-19.—The enumeration of these follows quite suitably after the foregoing passage, particularly after ch. xxiii. 32; comp. the "sons of Aaron" with that in ver. 1 of our chapter.—*The sons of Aaron: Nadab and Abihu,* etc. Comp. on this introduction to the Davidic regulations referring to the Mosaic time in vers. 1 and 2, ch. v. 29, and Ex. vi. 23; Lev. x. 1; Num. iii. 4.—Ver. 3. *And David distributed them, so that Zadok of the sons of Eleazar.* For וַיֶּחָלְקֵם, comp. on xxiii. 6; for Zadok and Abiathar, on v. 30, xvi. 39, xviii. 16; for פְּקֻדָּה, official class, on xxiii. 11.—Ver. 4. *And the sons of Eleazar were found more numerous in chief men.* These "men" (גְּבָרִים), of whom Eleazar had twice as many in heads or chiefs (רָאשִׁים) as Ithamar, are the chiefs, not of the great complex of families or houses (Berth.), but of the several families, the fathers, chiefs of

the several priestly homes.—Ver. 5. *And they divided them.* The subject is David, Zadok, and Ahimelech, to whom naturally this matter belonged.—*One with the other,* literally, "these with those," those of Eleazar with those of Ithamar; comp. xxv. 8.—*For the holy princes and the princes of God.* On the former phrase, comp. Isa. xliii. 28, and the parallel phrase: "princes of the priests," שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14; on the second (Sept. ἄρχοντες κυρίου), the equivalent: "high priests, upper priests." For the princes of priests and high priests from Ithamar, who were far behind those of the line of Eleazar in number and importance, comp. on v. 30.—Ver. 6. *Wrote them,* namely, the classes, as the lot determined.—*One father-house being taken for Eleazar and one for Ithamar,* that is, alternately, from the urn containing the lots for Eleazar, and then from that containing the lots for Ithamar (so אָחֻז signifies; comp. Num. xxxi. 30, 47), that none might seem preferred before the other. And, indeed, this alternation in drawing the lots might have been so managed, that, on account of the double number of the families of Eleazar, two lots for Eleazar might be drawn for every one for Ithamar (comp. Berth.). Whether this mode of drawing lots be indicated by the doubling of the אָחֻז in the second place (וְאָחֻז אָחֻז לְאִיתָמָר), as Berth. thinks, is more than doubtful. Notwithstanding the almost universal agreement of the mss. respecting this double אָחֻז, and the fact that the old translators and the Rabbis did not understand the passage, the alteration of the first אָחֻז into אֶחָד (see Crit. Note) appears to be the only means of obtaining a correct conception of these otherwise dark words.—Ver. 7 ff. The names of the twenty-four classes are now given in order, as they were settled by lot.—*And the first lot came out* of the urn; comp. for יָצָא in this sense, Josh. xvi. 1, xix. 1. Jehoiarib and Jedaiah, the names of the first two classes, are so named together in ch. ix. 10. For Jedaiah, comp., besides Ezra ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39; for Jehoiarib, as the class from which Mattathias and the Maccabees sprang, 1 Macc. ii. 1; for Abijah, as the class of Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, Luke i. 5; for the classes of Immer (ver. 14) and Jachin (ver. 17), ch. ix. 10, 12. Some of the twenty-four classes never occur again, namely, Seorim (ver. 8), Jeshebab (ver. 13), and Hapizez (ver. 15), some at least not among the priests, as Mijamin (ver. 9), Huppah (ver. 13), and Gamul (ver. 17). With respect to the name Pethahiah (ver. 16), Holzhausen (*Die Weissagungen des Joel übers. und erklärt,* Gött. 1829) has propounded the quite arbitrary conjecture that it is identical with Pethuel (פְּתוּאֵל = פְּתַחְיָה) the father of the prophet Joel,—a conjecture which is of almost as much value as that of Raschi, who would identify Pethuel the father of Joel with Samuel (comp. R. Wünsche, *Die Weissagungen des Joel,* 1872, p. 1).—Ver. 19. *According to their order by Aaron their father, as the Lord . . . had commanded him.* Comp. the words occurring so often in the law: "And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron" (for example, Num. iv. 1, 17), and similar Pentateuchic testimonies for the regulation of the priestly service according to the divine command.—The credibility of the present statements of the Chronist regarding the origin of the twenty-four classes of priests, and their order in the service by David, is attested by Ezek. viii. 16–18 (see the exposition of the passage), Neh. xii. 1–7, 12–21, and by Josephus, *Antiq.* vii. 14. 7 : *διέμεινεν οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.* Against the assertion made by de Wette and Gramberg, and defended by Herzberg (*Gesch. des V. Israel,* i. 381 ff.), that the twenty-four classes originated after the exile, see Movers, *Chronik,* p. 279 ff., and Oehler in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* xii. 185 ff.

5. *The Classes of the Levites:* ch. xxiv. 20–31.—*And for the remaining sons of Levi,* after the enumeration of the priests. By this might be understood all the Levites except the family of Aaron or the priests; but as in the two following chapters the twenty-four orders of singers and the divisions of the porters and of those charged with external duties are enumerated apart, it seems necessary to suppose that the present section speaks only of the Levites employed in worship, and not of the whole body. They are "the brethren of Aaron," the Levites specially assigned to the priests as assistants in divine service, whose division into classes is here described. Only on this assumption is explained the otherwise very surprising, indeed inconceivable, incompleteness of the present list of Levitical classes, compared with that of the Levitical houses named in xxiii. 6–23, which embraces all the three families, the Kohathites, the Merarites, and the Gershonites, whereas the Gershonites are wholly excluded from the present list. This exclusion seems to have its ground in this, that, xxvi. 20 ff., several Gershonite houses had the charge over the treasures of the sanctuary, and also the duties of officers and judges (although this is not expressly stated) were partly discharged by the Gershonites. So at least Keil, whereas others certainly, as Berth., regard our list as laid out for a full enumeration of all the Levitical classes or houses, but from some cause (perhaps "because the author was not able to make out all the names of the classes") no longer fully preserved. The list, for the at least often defective character of which the elucidation of the details will afford more than one proof, begins after omitting the Gershonites, ver. 20, at once with the classes of the Kohathites.—*For the sons of Amram, Shubael* was the chief or head of a class; obviously the son of Gershom son of Moses, therefore grandson of Amram, who is called Shebuel xxiii. 16. The same double spelling of this name is found also xxv. 4, 20, in a family of singers of the house of Heman. As chief of the class springing from Shubael was, in David's time, Jehdeiah, a person otherwise unknown, whose name, xxvii. 30, is also borne by an officer of David.—Ver. 21 ff. Other chiefs of classes are now named—1. For the Amramite class, Isshiah (different from the one named ver. 25). 2. For the Izharite class, Jahath (ver. 22). 3. For the Uzzielite class of Micah, Shamir (ver. 24). 4. For the Uzzielite class of Isshiah, Zechariah (ver. 25). In this kind of enumeration, it is strange that in ver. 23, where we should expect to find the chiefs of some classes of the great Hebronite family (xxiii. 19), only the names of the four chiefs or

founders of the Hebronite houses, Jeriah, Amariah, Jahaziel, and Jekamam, are mentioned, quite as in xxiii. 19, and indeed introduced by a mere ובני before the name of the first יריהו. There can be no doubt that the text is here defective. It is probable that not merely the name חברון is to be inserted after ובני (see Crit. Note), but that also the names of the four chiefs in David's time have fallen out after those of the four classes. — Vers. 26, 27 bear still clearer marks of the corruption of the present text, perhaps even of its complete spuriousness, than ver. 23 (comp. partly the Crit. Notes and partly the Exeg. Expl. of xxiii. 21–23). Especially strange is—1. The בני יעזיהו in ver. 26*b*, detached from that which goes before (instead of "ובני י). 2. The בנו in the same place, that cannot possibly be taken for a proper name (with some older exegetes), but rather indicates that a proper name had fallen out before it. 3. The repetition of בני מררי at the beginning of ver. 27, which appears to presume a wholly different mode of enumeration from that which is usual from ver. 20 on. 4. The copula ו before שהם, as first of the sons of Jaaziah, in ver. 27*b*. To all this are to be added the reasons which make improbable the existence of a Jaaziah as third son of Merari along with Mahli and Mushi; see on xxiii. 21 f. The spurious character of the two verses appears therefore almost certain, though they are attested by the Sept., Syr., and the Vulg.—For vers. 28, 29, comp. likewise the remark on xxiii. 21 ff.—Ver. 30. *And the sons of Mushi: Mahli, and Eder, and Jerimoth.* As in ver. 23, so here it is strange to name the houses without stating the chiefs of the classes taken from them. The text appears here also to be defective.—Ver. 31. *And these also cast lots like their brethren the sons of Aaron* From this manifestation of the quite analogous character of the allotment of the Levites and the priests (vers. 1–19), it is highly probable that the number of the Levitical classes (as also that of the singers in the following chapter) was likewise twenty-four, although in the present text, the partial defectiveness of which is obvious, and needs no further proof, only fifteen chiefs of classes are expressly named. —*The fathers, the chief like his younger brother;* that is, the eldest brother representing the house, as well as his younger brother (for הראש, in apposition with the father-house, comp. on xxiii. 17, 18). Quite correct in sense the Vulg.: "*tam minores, quam majores; omnes sors æqualiter dividebat.*" That nothing is communicated to us of the order of the several classes, as they were settled by lot, completes the impression of the great defectiveness which characterizes this section.

6. *The Twenty-four Classes of Singers:* ch. xxv.—*And David and the captains of the host separated.* "Captains of the host" (שרי הצבא) are those partakers in the legislative and judicial government of David who were designated, xxiv. 6, merely as "princes," xxiii. 2, as "princes of Israel." The designation explains itself from the conception of Israel as the host of the Lord (Ex. xii. 17, 41), not from that of the Levites as an army, or their doings as a military service (Num. iv. 23).—*The sons of Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun.* The ל before אסף is here *nota accusativi;* comp. Ezra viii. 24. For the genealogy of the three song-masters, of whom Asaph was a Gershonite, Heman a Kohathite, and Jeduthun a Merarite, see vi. 18, 24, 29 ff.—*Who prophesied with harps,* or showed themselves inspired with harps; for "the really artificial play is, like every art, an expression of inspiration or enthusiasm" (Berth.); comp. Ex. xxxi. 3, and for the *Keri* הנבאים as alone admissible, the Crit. Note.—*And the number of the workmen for the service was.* For the position of the genitive 'אנשי וגו after the governing מספר with suffix, comp. the similar construction נפשו עצל, "his the sluggard's soul," Prov. xiii. 4 (Ew. § 309, *c*). That statements are actually made in the sequel concerning the number of the Levitical musicians appears from vers. 3–5, where the families of them are referred to: four sons of Asaph (ver. 2, without express mention of the number four), six sons of Jeduthun, and fourteen sons of Heman; and also from ver. 7, where the sum of all the singers of these families is stated to be 288.—Ver. 2. *Sons of Asaph under Asaph,* literally, "by the hand," or "at the hand," of Asaph, that is, led by him. על־יד here means the same as in the vers. 3 and 6, על־ידי, "at the hands," under the guidance or order.—Ver. 3. *For Jeduthun, the sons of Jeduthun were Gedaliah,* or, "as to Jeduthun (the family of Jeduthun), the sons of Jeduthun," etc. As the number of these "sons of Jeduthun" (perhaps disciples trained by him; comp., for this figurative import of the term "sons" in our section, on ver. 7) is expressly stated to be six, and yet only five are here named, hence one name must have fallen out, and, indeed, according to ver. 17, that of Shimi, the only one that is wanting in our verses, while all the other twenty-three names recur (vers. 9–31).—*Under their father Jeduthun on the harp,* or "under the guidance of their father Jeduthun on the harp;" בכנור belongs to ידותון. For the following: "who prophesied (or 'was inspired") to thank and praise the Lord,' comp. xvi. 4; 2 Chron. v. 13.—Ver. 4. *Giddalti and Romamti-ezer.* The genitive עזר probably belongs also to גדלתי, so that the full name of this son of Heman is Giddalti-ezer (though in ver. 9 this is not expressly stated).—Ver. 5. *All these were the sons of Heman, the king's seer in the words of God.* Heman is so called as mediator of divine revelations for the king; comp. 2 Chron. xxxv. 15, where the same predicate is applied to Jeduthun, and ch. xxi. 9, where Gad is introduced as David's seer.—*To lift up the horn; and God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.* The rich blessing of descendants is here, as elsewhere (for example, Job xlii. 13; Ps. cxxvii. 3 f.; also ch. xxvi. 5), represented as a lifting up of the horn, that is, the might and consequence of the person con-

cerned; comp. for הָרִים קֶרֶן (which does not mean to "sound the horn," as Berth., misled by the certainly erroneous Masoretic accentuation, supposes) in this figurative sense, for example, 1 Sam. ii. 10 (Luke i. 78); Lam. ii. 17; Ps. lxxxix. 18, xcii. 11, cxlviii. 14.—Ver. 6. *All these were under their father*, literally, "under the guidance of their father." The genitive אֲבִיהֶם is distributive, and does not refer specially to Heman (Berth.); for by "all these" our verse clearly points to all enumerated from ver. 2, and not merely to Heman's sons, vers. 4, 5.—*Under the king, with Asaph, and Jeduthun, and Heman.* That here, by the עַל־יְדֵי referring to הַמֶּלֶךְ and the three following names, David appears co-ordinated with the three song-masters, is explained by his having co-operated with them in the first arrangement and institution of the service of song.—Ver. 7. *And their number . . . all that were cunning, were two hundred eighty and eight.* This total of 288, or 24 × 12, as the sequel (ver. 9 ff.) shows, is explained by this, that each of the twenty-four (4 + 6 + 14) sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, with his eleven "brethren," not his nearest kindred, but rather his companions in calling, was incorporated into one class or choir of twelve musicians, so that thus there were twenty-four such dodecades. These 288 musicians were designated "all the cunning" (כָּל־הַמֵּבִין), as by instruction and practice they were entrusted with the art of sacred singing, and were able to train the great body of singers (the 4000 who, ver. 8, are distinguished from them as "scholars," תַּלְמִידִים).—Ver. 8. *And they cast lots for the charge*, גּוֹרָלוֹת מִשְׁמֶרֶת, properly, "lots of service" (κλήρους ἐφημεριῶν, Sept.).—*The small as the great, the teacher with the scholar.* To לְעֻמַּת belongs כַּקָּטֹן כַּגָּדוֹל as genitive: "in the way of as the small so the great" (comp. Eccl. v. 15 and Ew. § 360, *a.*). The repetition of a מִשְׁמֶרֶת after לְעֻמַּת, which some MSS. present, and some Rabbinical expositors, as Raschi and Kimchi, demand, is an unnecessary attempt to amend and interpret. The passage says that the whole of the Levites destined for the service of song, the leaders as well as the choristers, the 288 מְבִינִים as well as the 3712 תַּלְמִידִים, were chosen by lot; and so the regularly exchanging classes, or ἐφημερίαι, included both kinds of singers.—Vers. 9–31. The Result of the Lot.—*And the first lot came out for Asaph to Joseph*, literally, "for Asaph, (namely) for Joseph" his son. The לְ, "for" or "on," is usually omitted in the following. For the question whether the words "his son and his brethren twelve" (or, "he and his sons and his brethren"—together—"twelve"), which stand after the following twenty-three names, have fallen out after לְיוֹסֵף, or were intentionally omitted, see Crit. Note.—Ver. 11. *The fourth to Izri, his sons.* This Izri is called Zeri in ver. 3, as several other names in this list vary in spelling and form from those in vers. 2–4,—namely, Nethanjahu and Hananjahu, vers. 12, 23 (for Nethaniah, Hananiah, vers. 2, 4); Hashabiah, ver. 19 (for Hashabjahu, ver. 3); Jesharelah, ver. 14 (for Asharelah, ver. 2); Azarel, ver. 18 (for Uzziel, ver. 4; comp. the various forms of the royal name Uzziah-Azariah, 1 Chron. iii. 12; 2 Chron. xxvi. 1); Shubael, ver. 20 (for Shebuel, ver. 4); Jeremoth, ver. 22 (for Jerimoth, ver. 4); Elijathah, ver. 27 (for Eliathah, ver. 4). For the absence of Shimi, ver. 17, in the former list, see on ver. 3. The various deviations in the spelling and formation of the names deepen the impression of the historical character, for which the whole account of singing-classes vouches. That of the twenty-four names of the leaders only one, that of Mattithiah, ver. 21, occurs elsewhere (xv. 18, 21, in the account of the removal of the ark), proves nothing against the credibility of the present double list, the arbitrary invention of which would be far more difficult to conceive than the assumption of its resting on ancient and genuine documents.

With regard to the series of names in vers. 9–31, what is remarked by Keil suffices for its explanation:—"The series is so determined by lot, that the four sons of Asaph hold the first, third, fifth, and seventh places; the six sons of Jeduthun, the second, fourth, eighth, tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth places; lastly, the four sons of Heman mentioned in ver. 4, the sixth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth places; and the remaining places, 15–24, fall to the remaining sons of Heman. Hence it follows that the lots of the sons of the three song-masters were not put in separate urns, and one lot drawn from each urn in succession, but all the lots were united in one urn, and, in drawing, the lots of Asaph and Jeduthun so came out, that after the fourteenth drawing only the sons of Heman remained." This simple explanation of the order of the names is certainly preferable to the artificial assumption of Bertheau, that "two series of seven each were first put in the urns, and one drawn from each of these alternately, and then the remaining ten sons of Heman were put in."

7. *The Classes of Porters:* ch. xxvi. 1–19.—*To the Korhites was Meshelemiah.* Comp. ver. 14, where the name is Shelemiah. On the patronymic הַקָּרְחִים, "the Korhites," comp. ix. 19, where also the names Kore and Abiasaph occurred. That "Asaph" is a slip of the pen appears from this, that, vi. 24 ff., Asaph belongs to the descendants of Gershon, not, as the Korhites, to that of Kohath.—Ver. 2. *Zechariah the first-born.* This son of Meshelemiah occurs also ix. 21 and in ver. 14.—Vers. 4–8. Obed-edom and his Descendants.—*And Obed-edom had sons.* This Obed-edom, already occurring xv. 18, 24, and xvi. 38, is called in the latter place a son of Jeduthun, not of the well-known song-master of the house of Merari, for the account of the Merarite porters begins in ver. 10, but of some other unknown Korhite of the same name, as appears from ver. 1 comp. with ver. 19.—Ver. 6. *And to Shemaiah . . . were born sons that ruled in the house of their father*, properly, "the lordships (הַמִּמְשָׁלִים, *abstr. pro concr.* for הַמֹּשְׁלִים; comp. Ew. § 160, *b*) of the house of their father."—Ver. 7. *And Obed,*

*Elzabad, his brethren.* The missing copula ו is to be supplied before אלזבד as before אחיו. Then the strong men, Elihu and Semachiah, are named as Elzabad's brethren. That the names of the brethren are not stated (Berth.) is less probable. —Ver. 8. *Strong men of ability for service.* The sing. איש־חיל is in apposition with the כל standing at the beginning of the verse (or such a כל is to be supplied before it).—Ver. 9. *And Meshelemiah . . . eighteen.* By this appended statement of the number of Meshelemiah's family, the sum of the Korhite porters is fixed at eighty.—Vers. 10, 11. *And Hosah, of the sons of Merari.* This Hosah occurred before, xvi. 38, along with Obed-edom as porter.—*Shimri the chief; for he was not the first-born,* that is, because none of the families springing from Hosah possessed the birthright (perhaps because the eldest son had died without male heirs), the father named Shimri, the strongest and cleverest of his sons, chief of the family. —Ver. 11. *All the sons and brethren of Hosah were thirteen.* Hence the whole number of all the porters here named is ninety-three (62 + 18 + 13). On the relation of this number to the statement in ix. 22, that the porters were in all 212, see on the passage; comp. also xvi. 38. — Vers. 12-19. The Division of Porters according to the several Stations at which they were to serve.— *To these divisions of the porters, to the chiefs of the men.* For this explicative לראשי הגברים, comp. on xxiv. 4; for the following statement respecting the division of the stations by lot, xxv. 8.—*For every gate,* literally, "for gate and gate." These are the gates of the four-sided temple, facing the four quarters of heaven.— Ver. 14. *And for Zechariah his son, a wise counsellor,* literally, "one counselling with prudence;" on what this strange predicate rests is unknown. Before זכריהו we are to repeat ל.— Ver. 15. *To Obed-edom . . . and to his sons the house of Asuppim,* namely, to guard. This בית־האספים, "house of collections" (comp. Neh. xii. 25), must have been a place for keeping the sacred stores for the temple service, a temple magazine, situated in the court near the south gate, and, as appears from ver. 17, had two entrances to guard. No particulars of it are known. "The translation of the Vulg.: *in qua parte erat seniorum concilium,* appears to rest upon the explanation of the word אספים by 'assembly of men'" (Berth.).—Ver. 16. *To Shuppim and to Hosah.* On the probable spuriousness of "Shuppim," see Crit. Note. The "gate Shallecheth by the causeway of ascent," the keeping of which was committed to Hosah, is to be regarded as turned, because toward the west, also to the lower city (east of which lay the temple mount). Thus, "the causeway of ascent," by this gate is the way that led from the lower city up to the higher temple mount. The name "gate Shallecheth" is perhaps to be explained, with Böttcher and Thenius, by "refuse gate."— *One ward like another,* literally, "ward beside ward" (לעמת as in ver. 12 and xxv. 8), not "ward over against ward," as Berth. thinks, who, on the ground of this precarious interpretation, assumes a diversity of the west gate and the Shallecheth gate as two entrances placed over against each other. Even ver. 18 does not confirm this interpretation, as here the guard stationed on the west side is represented certainly as double, consisting of four guards standing at "Parbar," and two on the causeway, but not as a guard divided between two gates. Far-fetched and contrary to the Masoretic division is the attempt of Clericus to refer the words משמר לעמת משמר to all the stations, and so to the contraposition of the four temple gates.—Ver. 17. *Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day.* These (6 + 4) ten daily guards the house of Meshelemiah (with his eighteen sons and brothers), ver. 14, had to set, as the (4 + 2 + 2) eight guards stationed southward, ver. 15, belonged to the house of Obed-edom (with his sixty-two sons and brothers), and on Hosah (with his thirteen sons and brothers) was imposed the setting of the (4 + 2) six guards for the west side; comp. ver. 16 with ver. 18. A uniform and systematic division we cannot discover; probably it was arranged by lot. Moreover, not (6 + 4 + 8 + 6) twenty-four single men are meant, but so many leaders or guarding officers; for the strength of the several stations was certainly greater, as the sum total of all the porters is said in ch. xxiii. 6 to be 4000 men. There is nothing in the text to show that the number twenty-four points to a division of the whole body of porters into twenty-four classes, analogous to the twenty-four classes of priests and singers.—Ver. 18. *At Parbar westward, four on the causeway, and two at Parbar.* This פרבר (= פרורים, 2 Kings xxiii. 11) is, as the statement of its situation to the west shows, to be regarded as a part of the temple buildings, near the Shallecheth gate, an addition with cells for depositing the stores and utensils of the temple, similar to the house of Asuppim, ver. 15, on the south side. The "causeway" is naturally the "causeway of ascent," ver. 16.

8. *The Administrators of the Treasures of the Sanctuary, with the Officers for the External Business:* vers. 20-32. *a.* The Lord Treasurers (Stewards): vers. 20-28.—*And the Levites their brethren.* That instead of the unmeaning והלוים אחיה of the Masoretes we are to read thus (after the Sept. and the analogy of such passages as 1 Chron. vi. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 34), is maintained by most modern expositors since J. D. Mich.—*Were over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the holy things.*—This general statement is specialized by the following passage in this way, that the sons of the Gershonite Ladan were placed over the treasures of the house of God, that is, in a strict sense the temple treasures (ver. 22 ff.), but the sons of Shelomoth over the treasures of the holy things, that is, the spoils consecrated by David (ver. 26 ff.).—Ver. 22. *Jehieli, the sons of Jehieli: Zetham, and Joel his brother.* The sense is, as appears from xxiii. 7 f., that Zetham and Joel, the heads of the house of Jehieli (or Jehiel), belonging to the Gershonite line of Ladan, had to administer the treasures of the house of God (the proper treasures of the temple, ver. 20).—Ver. 23 f. *Of the Amramites, the Izharites, the Hebron-*

*ites, and the Uzzielites,* the four branches of the family of the Kohathites, xxiii. 15 ff.—*Shebuel . . . ruler over the treasures* (ו before שְׁבוּאֵל continuing the sentence). As "son of Gershom son of Moses," this Shebuel (or Shubael, as in xxiv. 20) belongs to the Amramites. And indeed this Amramite Shebuel appears, as the general phrase: "ruler (נָגִיד) of the treasures," shows, to be chief superintendent or administrator of all the sacred treasures, the president or administrator of the two departments of these treasures mentioned in ver. 20 (not merely as superintendent of such sums as flowed regularly into the sanctuary, as Berth., limiting the word אֹצָרוֹת, thinks).—Ver. 25. *And his brethren by Eliezer were Rehabiah his son* (Eliezer's), *and Jeshaiah his son,* etc. These are called brethren of Shebuel, because they sprang from Moses by Eliezer, as this by his brother Gershom (xxiii. 16).—Ver. 26. *This Shelomoth and his brethren.* As a descendant of Eliezer, and therefore an Amramite, this Shelomoth (or Shelomith; see Crit. Note) is different from the two Shelomiths of ch. xxiii., the Gershonite (ver. 9) and the Izharite (ver. 18; comp. xxiv. 22). As he with his brethren has charge over the treasures of the holy things of David (that is, over the consecrated gifts from the spoils of the wars of this king), he appears co-ordinate with the Jehielites Zetham and Joel, but subordinate to the ruler Shebuel.—*And the captains.* These last-named שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא are the field-officers or generals of David's army, as Joab, Amasa, as distinct from the before-mentioned captains of thousands and hundreds, or officers in general.—Ver. 27. *Out of the wars and of the spoil they dedicated to maintain the house of the Lord,* not to keep it in good condition or to repair it (according to the meaning which חִזֵּק has in 2 Kings xii. 7; Neh. iii. 7 ff.), but "to make it great" (comp. xxix. 12, where חַזֵּק stands by גַּדֵּל, and is synonymous with it). Only this view agrees with the circumstance that the temple, at the time now in question, was not built, but only about to be built. For לְ in לְבֵית as *nota accus.*, comp. xxix. 12.—Ver. 28*a* belongs still to the parenthetical explication of the dedicated gifts which began with ver. 27.—*And all that Samuel . . . had dedicated.* The article in הַהִקְדִּישׁ stands for the relative אֲשֶׁר, as in xxix. 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 36; Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17.—*Everything dedicated,* literally, every one who had dedicated (כֹּל־הַמַּקְדִּישׁ), who placed that which was dedicated by him *under Shelomoth and his brethren.* The enumeration of the several gifts derived from war, which began with ver. 27, or properly with ver. 26*b*, is here concluded, and referred to ver. 26*a*. עַל־יַד, properly, "on the hand," entrusted for keeping, committed to the charge of any one.—*b.* Officers for the External Business: vers. 29–32. Only one Izharite and two Hebronite families are mentioned in this category, consequently only those belonging to two lines of the family of Kohath, and no Gershonites or Merarites (as also, vers. 20–28, to the treasurers belong no Merarites and the Gershonites play only a subordinate part).—*Of the Izharites was Chenaniah . . . for the outer business.* In what this outer business consisted the more definite addition shows: "for officers (scribes) and judges." Although, xxiii. 4, the whole number of the Levites assigned to these functions is stated to be 6000, a number so high that all the situations of this kind in Israel might apparently be filled by them, yet we should include, according to Neh. xi. 16, the administration of the external business specially for the temple and its servants, the exaction of the taxes for the temple, the collection of tithes, etc.—Ver. 30. *Of the Hebronites . . . for the oversight of Israel on this side the Jordan westward,* of the west-land of Israel; comp. Josh. v. 1, xxii. 7. עַל פְּקֻדַּת the Sept. correctly renders: ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (*ad inspectionem Israel*). The view of Berth.: "were over the gifts," that is, the taxes, is unsupported by the usage, and scarcely reconcilable with the explanation of the contents of the foregoing verses on such taxes. Comp. also הִפְקִיד עַל in ver. 32, which signifies nothing but "appoint as overseers," give the oversight.—Ver. 31. *Of the Hebronites was Jeriah the chief.* This Jeriah occurred in xxiii. 19, but not in his present character as chief of the Hebronite family appointed over the land east of the Jordan.—*For the Hebronites.* This parenthesis, extending to the end of the verse, explains the surprising circumstance that the oversight of both sides of the Jordan was committed to the Hebronites. Why Jazer of Gilead, according to Josh. xxi. 39, a Merarite city, served as a chief residence to these Hebronites, remains obscure in the brevity of the present notice.—Ver. 32. *And his brethren, valiant men, two thousand and seven hundred fathers of families.* So in the sense of house or family fathers is רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת here without doubt to be understood, as the very great number 2700 teaches (not "heads of father-houses"). The phrase is essentially equivalent to the shorter אָבוֹת, "fathers," in ver. 31. Moreover, the conjecture is natural, that as the Hebronite family of Hashabiah numbered 1700, and the Hebronite family of Jeriah 2700, house-fathers, so to the Izharite family of Chenaniah (ver. 29) belonged the 1600 still wanting to the sum total of 6000 (xxiii. 4), and that this number has fallen out by some oversight. The present list of officers for the outer business appears not to have been preserved entire (comp. Keil, p. 209).

### γ. *Division of the Military Officers; Order of the Service and of the Royal Househould:* ch. xxvii.

#### 1. *The Twelve Divisions of the Army:* vers. 1–15.

CH. XXVII. 1. And the sons of Israel after their number, the heads of the houses and the captains of thousands and hundreds, and their officers that served the

king in any matter of the courses, that which came in and that which went
out month by month for all the months of the year, the one course was
2 twenty and four thousand. Over the first course, for the first month, was
Jashobam son of Zabdiel; and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
3 Of the sons of Perez, the chief of all the captains of the host for the first
4 month. And over the course of the second month was Dodai[1] the Ahohite,
and his course, and Mikloth the commander; and in his course were twenty
5 and four thousand. The third captain of the host, for the third month, was
Benaiah son of Jehoiada the priest as chief; and in his course were twenty
6 and four thousand. This is Benaiah the hero of the thirty, and above the
7 thirty; and his course was for Ammizabad his son. The fourth, for the fourth
month, was Asahel Joab's brother, and Zebadiah his son after him; and in
8 his course were twenty and four thousand. The fifth, for the fifth month, was
the captain Shamhuth the Izharite; and in his course were twenty and four
9 thousand. The sixth, for the sixth month, was Ira son of Ikkesh the Tekoite;
10 and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The seventh, for the
seventh month, was Helez the Pelonite, of the sons of Ephraim; and in his
11 course were twenty and four thousand. And the eighth, for the eighth month,
was Sibbechai the Hushathite, of the Zarhites; and in his course were twenty
12 and four thousand. And the ninth, for the ninth month, was Abiezer the
Anthothite, of the Benjamites; and in his course were twenty and four
13 thousand. The tenth, for the tenth month, was Maharai the Netophathite, of
14 the Zarhites; and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The eleventh,
for the eleventh month, was Benaiah the Pirathonite, of the sons of Ephraim;
15 and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The twelfth, for the twelfth
month, Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel; and in his course were twenty
and four thousand.

2. *The Princes of the Twelve Tribes:* vers. 16–24.

16 And over the tribes of Israel: of the Reubenites, Eliezer son of Zichri was
17 ruler: of the Simeonites, Shephatiah son of Maachah. Of Levi, Hashabiah
18 son of Kemuel: of Aaron, Zadok. Of Judah, Elihu,[2] of the brethren of
19 David: of Issachar, Omri son of Michael. Of Zebulun, Ishmaiah son of
20 Obadiah: of Naphtali, Jerimoth son of Azriel. Of the sons of Ephraim,
Hoshea son of Azariah: of the half-tribe of Manasseh, Joel son of Pedaiah.
21 Of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead, Iddo son of Zechariah: of Benjamin,
22 Jaasiel son of Abner. Of Dan, Azarel son of Jeroham: these are the princes
23 of the tribes of Israel. But David took not their number from twenty years
old and under, because the LORD had promised to increase Israel as the stars
24 of heaven. Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but did not finish,
because for this there was wrath against Israel; and the number was not put
in the account of the chronicles of King David.

3. *The Lords of the Treasures and Possessions of David:* vers. 25–31.

25 And over the king's treasures was Azmaveth son of Adiel: and over the
stores in the country, in the cities, and the villages, and the towers, was
26 Jonathan son of Uzziah. And over the field-labourers for tillage of the ground
27 was Ezri son of Chelub. And over the vineyards was Shimi the Ramathite;
and over that which was in the vineyards of stores in wine was Zabdi the
28 Shiphmite. And over the olive-trees and the sycamores which were in the
Shephelah was Baal-hanan the Gederite: and over the cellars of oil was
29 Joash. And over the herds that fed in Sharon was Shitrai[3] the Sharonite:
30 and over the herds in the valleys was Shaphat son of Adlai. And over the
camels was Obil the Ishmaelite: and over the asses was Jehdeiah the
31 Meronothite.[4] And over the flocks Jaziz the Hagrite: all these were rulers
of the substance which belonged to King David.

### 4. *The State Counsellors of David:* vers. 32-34.

32 And Jonathan, David's kinsman, was a counsellor, a wise man, and a
33 scribe; and Jehiel son of Hachmoni was with the king's sons. And Ahithophel
was the king's counsellor; and Hushai the Archite was the king's friend.
34 And after Ahithophel was Jehoiada son of Benaiah, and Abiathar; and the
general of the king's army was Joab.

[1] For דּוֹדַי, according to xi. 12, is to be read אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן־דּוֹדַי.

[2] For אֱלִיהוּ the Sept., in accordance with ii. 13 and 1 Sam. xvi. 6, xvii. 13, exhibits Ἐλιάβ.

[3] So the *Kethib:* the *Keri* has Shirtai (שִׁרְטַי).

[4] Sept. ὁ ἐκ Μεραθών; but מְרֹנוֹת occurs also, Neh. iii. 17, as the name of a place near Mizpah; a מְרָתוֹן nowhere.

#### EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—In this list of the military and civil officers of David, the collocation of ministers and associates of the army, domains, and kingdom of this king is connected with the survey contained in ch. xxiii.-xxvi. of the Levites and priests in his reign, and also with the account of the census of the people in ch. xxi. To the latter vers. 23, 24 distinctly refer, which show the fore-mentioned captains of the military divisions and princes of the tribes as included in that census, and thereby indicate the political and military import of that measure (comp. on xxi. 1, 6). With the registers of Levites and priests in ch. xxiii.-xxvi., however, our section is connected partly by its position and the similarity of its contents, partly by the circumstance that both the spiritual (Levitical) and the temporal hierarchy of officers had obtained their more permanent regulation and organization in the last year of his government, and, indeed, in connection with the census of the people, as appears again from ver. 23.

1. *The Twelve Divisions of the Army:* vers. 1-15.—*And the sons of Israel after their number.* Ver. 1 forms the full superscription to the following list. As this contains only the twelve divisions of the army of 24,000 men each, with the names of their commanders, this circumstantial superscription seems to promise too much; the detailed description of the army divisions announced in it, and of their officers, appears in vers. 2-15 to be no longer complete, but only preserved in the form of an abstract (Berth.). But the chief stress rests on "after their number" (לְמִסְפָּרָם), as the determination of the monthly changing military courses at the strength of 24,000 each, immediately after the close of this superscription, clearly shows. Hence all else that is here indicated, the mention of the captains of the thousands and hundreds, the officers, etc., is to be regarded as of mere secondary account.—*That which came in and that which went out month by month,* properly, "the coming in and outgoing," namely, the course going in and out of service at the beginning of every month; comp. 2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 9, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, 8. Here naturally only the monthly attendance of each of the twelve divisions or corps is spoken of, not that they had changed places every month, and were stationed one after another in Jerusalem, which would have been quite impossible for so large a corps.—*The one course;* הָאַחַת, taken distributively, as Num. xvii. 18; Judg. viii. 18.—Ver. 2. *Over the first course . . . Jashobam.* Concerning this Jashobam (perhaps "Ishbosheth") son of Zabdiel, see on xi. 11.—*And in his course were twenty and four thousand,* literally, "on (עַל) his course went 24,000 men."—Ver. 3. *Of the sons of Perez:* he was descended from that distinguished Jewish family from which David sprang; comp. ii. 4 ff.—*The chief of all the captains of the host for the first month,* stood as first in the series of twelve commanders relieving each other monthly, but was still subordinate to the commander of the whole army (generalissimo), namely, to Joab (ver. 34).—Ver. 4. *Dodai the Ahohite.* On the omission of "Eleazar son of" before Dodai, see the Crit. Note.—*And his course, and Mikloth the commander.* וְ before מִקְלוֹת appears to introduce the consequent, and seems to be superfluous, as it is wanting before עַמִּיזָבָד, ver. 6, in a similar connection. At all events, Mikloth is a proper name, as viii. 32, ix. 37 f. prove; whether the there named Benjamite be identical with the present Mikloth must remain doubtful.—Ver. 5. *The third captain . . . was Benaiah . . . as chief.* רֹאשׁ, predicate to Benaiah, not attribute to הַכֹּהֵן. Concerning this Benaiah and his distinguished position as "hero of the thirty, and above the thirty" (more honoured than all of them), see xi. 22, 25; 2 Sam. xxiii. 23. For the construction in ver. 6*b*, comp. on ver. 4*b*.—Ver. 7. *Asahel . . . and Zebadiah his son after him.* This form of expression contains a plain reference to the early death of Asahel (xi. 26), his tragic end, which Abner prepared for him, 2 Sam. ii. 18-23. The fourth course would thus, at least for the late time now in question, have to be designated properly after Asahel's son Zebadiah, its then living leader. But it is called (*honoris causa*) *de patris defuncti nomine,* as Clericus well remarks, just as the family of the Maccabees is distinguished by the name Asmonæans.—Ver. 8 ff. The following names Shamhuth (earlier, xi. 27, Shammoth; 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, Shammah), Ira, Helez, Sibbechai, Abiezer, Maharai, Benaiah, and Heldai occurred together already, though in a somewhat different order, in the list of heroes in xi. 27-31.—*Shamhuth the Izrahite,* the descendant of Zerah son of Judah, ch. ii. 4, 6; הַיִּזְרָח stands for הַיִּזְרָחִי, and this is equivalent to הַזַּרְחִי, vers. 11 and 13.—Ver. 15. *Heldai the*

*Netophathite, of Othniel*, belonging to the family of Othniel, incorporated by his connection with Caleb into the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 12-15. The name Heldai is besides in xi. 30 Heled, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29, by an error of the pen, Heleb.

2. *The Princes of the Twelve Tribes*: vers. 16-24.—In this list the twelve tribes are enumerated in quite a different order from that in Genesis, and even that in iv.-vii. of our book. A fundamental ground for the order here exhibited—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, Dan—can the less be ascertained, because the names of two tribes (Gad and Asher) have fallen out probably by an old corruption of the text; and there is no means even of conjecturing what was their original place in the list. There remains, therefore, only an uncertain surmise that Dan has been assigned the last place on account of his fall into idolatry; comp. evangelical and ethical reflections on ch. i.-ix., No. 3.—Ver. 17. *Of Aaron, Zadok.* Whether this naming of a prince of the Aaronites, namely, the high priest Zadok, of the line of Eleazar, along with that of the Levite was to make amends for the omitted princes of Gad and Asher is uncertain.—Ver. 18. *Of Judah, Elihu.* That "Eliab" (ii. 13) is to be read, with the Sept., for "Elihu" is most probable, even for this reason, that Eliab was the first-born of Jesse, to whom the dignity of prince must have naturally fallen.—Ver. 21. *Of the half . . . in Gilead*, literally, "toward Gilead" (גִּלְעָדָה), a suitable designation of the east half of Manasseh.—Vers. 23, 24. Closing Remark on the Two Lists referring to the Army of Israel, vers. 2-15 and vers. 16-22.—*But David took not their number from twenty years old and under;* he had only those above twenty years numbered. On נָשָׂא מִסְפָּר, to take, determine, a number, comp. Num. iii. 40, and Ex. xxx. 12; Num. i. 49.—*Because the Lord had promised to increase Israel as the stars of heaven.* This ground for the remark that David included only those above twenty years in his census of the people obviously means that to number the whole mass of the people, which God's promise to the patriarchs (Gen. xxii. 17, etc.) had designated as innumerable, was not intended by David; he had only wished to ascertain the number of those able to bear arms for the organization of his army. On ver. 24*a*, comp. xxi. 6.—*And the number was not put in the account of the chronicles of King David*, literally, "and the number went not up," etc.; comp. הָעֹלָה עַל סֵפֶר, 2 Chron. xx. 34, on account of which parallel, moreover, בְּסֵפֶר is not to be read for בְּמִסְפַּר, especially as the phrase סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים does not occur in Chronicles. The second מִסְפָּר is rather to be understood in the sense of "reckoning, register of numbers," and therefore we are to think of the statistical section of the annals of David's reign (Berth., Kamph., etc.). In these the result of that great census of the people had no place according to our passage; and if, xxi. 5, a communication regarding this result is made, it must have been derived from some other source.

3. *The Lords of the Treasures and Possessions of David:* vers. 25-31.—*And over the king's treasures was Azmaveth.* These first-mentioned treasures in general (אֹצְרוֹת; comp. xxvi. 20; Job xxxviii. 22) were perhaps, as the contrast with the "treasures in the country" teaches, the stores or spoils of war preserved in Jerusalem, so far as they were crown and not temple property (xxvi. 22); thus rightly Luther: "over the treasure of the king."—*And over the stores in the country, in the cities, and the villages, and the towers*, that is, in the forts or keeps; comp. the notice of such towers in 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Mic. iv. 8; Song iv. 4.—Ver. 26. *And over the field-labourers for tillage of the ground was Ezri.* Here begins the specification of the stores in the field, with the royal domains or fields (שָׂדֶה here in the strict or proper sense, not as in ver. 25).—Ver. 27. *And over the vineyards was Shimi the Ramathite*, of Ramah in the tribe of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 25. The next following officer, Zabdi, the manager of the wine-stores in the vineyards, is called הַשִּׁפְמִי, "the Shiphmite," coming perhaps from שְׁפָם, a place mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 10 f., on the north border of Canaan. But perhaps it is more natural to refer to שִׂפְמוֹת in the south of Judah (1 Sam. xxx. 28), as the south produced the most wine, and of course the most vineyards and vine cultivators.—Ver. 28. *And over the olive-trees and the sycamores in the Shephelah*, in the lowlands of the fruitful plain, between the hills of Judah and the Mediterranean, Josh. xv. 53. זֵיתִים, olive plantations and gardens; comp. Deut. vi. 11, 1 Kings v. 25; and so the following שִׁקְמִים. How important the produce of the sycamores must have been in the times of David and Solomon appears from the proverbial expression, 1 Kings x. 27, 2 Chron. i. 15: "Cedar-wood as plentiful as the sycamores that grew in the Shephelah." Comp. C. Hoffmann, *Blicke in die frühere Geschichte des gelobten Landes*, p. 171: "None of the plants adorning the country in that time is so fallen as those oft-mentioned sycamores, of which only a few still stand in the gardens of Jaffa as tokens of bygone beauty. On the coast, on the hot soil, moistened by under water, stood in broad plantations these mighty, shady, leafy crowns, the native land of which is Egypt. They are mentioned at Jericho in the time of Christ (Luke xix. 4). Did they, as the herdsman Amos, who plucked their figs, intimates Amos vii. 14, extend to the now so cool and dry valleys of Tekoa, about the Frank Mountains, that now bear among the Arabs the name of paradise, as a monument of vanished glories? At all events, they were proverbially common in Solomon's time; and this leads to one of those numerous indications of a former abundance of water," etc.—*Baal-hanan the Gederite*, of Geder or Gederah, situated in the lowlands south-east of Jabneh (comp. Josh. xii. 13, xv. 36, and our remark on Beth-geder, ii. 51); הַגְּדֵרִי is thus not really different from הַגְּדֵרָתִי, xii. 4. Keil would derive הַגְּדֵרִי rather from Gedor (גְּדוֹר), on the hills of Judah, Josh. xv. 58; but the form of the

*Gentilicium* is against this.—*And over the herds in the valleys*, namely, those in the hill country of Judah towards the Dead Sea and the Jordan; comp. xii. 15.—Ver. 30. *And over the camels was Obil the Ishmaelite.* As the riches of the king consisted in camels (comp. Job i. 3; Judg. vii. 12) in the south country, where the Ishmaelites formerly wandered, a descendant of this race was appointed overseer of them. So it might be with the Hagarite Jaziz, who was placed over the flocks (comp. v. 10, 19; Ps. lxxxiii. 7). For Jehdeiah the Meronothite, see Crit. Note.—Ver. 31. *All these were rulers of the property which belonged to King David.* רְכוּשׁ, "property," a wider notion than that of the "treasures of the king," ver. 25, including these (the treasures in Jerusalem) and "the treasures in the country." The total number of the officers appointed to take charge of all this property, as they are named above, is twelve, namely, the two head officers, ver. 25 (for the city, Azmaveth; for the country, Jonathan), and the ten overseers of the tillage and pasturage, the latter of whom were to give a yearly account of the produce of the stock under their charge to the former. The number twelve can scarcely be accidental here, though it is not expressly noticed.

4. *The State Counsellors of David:* vers. 32-34; comp. the similar lists of the chief officers of state in xviii. 15-17 (2 Sam. viii. 15-18) and in 2 Sam. xx. 23-26, with which, however, the present has only Joab the commander-in-chief in common, whereas, otherwise, here partly other persons, partly other functions, appear; and, indeed, its chief aim is to name the counsellors (יֹעֲצִים) of the king: it is a list of the chief counsellors of David (as it were his private council of state or cabinet).—*And Jonathan David's kinsman was a counsellor;* דּוֹד (properly favourite, friend, Song i. 13, etc.) may signify the father's brother, Jer. xxxii. 7, in which sense it appears to be taken by the Sept. (πατράδελφος) and Vulg. (*patruus*). Yet it signifies also (Jer. xxxii. 12) "kinsman, cousin" in general, and appears here also to convey this wider sense, where scarcely any other Jonathan than the son of Shima is meant, and therefore a nephew of David. On יוֹעֵץ, counsellor, comp. xxvi. 14; on the following attribute, "wise," xv. 22; on a "scribe" (סוֹפֵר, here not a name of office, as in xviii. 16), ii. 55; Ezra vii. 6.—*And Jehiel . . . . was with the king's sons*, as their instructor or tutor, an office mentioned only here. Whether Hachmoni the father of this Jehiel be the same with the Hachmoni father of Jashobam mentioned xi. 11 must remain uncertain.—Ver. 33. *And Ahithophel was counsellor of the king*, without doubt the same who became notorious from the history of the revolt of Absalom—comp. 2 Sam. xv. 31, xvi. 23, xvii. 1 ff.; Ps. xli. 10—as Hushai the Archite is the well-known opponent of this Ahithophel, 2 Sam. xv. 32, 37, xvi. 16.—Ver. 34. *And after Ahithophel was Jehoiada son of Benaiah and Abiathar.* That by the latter the well-known high priest of the family of Ithamar (v. 27) is meant cannot well be doubted; whether with regard to the previous name we are to think of the Benaiah named ver. 5, captain of the third division, son of Jehoiada the priest, so that here a transposition of the names has taken place (Berth.), appears doubtful. It is perhaps simpler to take the Jehoiada named as successor to Ahithophel in the privy council of the king for a son of that Benaiah who, after the well-known Hebrew custom, bore the name of his grandfather. We may observe, moreover, how clearly the Chronist here again (as in ver. 7) betrays his acquaintance with certain episodes in the history of David, the special course of which it does not lie within the scope of his plan to narrate.—*And the general of the king's army was Joab;* as such generalissimo, at the same time in some sense minister of war, and therefore *eo ipso* belonging to the rank of king's counsellors. Accordingly he appears, xxi. 2 ff., in the exercise of his office of counsellor in regard to the census of the people.

In an apologetic respect, it is worthy of remark, in regard to this list of the counsellors of David, that, with the exception of Jehiel, names of persons about David occurring also in the books of Samuel and elsewhere in our books are contained in it, but that it cannot be compiled by the Chronist from the other accounts of the history of this king, because it exhibits something peculiar, not elsewhere occurring, in its statements of the functions of these men. "We must therefore assume that this list comes from the same source from which our historian has drawn the previous lists (xxiii.-xxvi. and xxvii. 1-31)" (Berth.).

### δ. *The Last Directions of David concerning the building of the Temple and the Succession of Solomon, and his own Death:* ch. xxviii., xxix.

#### 1. *Directions to Solomon concerning the building of the Temple:* ch. xxviii.

CH. XXVIII. 1. And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the
tribes, and the captains of the divisions, that served the king, and the
captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and the stewards of all the
property and cattle of the king and his sons, with the courtiers and the heroes,
2 and all the valiant men in Jerusalem. And David the king stood up on his
feet, and said, Hear me, my brethren and my people. I had it in my heart
to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and for the
3 footstool of our God; and I made ready for the building. But God said to
me, Thou shalt not build a house for my name, because thou hast been a
4 man of war, and hast shed blood. And the LORD God of Israel chose me out

of all my father's house to be king over Israel for ever: for He hath chosen
Judah to be the ruler, and in the house of Judah the house of my father; and
among the sons of my father He liked me, to make me king over all Israel.
5 And of all my sons—for the LORD hath given me many sons—He hath chosen
Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the LORD over
6 Israel. And He said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and
my courts; for I have chosen him to be my son; and I will be his father.
7 And I will establish his kingdom for ever, if he be strong to do my com-
8 mandments and my judgments as at this day. And now in the eyes of all
Israel, the congregation of the LORD, and in the ears of our God, keep and
seek all the commandments of the LORD your God, that ye may possess
9 the good land, and bequeath it to your sons after you for ever. And thou,
Solomon my son, know the God of thy father, and serve Him with a whole
heart, and with a willing mind; for the LORD searcheth all hearts, and
understandeth all the imagination of the thoughts: if thou seek Him, He
will be found of thee; and if thou forsake Him, He will cast thee off for ever.
10 Take heed now; for the LORD hath chosen thee to build a house for the
sanctuary: be strong, and do it.
11 And David gave Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of its
buildings and its treasuries, and its upper rooms, and its inner parlours, and
12 the house of the mercy-seat. And the pattern of all that his spirit had in
thought for the courts of the house of the LORD, and for all the chambers
around for the treasures of the house of God, and for the treasures of the
13 holy things. And for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all
the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and for all the vessels of
14 the service of the house of the LORD. For gold by weight, for gold for all
instruments of every service; and for all instruments of silver by weight, for
15 all instruments of every service. And the weight for the golden candlesticks,
and their lamps of gold; by the weight of every candlestick and its lamps;
and for the silver candlesticks, by weight for the candlestick and its lamps,
16 according[1] to the use of each candlestick. And the gold by weight for the
17 tables of shew-bread for every table; and silver for the tables of silver. And
the forks, and the sprinkling bowls, and the cans of pure gold; and for the
golden tankards by weight for every tankard, and for the silver tankards by
18 weight for every tankard. And for the altar of incense, refined gold by
weight; and for the pattern of the chariot; the cherubim of gold that
spread out (their wings) and cover[2] the ark of the covenant of the LORD.
19 "All this has He taught me in writing from the hand of the LORD upon me,
even all the works of the pattern."
20 And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and active, and do it:
fear not, nor be dismayed, for the LORD God, my God, is with thee; He will
not fail thee, nor forsake thee, till all the work of the service of the house of
21 the Lord is completed. And, behold, the courses of the priests and the
Levites for all the service of the house of God; and with thee is in every
work every willing man of wisdom for all service; and the princes and all
the people for all thy matters.

2. *Contributions of the assembled Princes for building the Temple:* ch. xxix. 1–9.

CH. XXIX. 1. And David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son,
whom alone God hath chosen, is young and tender, and the work is great;
2 for the palace is not for man, but for the LORD God. And with all my
might I have prepared for the house of my God, gold for golden things, and
silver for silver, and brass for brazen, and iron for iron, and wood for wooden;
onyx-stones and set stones, rubies and mottled stones, and all kinds of pre-
3 cious stones, and marble stones in abundance. And, moreover, because I
delight in the house of God, I have a treasure of gold and silver which I have
given to the house of my God over and above all that I have prepared for

4 the holy house. Three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and
seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses.
5 The gold for golden, and the silver for silver, and for all work by the hand of
artificers; and who is willing to fill his hand this day unto the LORD?
6 And the princes of the houses, and the princes of the tribes of Israel, and
the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king's work,
7 showed themselves willing. And gave, for the service of the house of God,
of gold, five thousand talents and ten thousand darics; and of silver, ten
thousand talents; and of brass, eighteen thousand talents; and of iron, a
8 hundred thousand talents. And they with whom stones were found gave
them for the treasure of the house of the LORD, by the hand of Jehiel the
9 Gershonite. And the people were glad, because they were willing, because
with a perfect heart they offered willingly to the LORD; and David the king
also was exceedingly glad.

3. *David's Thanksgiving:* vers. 10–19.

10 And David blessed the LORD in the eyes of all the congregation; and
David said, Blessed be Thou, LORD God of Israel our father, for ever and
11 ever. Thine, O LORD, is the greatness, and the power, and the beauty, and
the lustre, and the majesty; for all in the heaven and in the earth is Thine:
12 Thine, O LORD, is the kingdom, and Thou art exalted as head over all. And
the riches and the glory come of Thee, and Thou rulest over all; and in Thy
hand is might and power; and in Thy hand it is to make all great and strong.
13, 14 And now, our God, we thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious name. For who
am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly in
15 this way? for all comes of Thee, and of Thy hand have we given Thee. For
we are strangers before Thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers: our days on
16 the earth are as a shadow, and there is no hope. O LORD our God, all this
store that we have prepared to build Thee a house for Thy holy name, it[3]
17 cometh of Thy hand, and is all Thine own. And I know, O my God, that
Thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness: I, in the integrity of
my heart, have willingly offered all these things: and now Thy people who
18 are present I have seen with gladness to offer willingly unto Thee. O LORD
God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the
imagination of the thoughts of the heart of Thy people, and stablish their
19 heart unto Thee. And give to Solomon my son a perfect heart, to keep Thy
commandments, Thy testimonies, and Thy statutes, and to do all, and to
build the palace which I have prepared.

4. *Close of the Public Assembly; Solomon's Elevation to the Throne:* vers. 20–25.

20 And David said to all the congregation, Bless now the LORD your God:
and all the congregation blessed the LORD God of their fathers; and they
21 bent and bowed down to the LORD, and to the king. And they killed sacri-
fices unto the LORD, and offered burnt-offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow
of that day, a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, a thousand lambs, with
22 their drink-offerings, and sacrifices in abundance for all Israel. And they
ate and drank before the LORD on that day with great gladness, and the
second time made Solomon the son of David king, and anointed him unto
23 the LORD to be ruler, and Zadok to be priest. And Solomon sat on the
throne of the LORD as king, instead of David his father; and he prospered,
24 and all Israel obeyed him. And all the princes, and the heroes, and also all
25 the sons of King David, submitted to Solomon the king. And the LORD
magnified Solomon exceedingly in the eyes of all Israel, and bestowed on him
the majesty of the kingdom, which had not been on any king over Israel
before him.

5. *Close of the History of David:* vers. 26–30.

26, 27 And David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel. And the time that

he reigned over all Israel was forty years; in Hebron he reigned seven years,
28 and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three. And he died in a good old
age, full of days, riches, and glory; and Solomon his son reigned in his stead.
29 And the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the
words of Samuel the seer, and in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in
30 the words of Gad the seer. With all his reign and his might, and the times
that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the
countries.

[1] For כַּעֲבוֹדַת a number of mss. and old editions read בַּעֲבוֹדַת ("for the service").

[2] For לְפָרָשִׁים וְסֹכְכִים the Sept. and Vulg. read הַפָּרָשִׁים וְהַסֹּכְכִים; comp. Exeg. Expl

[3] So the *Kethib* (הִיא); the *Keri* has הוּא, referring to הֶהָמוֹן.

EXEGETICAL.

1. Directions to Solomon concerning the building of the Temple: ch. xxviii. 1–21.—These directions for building the temple David announces in a solemn assembly of the states or representatives of the people, or as they are designated in general: "all the princes of Israel" (שָׂרִים). The several classes of these representatives of the kingdom are there specified:—1. "the princes of the tribes" (see their enumeration in xxvii. 16–22); 2. "the captains of the divisions that served the king;" see xxvii. 1–15; 3. "the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds," the officers of the army, and those captains of divisions, the commanders and chiefs of the twelve corps of the army (xxvii. 1); 4. "the stewards of all the property and cattle of the king and his sons," the officers of the royal domains (xxvii. 25–31), who are here extended by the addition (misunderstood by the Vulg.) וּלְבָנָיו to the royal princes and their possessions; 5. "the courtiers," סָרִיסִים, properly, eunuchs (so the Sept. and Vulg. in our passage), but here obviously in a wider sense, of officers of the royal court, or chamberlains in general; comp. 1 Sam. viii. 15; 1 Kings xxii. 19; 6. the "heroes," that is, the distinguished champions enumerated in xi. 10 ff., so far as they not merely (as captains of the divisions or over the thousands, etc.) belonged to the active service, but perhaps as occasional counsellors of the king, or otherwise influential persons, were entitled to a prominent position in the kingdom (hence the Sept. not unsuitably: τοὺς δυνάστας); 7. all "the valiant men" (וּלְכָל־גִּבּוֹר חָיִל with לְ as *nota acc.*), every other person of note or importance,—a wide phrase reverting to the general notion of the "princes of Israel."—Ver. 2. *And David the king stood up on his feet*, in order to speak; for before he was sitting from the weakness of age (not reclining, as the Rabbinical expositors would infer from 1 Kings i.). For the kindly humble address, "my brethren," in the king's mouth, comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 23; 2 Sam. xix. 13.—*I had it in my heart to build*, literally, "I, in my heart it was to build;" comp. xxii. 7.—*A house of rest*, a house where the ark might abide at rest. Along with the ark, on account of its special holiness, is mentioned the mercy-seat (ver. 11), and, indeed, described in a figurative way as "the footstool of our God," as Jehovah is regarded as sitting on the cherubim of the capporeth.—*And I made ready for the building*, I prepared workmen and materials for it; comp. xxii. 2 ff., 14 ff.; as for the following verse xxii. 8, and for ver. 4, ch. xi. 2, v. 2.—Ver. 5. *To sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel*, the theocratic kingdom; comp. the equivalent briefer phrase: "to sit on Jehovah's throne," xxix. 23 and Ps. xlv. 7, where the correctly interpreted כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים, "thy God's throne," yields practically the same notion (see Moll, *Der Psalter*, p. 237). God is the proper king of Israel; but David, Solomon, etc., are only the earthly representatives of His royalty.—Ver. 7. *And I will establish His kingdom.* Comp. in general xxii. 10 and xvii. 11 f., and for the condition: "if he be strong," etc., the quite similar conditions which God, 1 Kings iii. 14, ix. 4, imposes on Solomon; also 1 Kings viii. 61 (where also the כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה).—Ver. 8. *Keep and seek all the commandments*, keep them earnestly, seek to keep them with zeal.—*That ye may possess the good land.* Comp. Deut. iv. 21; Lev. xxv. 46; Jer. iii. 18.—Ver. 9. *And thou, Solomon my son, know the God of thy father*, the God who so truly helped me, thy father, in all troubles; comp. the emphatic "my God," ver. 20 and Ps. xviii. 3, and similar passages.—*And serve Him with a whole heart*, with an undivided mind, without διψυχία; comp. xxix. 9; also xxix. 19 and 1 Kings viii. 61.—*Understandeth all the imagination of the thoughts.* The phrase: "imagination of the thoughts," as in Gen. vi. 5; the reference to the omniscience of God, as in 1 Sam. xvi. 7; Ps. vii. 10, cxxx x. 1 ff.—*If thou seek Him, He will be found of thee;* comp. Deut. iv. 29; Isa. lv. 6; Jer. xxix. 13 f. On the following strong expression: "He will cast thee off" (יַזְנִיחֲךָ), comp. 2 Chron. xi. 14, xxix. 19, and Lam. iii. 17.—Ver. 10. *Be strong, and do it.* In essentially the same words, ver. 20, David again addresses Solomon, after the interruption, vers. 11–19, occasioned by delivering the draft and plan of the holy buildings.—Vers. 11–19. The Details of the Outline and Plan for the Temple, as David laid it before his Son in the public Assembly. We may imagine the architects and other craftsmen, by whose help he had this outline and plan drawn out, present in the assembly, and explaining it at the king's order.—*And David gave . . . the pattern of the court.* תַּבְנִית, pattern, model, as Ex. xxv. 40;

הָאוּלָם, the porch before the sanctuary, 2 Chron. iii. 4; 1 Kings vi. 3.—*And of its buildings*, those of the temple. The suffix must refer, not to the אוּלָם, but only to הַבַּיִת, "the temple, the house," to be supplied from the context. The buildings of the house are the holy place and the most holy.—*And its treasuries* (גַּנְזַכָּיו, cognate with גְּנָזִין, Ezra vii. 20, Esth. iii. 9, iv. 7, occurs only here), *and its upper rooms* (above the most holy place, 2 Chron. iii. 9), *and its inner parlours*, namely, the porch and the holy place; for only to these can the phrase refer, as immediately after follows the special mention of the most holy place, designated as the "house of the mercy-seat" or "abode of the capporeth."—Ver. 12. *And the pattern of all that his spirit had in thought* (or what was before his mind) *for the courts . . . and all the chambers around*, the cells or rooms on the four sides of the court, that served to keep "the treasures of the house of God," that is, the treasure of the temple and the "treasures of holy things," the stores of dedicated things collected from the spoils of war (the same distinction as in xxvi. 20).—Ver. 13 continues the statement of that for which the chambers or cells of the court were designed.—*And for the courses of the priests and the Levites*, for their sojourn during their service, likewise for the works belonging to this service (cooking of flesh, preparing of shew-bread, etc.), and for the keeping of the requisite utensils, which last are enumerated in detail from ver. 14 on.—Ver. 14. *For gold.* The לְ in לַזָּהָב corresponds to that in לְכָל־הַלְּשָׁכוֹת, ver. 12; the sentence begun in ver. 11 thus extends to the close of this verse. A new construction begins first in ver. 15, which may be regarded as a continuation of that begun in ver. 11. As to the object וּמִשְׁקָל, a וַיִּתֵּן must be supplied from ver. 11, but not certainly in the same sense of giving, but in that of stating or defining. Thus: "And (he stated) the weight for the golden candlesticks and their lamps of gold;" זָהָב is freely subordinated to וְנֵרֹתֵיהֶם (comp. 2 Chron. ix. 15). For the golden candlesticks of the sanctuary, comp. Ex. xxv. 31 f.; 2 Chron. iv. 7.—*According to the use of each candlestick*, according to its set service, its import for the holy service. For the var.: "for the service of every one" (כַּעֲבוֹדַת), see Crit. Note.—Ver. 16. *And the gold by weight;* מִשְׁקָל, accus. of free subordination.—*For the tables of shew-bread for every table; and silver for the tables of silver.* Whereas elsewhere (Ex. xxv. 23 ff.; 1 Kings vii. 48; and 2 Chron. xxix. 18) only one table of shew-bread is spoken of, here several tables of this kind are mentioned. As also, 2 Chron. iv. 8, a greater number of golden tables, namely, ten, destined as it appears for the ten golden candlesticks, is spoken of, so in our passage (as in 2 Chron. iv 19) a synecdoche appears to be used, and the one golden table of shew-bread to be included with the tables for the golden candlesticks. Silver tables (as silver candlesticks, ver. 15) are only here expressly mentioned: such may be understood as included among the silver articles mentioned on the occasion of the repair of the temple by Joash (2 Chron. xxiv. 14; comp. also 2 Kings xxv. 15). The statements of the Rabbis, that the silver tables stood in the court, and the silver candlesticks in the chambers of the priests, may rest on an old tradition.—Ver. 17. *And* (gave him in pattern: the same supplement as in ver. 15) *the forks*, namely, the flesh-forks used in cooking the pieces of the sacrifices; comp. Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Kings vii. 50. For the sprinkling-bowls (מִזְרָקוֹת), comp. also 2 Chron. iv. 11, 22; for the "cans" or "cups" (קְשָׂוֹת, σπονδεῖα) that were used in libations, Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16; Num. iv. 7.—*Of pure gold;* accus. of free subordination, as in vers. 15, 16.—*And for the golden tankards.* כְּפוֹרִים, from כָּפַר, cover, are covered vessels, and so tankards (not cups); comp. Ezra i. 10, viii. 27, the only other passages in which it occurs.—Ver. 18. *The pattern of the chariot, the cherubim of gold.* The term pattern, תַּבְנִית, recurs here, near the close of the whole enumeration, from vers. 11 and 12, but with לְ as *nota accusat.* The mercy-seat with its cherubim appears here symbolized as the chariot on which Jehovah sits or moves (comp. Ex. xxv. 22; Ps. xviii. 11, xcix. 1),—a very important passage for the right understanding of Ezek. i. 15 ff. The cherubim themselves, though only two in number, according to the present description, which represents the older and simpler idea, exhibit as it were a chariot (observe that הַכְּרוּבִים is not subordinate to מֶרְכָּבָה as a genitive, but co-ordinate with it, as in apposition); of a wheel-work connected with it, an external exhibition of the chariot idea, as Ezekiel depicts it, nothing is indicated in the passage; the Sept. and Vulg. only, by taking הַכְּרוּבִים as a genitive (ἅρμα τῶν Χερουβὶμ: *quadriga cherubim*), have introduced this foreign element.—*That spread out* (their wings) *and cover the ark of the covenant of the Lord*, literally, "for spreading and covering," that is, they are represented spreading and covering with their wings. Comp. for this use of לְ in the sense of becoming something, or appearing as somewhat, ch. xxix. 33 (לְמֶלֶךְ, "as king"), also Gen. ix. 5, Job xxxix. 16, and other passages, in Ew. § 217, *d* (p. 553). The change of לְפֹרְשִׂים into הַפֹּרְשִׂים וְהַסֹּכְכִים (Sept., Vulg., and recent expositors, as Berth., Kamph., etc.) is therefore unnecessary. J. H. Mich. correctly: *ut essent expandentes*, etc. To לְפֹרְשִׂים it is easy to supply הַכְּנָפַיִם, "the wings," as object; comp. Ex. xxv. 20, and 1 Kings viii. 7; 2 Chron. v. 8.—Ver. 19 contains again words of David, as the עָלַי, "upon me," and the whole sense and contents teach.—*All this has He taught me in writing from the hand of the Lord upon me.* So it seems the difficult and perhaps corrupt words

הַכֹּל בִּכְתָב מִיַּד יְהוָה עָלַי הִשְׂכִּיל must be taken. To הִשְׂכִּיל we are to understand יהוה as subject, and "me" (or perhaps "us") as object. Possibly also עָלַי might be connected with הִשְׂכִּיל (comp. Prov. xxii. 11); but it is easier, on account of the collocation, to connect it either with מיד יהוה or with בכתב. Now, as the grammatically (Ps. xl. 8: כָּתוּב עָלַי) admissible connection of the words בִּכְתָב—עָלַי into one notion, "by a writing from the hand of Jehovah given me as a rule" (Berth.), yields a very harsh and obscure sense, and as, moreover, the position of מיד יהוה between בכתב and עלי renders this connection extremely difficult, nothing remains but the connection of מִיַּד יְהוָה עָלַי, "a writing from the hand of Jehovah being or coming upon me," by which is designated a writing springing from divine revelation, an immediate effect of divine inspiration (comp. the known phrase: "the hand of Jehovah came upon me," 2 Kings iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3, iii. 14, etc.). This naturally refers, not to the law of Moses, as the Rabbinical expositors think, but to the proposed building plan, draft, etc., which David refers to divine teaching, in so far as he did not conceive it arbitrarily, but designed it under the influence of the Divine Spirit (which, however, must have been effected in this case not directly by vision, as with Moses on Sinai). Comp. moreover, on the transition into the address without an introductory formula, ch. xxii. 18 f., xxiii. 4 f.—Vers. 20, 21. Closing Admonition and Promise to Solomon.—*Be strong and active;* comp. ver. 10 and ch. xxii. 13.—*For the Lord God, my God, is with thee;* comp. on ver. 9. For the following promise: "He will not fail thee (properly, 'withdraw from thee,' namely, His hand) nor forsake thee," comp. Deut. xxxi. 6, 8; Ps. cxxxviii. 8; Josh. i. 5; Heb. xiii. 5.—*And behold the courses of the priests.* Personal attendance of the priests and Levites, or only of a majority of representatives of their order in the public assembly, can scarcely be inferred from this 'וְהִנֵּה וגו, just as the וְעִמְּךָ, "and with thee," does not necessitate the assumption that the willing craftsmen stood by Solomon, or were assembled around him.—*Every willing man of wisdom for all service,* properly, "with regard to every willing man." The לְ here is not *nota accus.* (as ver. 1, xxvi. 26, xxix. 6), but yet serves to give emphasis to כָּל־נָדִיב (Ew. § 310, *a*), which, though it cannot be translated, is yet not to be erased (against Berth.). For the notion of free-will (נְדִיב לֵב = נָדִיב, 2 Chron. xxix. 31), to designate the higher wisdom and skill of a craftsman, comp. Ex. xxxv. 5, 22, and Latin phrases, as *artes ingenuæ, liberales.* We are to think, moreover, of the same craftsmen as those named, xxii. 15; 2 Chron. ii. 6.—*For all thy matters:* לְכָל־דְּבָרֶיךָ to be explained according to xxvi. 32 (concerns, matters) scarcely: "for all thy words or commands" (as J. H. Mich., Starke, Keil, etc., think).

2. Contributions of the assembled Princes for building the Temple: ch. xxix. 1-9.—*Unto all the congregation,* which consisted, ch. xxviii. 1, merely of the "princes" or more eminent representatives (notables) of the people.—*Solomon, my son, whom alone God hath chosen,* properly a parenthesis: "as the one (אֶחָד) hath God chosen him." For "young and tender," comp. xxii. 5. —*For the palace is not for man.* Only here and ver. 19 stands the later word הַבִּירָה, to denote the temple (with regard to its fort-like size and strength); elsewhere either of the Persian royal castle (Esth. i. 2, 5, ii. 3; Neh. i. 1) or of the castle in the temple at Jerusalem.—Ver. 2. On *a,* comp. xxiii. 15.—*Onyx-stones and set stones.* For שֹׁהַם, onyx (sardonyx, etc.), or perhaps beryl, comp. Gen. ii. 12; Ex. xxviii. 9, 20; Job xxviii. 16; on אַבְנֵי מִלֻּאִים, "stones of settings," Ex. xxv. 7, xxxv. 9, where also onyx-stones, designed for the high priest's ephod and hoshen, are mentioned.—*Rubies and mottled stones, and all kinds of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance.* אַבְנֵי־פוּךְ, properly stones of paint or lead-glance (comp. 2 Kings ix. 35; Isa. liv. 11), perhaps precious stones of very dark glancing colour, of dark purple, as carbuncle or ruby (נֹפֶךְ, perhaps radically connected with פּוּךְ). The אַבְנֵי רִקְמָה, stones of various colours, striped with veins (agate?), as אֶבֶן יְקָרָה, "precious costly stones," in general, 'אַ שַׁיִשׁ, white marble (the Sept. and Vulg. explain it by an anachronism of Parian marble); comp. the contracted form שֵׁשׁ, Song v. 15; Esth. i. 6.—Ver. 3. *Over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house,* literally, "upwards of all, out above all." On הֲכִינוֹתִי, without a relative particle connecting it with the foregoing כָּל, comp. xv. 12.—Ver. 4. *Three thousand talents of gold of the gold of Ophir,* of the finest and best gold; comp. the excursus after 2 Chron. ix. Three thousand talents of gold, reckoned after the holy or Mosaic shekel, would amount to ninety million thalers (about £13,500,000), reckoned after the royal shekel to half as much; and the 7000 talents of silver would amount in the first case to fifteen million thalers (about £2,250,000), in the second case to half that sum. The greatness of this sum shows, at all events, that this includes the whole of David's private property; comp. on xxii. 14 ff.—*To overlay the walls of the houses,* the proper temple buildings (בָּתִּים, as in xxviii. 11), the holy place and the most holy, with the court and the upper chambers, the inner walls of which, 2 Chron. iii. 4-9, were all hung with gold.—Ver. 5. *The gold for golden,* or literally, "for the gold, for the gold," etc.; comp. ver. 2.—*And for all work by the hand of artificers,* for all works to be made by the hand of craftsmen.—*And who is willing* (הִתְנַדֵּב, show oneself willing, as ver. 6; Ezra ii.

68); *to fill his hand this day unto the Lord*, to provide himself with free-will offerings for Him; comp. Ex. xxviii. 41, xxxii. 29, and 2 Chron. xiii. 9. The infinitive מַלְּאוֹת (along with מַלֵּא, 2 Chron. xiii. 9), also Dan. ix. 2; Ex. xxxi. 5.—Ver. 6. *The princes of the houses*, properly, "of the fathers;" הָאָבוֹת for בֵּית הָאָבוֹת; comp. xxiv. 31, xxvii. 1, etc.—*With the rulers of the king's work*, literally, "and with regard to the rulers;" before שָׂרֵי מְלֶאכֶת הַמֶּ׳ the same superfluous untranslatable לְ as in xxviii. 21. These are "the stewards of all the property and cattle of the king," xxviii. 1, the officers of the royal domains.—Ver. 7. *And gave, for the service of the house of God, of gold five thousand talents*. We must suppose a partial "signing" or guaranteeing of the sums named, not an immediate bare paying down, especially as the bulky contributions in the baser metals, the 18,000 talents of brass and the 100,000 talents of iron, could not possibly be present *in natura*. Even David's gifts of 3000 talents of gold of Ophir and 7000 talents of silver may be regarded as not a proper direct delivery of these large quantities of metals. Moreover, what the princes, according to our passage, contributed was about a half more than that given by David from his private means, namely—1. 5000 talents of gold = 150 million thalers (about £22,500,000), or by the other mode of reckoning, half that sum; 2. 10,000 darics = 75,000 thalers (about £11,250); 3. 10,000 talents of silver = twenty-four million thalers (about £3,600,000); 4. 18,000 talents of brass (copper), and 100,000 talents of iron; 5. Precious stones amounting to an indefinite sum. אֲדַרְכֹן, with א prosthetic here and Ezra viii. 27, along with דַּרְכְּמוֹן, Ezra ii. 69, Neh. vii. 70 ff., is not a Hebrew designation of the drachma (as Ew. *Gesch.* i. 254 still thinks), but of the daric, a Persian coin, containing 1½ ducats, or 7½ thalers (about 22s. 6d.); comp. Eckhell, *Doctr. numm.* i. vol. iii. p. 551; J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maass-, and Gewichtssystem in Vorderasien* (1866), p. 244; see also Introd. § 3, *a*. In darics, the gold coin most current in his time (it is not meant by our author that it existed in David's time), the Chronist states a smaller part of the sum contributed by the princes, and indeed that part which they gave in coined pieces, while he expresses the amount of uncoined gold that was offered in talents.—Ver. 8. *With whom stones were found*, the present possessors of precious stones. Against Bertheau's rendering: "and what was found therewith in precious stones," is the fact that the sing. אִתּוֹ, that is certainly to be taken distributively (comp. Ew. § 319, *a*), cannot possibly refer to the sums or quantities in vers. 6, 7. For the Gershonite Jehiel, comp. xxvi. 21 f., where the name is Jehieli.—Ver. 9. *Was exceedingly glad*, literally, "was glad with a great gladness;" comp. Zech. i. 14.

3. David's Thanksgiving: vers. 10-19.—*Blessed be Thou, Lord God of Israel our father*. Among the partriarchs, as whose well-tried tutelary God and heavenly fountain of blessing Jehovah had now again proved Himself to David (by the operation of so highly joyful an act of faith as the free-will offering of the princes of the people), Israel is here specially set forth, because his life most resembled that of David, especially in this, that the cry, "Lord, I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies," etc. (Gen. xxxii. 10), might and must for him also (see ver. 14) be the fundamental note of his prayer at the close of his fight of faith. At the end of his confession, where the expression is still more solemn, the address is more full: "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our fathers."—*For ever and ever;* comp. Ps. ciii. 17.—Ver. 11. *Thine, O Lord, is the greatness;* comp. Ps. cxlv. 8; and on "power" (here and ver. 12), Ps. xxi. 14; on "beauty" (here and ver. 13), Ps. xcvi. 6; on "lustre" (נֵצַח, less suitably rendered "victory" by Luther), 1 Sam. xv. 29; on "majesty" (הוֹד, by Luther, against the text: "thanks"), xvi. 27, Ps. xxi. 6. The whole doxology belongs to the apocalyptic in its main figures, as Rev. iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 12, etc.—*Thine, O Lord, is the kingdom, and Thou art exalted as head over all.* מַמְלָכָה, "kingdom, sovereignty," as Ps. xlvii. 8 f.; comp. Matt. vi. 13. מִתְנַשֵּׂא is not the participle, before which אַתָּה, "Thou art," should be supplied (Berth.), but an infinitive noun, "the being exalted;" comp. 2 Kings ii. 21; Ew. § 160, *e*. On "head over all," comp. κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα, Eph. i. 22.—Ver. 12. *And the riches and the glory;* the same connection, Prov. iii. 16; comp. also ver. 28; 2 Chron. xvii. 5; 1 Kings iii. 13.—Ver. 13. *And now, our God, we thank Thee*, properly, "now are we thanking and praising Thy name:" the participles express the constancy of the work; comp. xxiii. 5.—*Thy glorious name*, literally, "the name of Thy glory," as Luther here renders, while he has, ver. 3, put "holy house" for "house of holiness."—Ver. 14. *For* (literally, "and for;" וְכִי, as Judg. x. 10) *who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able?* עָצַר כֹּחַ, properly, "to hold or retain strength," then *valere*, be able; comp. 2 Chron. xiii. 20; Dan. x. 8, 16, xi. 6.—*In this way*, as our just completed collection of free-will offerings for the temple (vers. 3-8) has proved. On כָּזֹאת, comp. 2 Chron. xxxii. 15.—Ver. 15. *For we are strangers before Thee, and sojourners;* comp. Ps. xxxix. 13; Heb. xi. 13, xiii. 14. Even in this strong assertion of the vanity and uncertainty of earthly life (on *b*, comp. Job viii. 9; Ps. xc. 9 f., cii. 12; and Jer. xiv. 8), appears, as in the foregoing verse, which recalls Gen. xxxii. 10, an allusion to that which Jacob confessed at the end of his earthly career; comp. Gen. xlvii. 9.—Ver. 16. *All this store*. הָמוֹן, heap of money, wealth, as Eccl. v. 9. For the var. "it" (referring to "the heap") for "her," see Crit. Note.—Ver. 17. *In the integrity of my heart*. יֹשֶׁר לֵבָב, as Deut. ix. 5; comp. the foregoing מֵישָׁרִים, "uprightness," Ps. xvii. 2.—*Thy people who are present*, "have found themselves here." On הַ for אֲשֶׁר, comp. xxvi. 28 and ver. 8;

on finding oneself=being present, comp. xxviii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 11.—Ver. 18. *Keep this*, the spirit of willingness, which expresses itself in these gifts.—*Imagination of the thoughts*, as xxviii. 9.—*Stablish their heart* (or "prepare"), as 1 Sam. vii. 3.—Ver. 19. On *a*, comp. ver. 9; on *b* (הַבִּירָה), ver. 1.

4. Close of the public Assembly. Solomon's Elevation to the Throne: vers. 20-25.—*And all the congregation blessed;* בֵּרֵךְ with לְ, as ver. 13: הֹדָה, and הִלֵּל with לְ. *And they . . . bowed down to the Lord*, they did obeisance before God and the king as His earthly type and representative. For the combination of קדד and הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה, denoting now divine, now human, respect, comp. Gen. xxiv. 26, Ex. xii. 27, xxxiv. 8; 1 Kings i. 16, 31; and Ps. xcv. 6, etc.—Ver. 21. *And they killed sacrifices unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings.* The same phrases are united, only in inverse order, 1 Sam. vi. 15. זְבָחִים denotes here animal sacrifices in general, but in *b* it signifies, in contrast with the before-mentioned burnt-offerings, peace-offerings (שְׁלָמִים, Ex. xxiv. 5) in connection with the proper joyful feasts.—*On the morrow of that day:* comp. Lev. xxiii. 11; Jonah iv. 7.—Ver. 22. *And they ate and drank.* This describes the joyful feast, as xii. 39; 1 Kings iv. 20; Deut. xii. 7, xvi. 10.—*And the second time made . . . king.* שֵׁנִית, distinct from xxiii. 1, where a first solemn elevation (proclamation) of Solomon to be the successor of his father was reported, with which, however, the ceremony of anointing was not connected. To the present second elevation corresponds that reported 1 Kings i. 32 ff., as the mention there of Zadok as taking part in this solemn act of anointing shows.—*Anointed him unto the Lord* (according to the will of the Lord) *to be ruler*, לְנָגִיד; this is here for the sharper contrast with the following לְכֹהֵן; comp. moreover, xxviii. 4; 1 Kings i. 35.—*And Zadok to be priest.* With this notice, peculiar to the Chronist, began the degradation of the other high priest, Abiathar, of the line of Ithamar, as Solomon formally completed it after his father's death (1 Kings ii. 26 ff.), already in the lifetime of David: it was prepared by Zadok alone being anointed in the presence of the states along with the young king.—Ver. 23. And *Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king.* For the anticipatory nature of this notice, comp. on xxiii. 1: for "the throne of the Lord," on xxviii. 5.—*And he prospered: and all Israel obeyed him*, according to the hope of David expressed before, xxii. 13, regarding him. For שָׁמַע אֶל=obeyed, comp. Deut. xxxiv. 9.—Ver. 24. *Also all the sons of King David submitted to Solomon the king*, literally, "gave hand under" (comp. 2 Chron. xxx. 8; Lam. v. 6). We may observe the slight allusion to the soon suppressed attempt of Adonijah (1 Kings i. 5 ff.) which is contained in this statement, quite after the manner of the Chronist (see Principles of History and Ethics, No. 1).—Ver. 25. *Magnified . . . exceedingly:* comp. xxii. 5.—*And bestowed upon him the majesty of the kingdom.* נָתַן עַל, as Ps. viii. 2; הוֹד, as ver. 11.—*Which had not been on any king over Israel before him.* The construction is as partly in Eccl. i. 16, partly in 1 Kings iii. 12. The phrase is somewhat hyperbolical, as there were only two kings of Israel before him (Ish-bosheth our author is wont to ignore, as ver. 27 shows).

5. Close of the History of David: vers. 26-30.—*And the time that he reigned over all Israel*, inclusive of the seven years of his residence in Hebron (which is more exactly fixed, 2 Sam. v. 5, at seven and a half years).—Ver. 28. *In a good old age;* comp. Gen. xv. 15, xxv. 8.—*Full* ("satisfied"; comp. Job xlii. 17) *of days, riches, and glory.* For the combination עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד, see on ver. 12.—Ver. 29. *And the acts . . . first and last.* The author here indicates the simple order which he laid down for his now finished representation of the life of David; see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 2.—*Behold, they are written in*, properly "on"; comp. ix. 1. For the sources now named, see Introd. § 5, II.—Ver. 30. *With all his reign and his might;* גְּבוּרָתוֹ, here his "display of might," the power shown by him, his brave deeds; comp. 1 Kings xvi. 5.—*And the times that went over him*, the events that befell him. הָעִתִּים, as Job xxiv. 1; Ps. xxxi. 16.—*And over all the kingdoms of the countries*, with which David came into friendly or hostile contact, as Phœnicia, Philistia, Edom, Moab, etc. For the phrase, comp. 2 Chron. xii. 8, xvii. 10, xx. 29.

### EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS, APOLOGETIC AND HOMILETIC NOTES ON CH. X.-XXIX.

1. On the historical and practical point of view under which the Chronist regards the brief account of the downfall of Saul and his house, with which he opens his full description of the history of David, he explains himself very clearly in the two closing verses of ch. x. Saul's kingdom must, after a brief existence, make way for that of David, on the simple ground that it was not erected on the foundation of right faith in Jehovah the God of the covenant, and willing submission to Him; that its possessor had not once only, but constantly, cast to the winds that earnest warning voice of the prophet, "Obedience is better than sacrifice," 1 Sam. xv. 22, and neglected even in the last hour to return to such a course, which was alone pleasing to God. Comp. Bengel's appropriate note on those two verses (p. 16 of the "Beiträge zu J. A. Bengel's Schrifterklärung, aus handschriftl. Aufzeichnungen mitgetheilt von Dr. Osk. Wächter," Leipz. 1865): "It is worthy of remark that Saul is not expressly charged, when he died in his sin, with his long hate of David, but rather with the unbelief in which he kept not the word of God, and sought counsel at Endor. David indeed is out of the country a considerable time before Saul's death. . . . . Even at the last Saul might have obtained pardon, if he had earnestly returned to God, and entreated Him. But he lost all."—Comp. also Schlier, "König Saul" (*Bibel-*

*stunden*, Nördlingen 1867), towards the end, and the homiletic notes of Erdmann on 1 Sam. xxxi. (*Bibelwerk*, vi. 337).

2. That our author aimed at no exhaustive treatment of the history of David in its external and internal course—that he rather laboured as partly an excerptor, partly a supplementer, of earlier writers, and so wished to furnish something regarding the history of David contained in the present books of Samuel and Kings, similar in many respects to that which John the Evangelist did for the evangelical history presented by the synoptics,—this he himself indicates in the closing words just considered, when, xxix. 29, 30, he points for that which he may have omitted to the historical works of the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad as his chief sources. But even before he repeatedly indicates his acquaintance with essential elements of the history of David, which, according to his plan, he does not report. Thus, in the notice prefixed as preface or introduction, concerning the downfall of Saul and his house, where he certainly alludes to the incident of the necromancer of Endor, but does not report it (x. 13 f.), and xx. 5, where he names Goliath, but presumes the history of the slaughter by the youthful shepherd David as known; likewise xii. 1, where he mentions the times of the exile and proscription of David under Saul, without entering into the particulars at least of its well-known catastrophes and vicissitudes; xi. 1 and xii. 23, where he likewise points to the rival kingdom of Saul and Abner during the residence of David at Hebron; xx. 1, where the proceedings at Jerusalem during the siege of Rabbath Ammon by Joab are slightly indicated; xxvii. 23, 24, where, by the mention of Ahithophel and Hushai, a similar reference is made to the rebellion of Absalom; and xxix. 24, where the attempt of Adonijah is in like manner touched upon. The omitted parts are, as must have been often manifest, almost always of such a nature as would have served, if brought into the field, to disturb and in some points obscure the lustre of the picture, and throw many a shadow on the otherwise almost uniform light. It is the first growing and youthful but arduously soaring aloft, further, the suffering and persecuted David, not less the despised and derided by all bystanders far and near (but comp. xv. 29); lastly, the deeply guilty and penitent one, whose picture the Chronist avoids to draw, while all the more earnestly he collects all that appears fitted to represent the hero king in his greatness, and the activity of his reign as an uninterrupted chain of splendid theocratic events. To finish a picture that presents David in the meridian height of his glory and mighty achievements is the obvious aim of all that our author adds in the way of supplement on the ground of his sources to the life-picture of the great king as given in the books of Samuel. Such are the whole contents of ch. xii. (the brave men who stood by David even during the reign of Saul, and the number of the warriors out of all the tribes who made him king in Hebron); those of ch. xv. and xvi. (the full delineation of the preparatory, accompanying, and concluding solemnities in the introduction of the ark into its new abode on Zion); finally, those of the closing ch. xxii.–xxix., on the internal history of the kingdom and the preparations for the building of the temple, which coincide only in subordinate points with the much more summary parallel sections of Samuel and 1 Kings, but on the whole exhibit the peculiarity and special tendency of our author in full force, and in so far, notwithstanding their dry statistical character and tedious lists of names and numbers, are of special interest (comp. No. 2). The preference of our author for the exhibition of all the brilliant traits of the history of David, or, if you will, his panegyristic idealizing tendency and method, is shown also in the short remarks of a reflective kind at the close of the several sections, which almost always issue in the exhibition of some brilliant aspect of the reign of David, or of the state of the people and the theocracy under him; for example, passages such as these: "And David became greater and greater, and Jehovah Zebaoth was with him," xi. 9; "Day by day they came to David to help him, until the camp was great, like a camp of God," xii. 22; "His kingdom was lift up on high, because of His people Israel," xiv. 2; "And David's fame went out into all lands; and the Lord brought his fear upon all nations," xiv. 17; "And David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice for all his people," xviii. 14; "Is not the Lord your God with you, and hath He not given you rest on every side? For He hath given the inhabitants of the land into my hand, and the land is subdued before the Lord and His people," xxii. 18; "But David took not . . . because the Lord had promised to increase as the stars of heaven," xxvii. 23; "And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and glory," xxix. 28; "And the Lord magnified Solomon exceedingly in the eyes of all Israel, and bestowed on him the majesty of the kingdom, which had not been on any king over Israel before him," xxix. 25. And the enumerations and arrangements of the names of David's heroes, servants, spiritual and temporal officers (princes), counsellors, etc., subserve the same optimistic and idealizing tendency as presented by the author; and the ever-recurring preference in these enumerations for symbolic numbers, especially for three and thirty (see ch. xii.), seven (the supreme officers of the kingdom and the crown, xviii. 14 ff., and the counsellors of the king, xxvii. 32 ff.), and twelve or twenty-four, which latter numbers appear as the principle regulating the whole spiritual (Levitical-priestly) and temporal hierarchy of officers in the kingdom of David (see especially ch. xxiii.–xxvii.).

3. Next to the selection of material, the arrangement of it, the order followed in the history of David, is characteristic for the author's conception of this brilliant period of the history of salvation before the exile. This order, however, is, as the same closing remark, xxix. 29, to which we owe the above explanation of the choice of material by the author indicates, an extremely simple and elementary one. The author distinguishes "the first and last acts of David;" he divides his material between the two great heads of the earlier and later events of the reign of David (or of the entrance and exit of David). But among the first acts he does not understand David's youth, with his persecutions by Saul, etc. (so that the last acts would embrace the period of his reign, as in the present division of the books of Samuel, the second of which treats of his

reign), but the course of events till shortly before the end of his life, that is, until he took measures for the building of the temple, and the regular transference of the kingdom to his successor, which latter the author regards as the last acts. The point of division separating the last acts from the first is to be sought neither in ch. x. 13 f., for the narrative of the downfall of Saul closing with these verses is merely the preface or introduction to the acts of David; nor in xii. 40 or xiii. 1, for here, where the accounts of the elevation of David to the throne of all Israel, and the close of the seven years' reign at Hebron, come to an end, the author clearly intends no deeper section (against Kamph.). In truth, the transition from the first to the last acts takes place in xxii. 1, where, after representing the glorious external (military and political) course of the forty years' reign of the king, his provisions for transferring as well the sovereignty as the still unsolved problem of the building of the temple to his son Solomon begins to be described—where, accordingly, as it is said in the further course of the narrative, xxiii. 1: "David was old and full of days; and he made his son Solomon king over Israel" (comp. the remarks made, p. 142, on the generalizing import of those words). It is a peculiar trait of the Chronist, distinguishing in a characteristic way his view and method of history from that of the author of the books of Samuel, that he draws a sharp line between the evening of David's life as his ἔσχατα, and the mid-day as his πρῶτα (or between the completion and continuance of his reign), and weaves into the representation of the evening of his life a full retrospect of the whole internal aspect of the royal household under David. The picture thus drawn of the Levitical and priestly, and of the military and civil, government and official hierarchy of the king (xxiii.-xxvii.), forms, together with its frame of reports concerning the collections and preparations of David, and the chiefs of the people for the temple to be built by Solomon (xxii. and xxviii., xxix.), as it were, the legacy of David to his son, the testament of one glorious king to his no less glorious (according to the peculiar Levitical and hierarchical conception of our author indeed, xxix. 25, still more glorious) heir and successor. It is on account of Solomon, the temple-builder, that the author dwells so long on this legacy of his father preparing and stipulating for the building, and that this part of his work rises to the importance of a second half of the history of his father, to an episode in the life of David, comparable with the so-called report of travels by Luke in the third Gospel, or the farewell addresses of our Lord in John xiii.-xvi., bearing in a still higher degree the character of a retrospect and legacy. Beside this very minute representation of the close of David's life, that under the hands of our author, notwithstanding its comparatively brief duration, has assumed the form of an autumn almost equal in length with the preceding summer of life, the spring with its vicissitude of clear sunshine and rough storm is quite cast into the shade; it appears, indeed, by the merely occasional allusions to its incidents which are contained in ch. x.-xii., intentionally reduced to a vanishing point in the development of the whole. Yet, in the section relating to the catastrophe of Saul, ch. x., the author has furnished an independent preface or introduction to the chief object of his representation, and so has given to the whole a threefold arrangement, in which, however, by far the greatest importance belongs extensively and intensively to the second and third parts.

4. The statement of the Chronist has suffered nothing in credibility by this peculiar arrangement and distribution, especially by his dwelling so long on the preparations for building the temple, and the measures taken for transferring the kingdom to Solomon, which are so briefly handled in the introduction to the books of Kings. The solid walls of the old sources appear through the cover corresponding to his individual view and bent, which he has imparted to the building he has erected. This holds as well of the sections on the external government, peculiar to his statement, as of the closing accounts of the king setting his house in order and handing it over to his successor.[1] It appears particularly fitted to awaken confidence in his statement, that no special preference for the wonderful is to be remarked in the sections peculiar to him; that, in fact, some of these sections—for example, xii., xxiii. ff., and xxvii. ff.—report only that which corresponds to the occurrences of every-day life, which might arise in the profane history of any kingdom or people. And even there, where his statement runs parallel with that of the older historical books, scarcely anywhere does any stronger preference appear for the wonderful or extraordinary than in those documents, except, perhaps, his account of the census and the plague, which has certainly a trace of the miraculous more than the older parallel text (xxi. 26). At the most, the suspicion of unhistorical exaggeration might rest on some of the surprisingly high numbers, as they appear in the present text, xii. 23-40, xxii., and xxix. 4 ff., unless partly the obvious possibility of occasional corruption, partly the almost inevitable necessity of the assumption that smaller values than those usually assumed are to be admitted, served very much to diminish the ground which these passages present for critical assaults. Comp. that which is remarked on them in detail (xii. 23 ff., p. 106 f., and xxii. 14, p. 137 f.), and see, moreover, the Apologetic Remarks on ch. xv. 16, p. 119 ff.

5. Homiletic hints for the history of David in rich selection are to be found in Erdmann's elaboration of the books of Samuel (vol. vi. of the

[1] Comp., with regard to the credibility of the statement concerning David's last directions to Solomon, especially the giving of the instructions for the building of the temple, the remark of Bertheau on xxviii. 11-19: "The whole section thus shows that David not only made preparations for building the temple by providing materials, but also gave definite orders for the execution of the work and the making of the vessels to Solomon, and that he proceeded, not according to his own invention and design, but was directed by divine revelation. . . . In the books of Kings, nothing of this occurs; but if we must gather from the accounts of Chronicles, that David not only thought of the temple, but made preparations for it, which could not have consisted in an uncertain collection of materials, we shall not be able to avoid assuming that a communication was made according to which, even in David's time, the plan of the temple was fixed. To execute the building itself was not permitted to David; but he had completed the preparations so far, that Solomon in the fourth year of his reign was able to proceed with the building, and to finish it in the eleventh (1 Kings vi.). The report of David's preparation, which extended to the fixing of the plan for the building, is the historical foundation for the statement in our verses, in which the free handling of the historical material, according to modern views, is as obvious as in the remaining sections of the last two chapters of the first book of Chronicles."

*Bibelw.*). With respect to the sections peculiar to the Chronist, a small gleaning may here be presented of some noteworthy practical hints from older expositors:—

On ch. xii. 38–40, Starke, after Burmann, remarks: "What is here said of David is a fine figure (type) of the Messiah. . . . He also at first had only a small following; but after He came to His glory, the kingdom of God burst forth mightily, and subjects to Him were collected in all the world. . . . To David come even those of the tribe of Benjamin, the brethren of Saul, the bitter enemy of David; so had Christ disciples from the Jews, even from the Pharisees, His deadly foes; and as we by nature are all His foes, He yet converts us to His love and to faith in Him. . . . At David's anointing was great joy; on all sides was provided store of eating and drinking; even so believers rejoiced at and after Christ's ascension, and because they had all things common." On ch. xvi. 27, comp. the remark (suitable also to the contents of xxiii.-xxvi.) of Bengel, p. 17: "This is so fine in David; he has gone as nigh to the Levites as it was possible for him to do, as if he were one of them; and yet he has invaded no right. How finely devotion and valour are combined! Something quite peculiar has taken place in David's heart." On xxix. 30 he remarks: "How earnest is the dear David become in his old age! How he has come as nigh as possible to the building of the temple!"

## 2. SOLOMON.—2 Chron. i.-ix.

### a. His Solemn Sacrifice at Gibeon, and his Riches.—Ch. i.

#### α. *The Sacrifice at Gibeon, and the Dream of Solomon:* vers. 1–13.

Ch. i. 1. And Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and
2 the Lord his God was with him, and magnified him exceedingly. And
Solomon said unto all Israel, to the captains of thousands, and of hundreds,
and to the judges, and to every ruler in all Israel, the chiefs of houses.
3 And Solomon, and all the congregation with him, went to the high place that
was at Gibeon; for there was the tent of meeting of God, which Moses the
4 servant of God had made in the wilderness. But the ark of God had David
brought up from Kiriath-jearim to the place which David had prepared for
5 it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Jerusalem. And the brazen altar, that
Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, was there[1] before the
tabernacle of the Lord; and Solomon and the congregation sought him.
6 And Solomon offered there before the Lord, on the brazen altar which
belonged to the tent of meeting; and he offered upon it a thousand burnt-offerings.
7 In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said unto him, Ask
8 what I shall give thee. And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast showed
great mercy unto David my father, and hast made me king in his stead.
9 Now, O Lord God, Thy word unto David my father must be true; for Thou
10 hast made me king over a people numerous as the dust of the earth. Give
me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and in before this people;
11 for who can judge this Thy great people. And God said unto Solomon,
Because this was in thy heart, and thou hast not asked riches, treasures, and
glory, nor the life of thine enemies, neither hast thou asked long life; but
hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my
12 people, over whom I have made thee king. Wisdom and knowledge are
given unto thee, and riches and treasures and glory will I give thee, such as
none of the kings that were before thee have had, and none after thee shall
13 have the like. And Solomon came from[2] the high place that was at Gibeon
to Jerusalem, from before the tent of meeting; and he reigned over Israel.[3]

#### β. *Solomon's Power and Wealth:* vers. 14–17.

14 And Solomon gathered chariots and riders: and he had a thousand and
four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand riders; and he placed them in
15 the chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem. And the king made silver
and gold in Jerusalem as stones; and cedars he made as the sycamores that
16 are in the Shephelah for abundance. And the export of horses for Solomon
was out of Egypt; and the company of the king's merchants fetched a troop

17 for a certain price. And they brought up, and took out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred silver shekels, and a horse for a hundred and fifty: and they brought them out for all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Syria.

[1] So according to the reading שָׁם, which is attested by the Sept., Vulg., some mss., and most prints, while for the almost unmeaning שָׂם (*posuit*, he had set) the majority of mss. and the Chald. and the Syr. testify.

[2] The Sept., Vulg., Luther, etc., correctly: מֵהַבָּמָה; the לַבָּמָה of the Masoretes, yielding no tolerable sense, appears to have crept into the text by looking back at ver. 3.

[3] The Peschito has "over all Israel;" comp. 1 Kings iv. 1.

### EXEGETICAL.

1. Preliminary Remark, and elucidation of ver. 1.—The accounts contained in the foregoing two small sections, to which 1 Kings iii. 4–15 and x. 26–29 are parallel, serve to introduce the report of the building and dedication of the temple, which occupy far the greatest space in the representation given by our author of the history of Solomon (i. 18–vii.). As general superscription is prefixed ver. 1: "And Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom," properly, "on," or "with, his kingdom," עַל־מַלְכוּתוֹ; comp. וַיִּתְחַזֵּק עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, xvii. 1, and xii. 13, xiii. 21, xxi. 4, which parallels likewise show that הִתְחַזֵּק, "be strengthened," does not refer to pretenders to the crown, by setting aside of whom confirmation follows; and hence there is here no concealed allusion to Adonijah (1 Kings ii.).—*And the Lord his God was with him* (comp. 1 Chron. xi. 9), *and magnified him exceedingly*; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 25, xxii. 5.

2. The Sacrifice at Gibeon: vers. 2–6; comp. 1 Kings iii. 4.—*And Solomon said unto all Israel, to the captains*, etc. This addition of the chiefs of the people and representatives of the kingdom at the sacrifice is not mentioned in the book of Kings; but the matter is understood of itself (comp. the similar cases in the history of David, 1 Chron. xiii. 1 f., xxiii. 2, xxviii. 1).—*The chiefs of houses.* Before רָאשֵׁי, לְ is to be supplied, as the whole phrase is an explanatory apposition to לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל.—Ver. 4. *For there was the tent of meeting of God.* Comp. on 1 Chron. v. 30 ff., xvi. 39 f.—Ver. 4. *But the ark of God had David*, etc.; comp. 1 Chron. xiii. and xv. For the elliptical construction בַּהֵכִין, to (the place) which he prepared for it, where the article in בַּ supplies the place of the relative אֲשֶׁר, comp. 1 Chron. xv. 12, xxvi. 28; also Judg. v. 27; Ruth i. 5.—Ver. 5. *And the brazen altar . . . was there before the tabernacle of the Lord*, that is, the Gibeonite sanctuary was still the legal, as it were the official and historically rightful place for burnt-offerings: comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 29 f., where, on the occasion of the choice of the floor of Ornan on Moriah for a place of burnt-offering, it is shown why David could not go to Gibeon to offer there. On Bezaleel's construction of the brazen (copper) altar of burnt-offering, see Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxvii. 1. On the reading שָׁם, as undoubtedly to be preferred to the Masoretic שָׂם (which arose from an unwarranted reference to Ex. xl. 29), see Crit. Note.—*And Solomon and the congregation sought him*, the Lord, not the altar; comp. דָּרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים, 1 Chron. xxi. 30; 2 Chron. xv. 2. Yet, for the reference of the verb to the altar, may be quoted (Luther: "was wont to seek it"), at all events, Amos v. 5; comp. also 1 Chron. xxi. 28.—Ver. 6. *There before the Lord, on the brazen altar which was at the tent of meeting.* In the Heb., לִפְנֵי יְהוָה stands before the relative sentence אֲשֶׁר לְאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. Because the altar of burnt-offering had its place before the tabernacle (Ex. xl. 6), it is designated as belonging to it; comp. 1 Kings vi. 22.

3. God's Revelation to Solomon: vers. 7–13: comp. 1 Kings iii. 5–15.—*In that night*, that followed the offering. That the manifestation of God to Solomon was effected by a nocturnal vision, seems at least to be indicated here, but is expressly stated in 1 Kings iii. 5, 15.—Ver. 8. *Thou hast showed great mercy unto David my father.* The fuller speech of Solomon in 1 Kings iii. 6–10 appears here (vers. 8–10) much abbreviated.—Ver. 9. *Thy word . . . must be true*, properly, "must be established"; comp. 1 Chron. xvii. 23; 2 Chron. vi. 17; 1 Kings viii. 26.—Ver. 10. *Give me now wisdom and knowledge.* מַדָּע (here with Pattach in the second syllable; elsewhere מַדָּע; also vers. 11, 12) denotes knowledge, insight, and is found, besides the present passage, only in Dan. i. 4, 17 and Eccl. x. 20.—*That I may go out and in before this people*, "may know all that belongs thereto, may worthily govern and defend them" (Starke); the phrase, reminding us of Deut. xxxi. 2, 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 16, 1 Kings iii. 7, denotes the unchecked public activity of the king toward his people.—Ver. 11. *Because this was in thy heart*; comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 7.—*Riches, treasures, and glory.* The same combination appears in Eccl. vi. 2; נְכָסִים, treasures, also in Eccl. v. 18 (with עֹשֶׁר) and Josh. xxii. 8.—Ver. 12. *Wisdom . . . given to thee.* The construction נָתוּן לָךְ, as in Esth. iii. 11 (1 Kings iii. 12, הִנֵּה, with the perf. נָתַתִּי). In the following words, the Lord promises to Solomon riches, treasures, and glory indeed, but not long life, as in 1 Kings iii. 14. Whether this omission is intentional (because Solomon, on account of his subsequent fall, did not attain to old age) appears doubtful in the condensing manner of our author, which shows itself even in this promise of the Lord. On the ethical-eudæmonistic sentence

contained in vers. 11, 12 may be compared the word of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount: "Seek ye first," etc., Matt. v. 32.—Ver. 13. *And Solomon came from the high place.* On the correctness of this reading (מהבמה), see Crit. Note. The following addition: "from the tent of meeting," which appears superfluous after "from the high place," points again to the Gibeonite place of offering, and to the legal validity of the offerings presented there. Of the burnt and peace offerings, with the sacrificial feast, 1 Kings iii. 15, on the return of Solomon to Jerusalem before the ark, our author makes no mention, not because in his view the offering presented at the brazen altar in Gibeon only had legal validity (as Thenius thinks, in defiance of the express statements of our author, 1 Chron. xxi. 18, 26 ff.), but simply because these offerings, as well as the history there following (1 Kings iii. 26–28) of the strife between the two women, and its settlement by the wise judgment of Solomon, appeared to be of no special importance for his plan (chiefly regarding the brilliant, glorious, and magnificent features of Solomon's administration).—*And he reigned over Israel.* These closing words of our verse are introductory to what follows, and would stand more suitably at the head of the following section, vers. 14–17, as they are found, 1 Kings iv. 1, in this more suitable position, and are there enlarged by the addition of כל before ישראל, which the Syr. exhibits here (see Crit. Note).

4. Solomon's Power and Wealth: vers. 14–17.—This short account of that which Solomon had in chariots, riders, and treasures, the Chronist presents as proof of the instant fulfilment of the promise of God to him in this passage, while in 1 Kings x. 26–29 it is found near the close of the reign of Solomon (parallel to the fuller account of a similar nature in 2 Chron. ix. 13 ff.). That accordingly that which is here recorded by our author is adduced a second time, the first time partly abbreviated, partly completed by additions (see ix. 25–28), Thenius (on 1 Kings x. 26 ff.) explains by the assumption of a second occurrence of the section in his sources, and an inadvertent admission of both accounts, the identity of which was discovered too late. More correctly, Berth., Keil, etc., explain that the Chronist used his sources in a free and independent way, and accordingly of purpose admitted the partial repetition of the present account in ch. ix. 25 ff.—*And he placed them in the chariot cities.* Instead of ויניחם, "laid them" (so also ix. 25) stands in 1 Kings x. 26 less definitely: וינחם, "and he brought them"; with regard to the number of the chariots (1400) and riders (12,000), the two texts agree. The "chariot cities" are cities in which the chariots and riders were stationed. They probably lay, partly near rich pasture grounds, partly in the neighbourhood of Egypt, principally in the south of the country; and the conjecture that the Simeonite towns Beth-marchaboth and Hazar-susim (1 Chron. iv. 31) belonged to them (Then., Berth., Kamph.) is on this account the more probable.—Ver. 15. *And the king made silver and gold in Jerusalem as stones.* That the words "and gold" (ואת־הזהב), which are wanting in the parallels ix. 27 and 1 Kings x. 27, are to be erased, with the Pesch., in our passage also is very improbable; and the Sept. and Vulg. testify for their genuineness in this place. For *b*, comp. on 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.—Ver. 16. *And the export of horses for Solomon,* properly, "which belonged to Solomon."—*The company of the king's merchants fetched a troop for a certain price.* Even so 1 Kings x. 28, only that for the מקוה there מקוא is here twice written. For the correct understanding of the passage, see Bähr, *Bibelw.* vol. vii. p. 103.—Ver. 17. *And they brought up, and took out of Egypt;* 1 Kings x. 29: "and there was fetched and brought out" (ותעלה ותצא instead of our ויעלו ויוציאו), otherwise literally as our passage, except that, perhaps by a corruption of the text, the ל here wanting before מלכי ארם is rightly supplied. For the exposition, see also Bähr as above.

## *b.* The Building and the Dedication of the Temple.—Ch. i. 18–vii.

### *a. Treaty with the Phœnician King, and Preparations for Building:* ch. i. 18–ii.

CH. I. 18. And Solomon determined to build a house for the name of the LORD, and
1 a house for his kingdom. CH. II. And Solomon told out seventy thousand
men to bear burdens, and eighty thousand to hew in the mountain, and three
thousand and six hundred to oversee them.
2 And Solomon sent to Huram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst
with David my father, and sentest him cedars to build him a house to dwell
3 in, so do also with me. Behold, I build a house to the name of the LORD my
God, to dedicate it to Him, to offer sweet incense before Him, and the shew-
bread continually, and the burnt-offerings for the morning and the evening,
on the Sabbaths and the new moons, and the feasts of the LORD our God:
4 for ever this is ordained for Israel. And the house which I build is great;
5 for our God is greater than all gods. But who is able to build Him a house?
For the heaven, and heaven of heavens, cannot contain Him; and who am I,
6 that I should build Him a house, but to offer incense before Him? And
now send me a wise man to work in gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, and

in purple, and crimson, and blue, and who knoweth to make graven work
with the wise men that are with me in Judah and Jerusalem, whom David
7 my father appointed. And send me cedar-trees, cypresses, and sandal-wood
out of Lebanon; for I know that thy servants can cut timber in Lebanon;
8 and, behold, my servants shall be with thy servants. And shall prepare me
wood in abundance; for the house which I build is to be great and wonderful.
9 And, behold, for the hewers, who fell the trees, I give of wheat as food[1] for
thy servants, twenty thousand cors, and of barley twenty thousand cors, and
of wine twenty thousand baths, and of oil twenty thousand baths.
10 And Huram king of Tyre answered in a letter, and sent to Solomon:
Because the LORD loveth His people, He hath set thee over them as king.
11 And Huram said, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, that made heaven and
earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with prudence and
understanding, that may build a house for the LORD, and a house for his king-
12, 13 dom. And now I send a wise man of understanding, Huram my father, son
of a woman of the daughters of Dan; and his father was a Tyrian, who can
work in gold, and silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and wood, in purple, blue,
and byssus, and crimson, and can do all graving, and devise every device that
is given to him with thy wise men, and the wise men of my lord David thy
14 father. And now the wheat and the barley, the oil and the wine, which
15 my lord spake of, let him send his servants. And we shall fell timber out of
Lebanon according to all thy need, and bring it to thee in floats to the sea of
Joppa, and thou shalt take it up to Jerusalem.
16 And Solomon counted all the men that were strangers in the land of
Israel, after the number which David his father had counted, and they were
found to be a hundred and fifty thousand, and three thousand and six
17 hundred. And he made seventy thousand of them bearers of burdens, and
eighty thousand hewers in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred
overseers to keep the people at work.

[1] So according to the probable correct reading מַכֹּלֶת (=מַאֲכֹלֶת), as the parallel 1 Kings v. 25 exhibits it for the unmeaning מַכּוֹת ("wheat of beating," "beaten-out wheat"?).

EXEGETICAL.

1. Transition from the Foregoing to the Report of the building of the Temple: ch. i. 18–ii. 1.—*And Solomon determined to build.* So according to the Vulg., Luther, and most of the ancients, while some moderns, as Berth., Kamph., take אמר, with allusion to ch. i. 2, 1 Chron. xxi. 17, in the sense of "command." The context, especially the circumstance that instead of the execution of the building itself only preparations for it follow, favours the older view.—*A house for the name of the Lord* (comp. 1 Kings v. 17), *and a house for his kingdom*, that is, a royal palace for himself, the building of which is not more particularly described (as 1 Kings vii. 1–12), but which is mentioned several times, as ch. ii. 11, vii. 11, viii. 1.—Ch. ii. 1. *And Solomon told out seventy thousand*, etc. This statement, recurring, vers. 16, 17, in another connection, and in a fuller and more definite form, concerning the 70,000 + 80,000 + 3600, in all 153,600, workmen to whom Solomon committed the labours preliminary to the building of the temple, stands here in briefer form, to indicate beforehand the magnitude of the measures undertaken by the king.

2. Solomon's Embassy to Huram of Tyre: vers. 2–9; comp. 1 Kings v. 15–26, which account, agreeing with the present in all essential respects, partly indeed to the letter, is opened with a notice of an embassy sent first by Huram to Solomon (to congratulate him on his accession to the throne), which our author has omitted as not sufficiently important.—*And Solomon sent to Huram king of Tyre.* On the three forms of the name, Huram (Chron.), Hiram (1 Kings v. 15), and Hirom (1 Kings v. 24, 32, vii. 40), of which the last (in Menander in *Joseph. c. Ap.* i. 18, 21: Εἴρωμος; in Herod and Syncell.: Σίρωμος) appears to be the most original, comp. Bähr on 1 Kings v. 15, where, with justice, the doubts of Clericus, Thenius, Ew., Berth., etc., regarding the identity of the present Huram with the like-named contemporary and friend of David, are set aside. Hitzig (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* p. 10; comp. p. 155) gives as the probable time of the reign of Huram or Hirom, 1031–1000 B.C. (?).—*As thou didst with David my father, and sentest him cedars;* comp. 1 Chron. xiv. 1. The consequent to this antecedent is wanting; according to ver. 6 f., it must run thus: "So do also to me, and send me cedars." This construction is like that elsewhere after asseverations and oaths; comp. also Ps. lvi. 7*b* (Ew. §§ 355, 356). Moreover, in the parallel account 1 Kings v. 16 ff., Solomon does not expressly remind Hiram of the aid which he had already given to his father David, but only of this, that David had been prevented by his wars from executing the project of building the

temple. Hence it is clear, from the various differences between the present and the previous form of the letter of Solomon, that it is not an authentic original document that is here given, but the result of free handling of the fundamental thoughts of older sources by the one as well as the other writer. — Ver. 3. *Behold, I build*, literally, "Behold me building," future of state; see Ew. § 306, *d.—To offer sweet incense before Him*, literally, "to perfume," לְהַקְטִיר, with which infinitive (defining the foregoing לְהַקְדִּישׁ more exactly) are zeugmatically connected the other objects named, "shew-bread" and "burnt-offering." For the "sweet incense" and its burning every morning and evening on the altar of incense, comp. Ex. xxv. 6, xxx. 7 f.; for the continual laying of shew-bread (מַעֲרֶכֶת תָּמִיד), Ex. xxv. 30; for the burnt-offering to be made every morning and evening, and on Sabbaths, new moons, and feast days, Num. xxviii. 29 and 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.—*For ever this is ordained for Israel;* comp. the passage already cited, 1 Chron. xxiii. 31, and the לְחֻקַּת עוֹלָם often occurring in the law, for example, Num. xix. 10.—On ver. 4, comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 1, and Ex. xviii. 11, Deut. x. 17.—Ver. 5. *But who is able*, literally, "who will show power;" comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 14. On the following asseveration: "the heaven, and heaven of heavens, cannot contain Him," comp. Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple, ch. vi. 18; 1 Kings viii. 27. Obviously we have here a favourite saying of Solomon the theologian and philosopher: that our author has here, of his own will, put this formula in his mouth is improbable.—*And who am I, that I should build Him a house, but to offer*, etc.; that is, not a house for dwelling in, but only for sacrifice and worship (the incense, as symbol of prayer, is here mentioned instead of all offerings), may we build for Jehovah.—Ver. 6. *And now send me a wise man* (skilful, see ver. 12; 1 Chron. xxii. 15; Ex. xxxi. 6) *to work in gold*. That, besides the works in brass and other metals, as they were actually executed by the craftsmen here mentioned, according to ch. iv. 11–16 and 1 Kings vii. 13 ff., skill also in weaving purple, hewing stone, and carving wood is ascribed to them, need not seem strange in Solomon's letter. But it seems surprising that, ver. 13, King Huram also in his reply makes him exercise all these crafts. Yet ancient history knows several instances of universal genius in art; comp. Dædalus, and one Tutilo in St. Gall of the Christian times. On purple (אַרְגְּוָן, later form of אַרְגְּמָן), comp. Ex. xxv. 4; Dan. v. 7; on crimson (כַּרְמִיל only here, ver. 13, and iii. 14, probably an old Persic word), the תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי elsewhere used to denote this fabric; on blue or violet (תְּכֵלֶת), Ex. xxv. 4.—*And who knoweth to make graven work*, literally, "to grave gravings," here of every kind of sculpture in metal or wood (comp. כָּל־פִּתּוּחַ, ver. 13; also 1 Kings vi. 29); elsewhere, specially of graving precious stones, Ex. xxviii. 9, 11, 36, xxxix. 6; Zech. iii. 9.—*With the wise men*, etc.; comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 15, xxviii. 21. In construction, עִם־הַחֲכָמִים goes wit לַעֲשׂוֹת, "to work."—Ver. 7. *And send me . . . sandal-wood out of Lebanon*. If the algum-wood (עֲצֵי־אַלְגּוּמִּים) here named along with cedars and cypresses be actually sandal-wood, which, in the obvious identity of its name with אַלְמֻגִּים, 1 Kings x. 11, can scarcely be doubted, our author, in allowing it to come from Lebanon, involves Solomon in an inaccuracy (at least in expression); for, according to his own later statement (ch. ix. 10; 1 Chron. x. 11), algums belonged rather to the products of Ophir.—Ver. 8. *Prepare me wood in abundance;* the infin. וּלְהָכִין is the continuation of the imperat. שְׁלַח לִי, ver. 7; Keil's attempt to subordinate it to the previous clause is too artificial: "to prepare for me wood in abundance." On *b*, comp. ver. 4.—Ver. 9. *And, behold, for the hewers, who fell the trees*. לַחֹטְבִים (with introductory לְ) is more exactly defined by the added לְכֹרְתֵי הָעֵצִים, and for this reason, that חטב (= the afterwards more usual חצב; comp. vers. 1, 17) appears to our author to need interpretation; comp. besides, for חטב, Deut. xxix. 10; Josh. ix. 21, 23, 27.—*I give wheat as food for thy servants*. For מַכֹּלֶת instead of the defective מַכּוֹת, see Crit. Note.—*Twenty thousand cors*. In this enumeration of the provisions in grain, wine, and oil offered by Solomon, our report seems to be more detailed than the parallel 1 Kings v. 25, which reports only 20,000 cors of wheat for the household of king Hiram, and twenty cors of the finest (beaten) oil for the same, as given by Solomon. But, in truth, the two passages speak of quite different supplies: there of a yearly contribution, which Solomon paid to the Tyrian king during the building at Tyre, but here of the provisions which he sent to the woodcutters placed at his disposal by Huram in Lebanon (so correctly Keil and Bähr on 1 Kings v. 25; otherwise Thenius, Bertheau, etc., who here find statements that are partly contradictory).

3. Huram's Answer: vers. 10–15; comp. 1 Kings v. 21–25.—*Because the Lord loveth His people*, etc. Instead of this compliment (comp. ch. ix. 8; 1 Kings x. 9), in the parallel text 1 Kings v. 22, Hiram begins his letter immediately with the declaration: "I have heard the things thou sentest to me for." On the contrary, an expression of joy concerning Solomon's message as orally given by Hiram precedes the composing and sending of the reply.—Ver. 11. *And Huram said*, namely, as in the foregoing verse; בִּכְתָב, "in writing."—*Blessed be the Lord . . . that made heaven and earth*. Are we to see in this doxology of the Phœnician king, readily following into Solomon's religious thought and phrase (which rises above that in 1 Kings v. 21), the product of a half-poetic fiction, after the manner of a writer after the exile (as Dan. ii. 28, iii. 29 ff., iv. 31 ff.)? It is perhaps more natural to take into

account here partly the courtesies in expression, which friendly sovereigns might and must use, partly the community of speech, and even of religious tradition, which existed between the Phœnicians and Hebrews.—*A wise son endowed with prudence and understanding;* comp. 1 Chron. xii. 32, xxii. 12.—Ver. 12. *Huram my father.* The introductory לְ before the accusative, as ch. v. 26. Luther takes אָבִי for an element of the proper name of the craftsman, who was called Huram-abi (or, ch. iv. 16, Huram-abiv). Most of the ancients as well as moderns take it here, as in ch. iv. 16, as a tropical appellative or name of honour = master, by comparison with Gen. xlv. 8. —Ver. 13. *The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan,* that is, perhaps the city Dan in the tribe of Naphtali; see 1 Kings vii. 14 and the expositors on this passage, especially Thenius and Bähr, whereas certainly Keil (with Berth., Kamph., etc.) defends the more difficult and artificial assumption, that the mother of this craftsman belonged by birth to the tribe of Dan, but by her first husband to that of Naphtali.—*Who can work in gold,* etc. The Phœnician king enhances the praise of his craftsman by recounting a still greater number of crafts than those mentioned by Solomon, ver. 6. Hence the mention of stone and wood (after brass and iron), of byssus (בּוּץ, as 1 Chron. xv. 27), and of "devising every device that is given to him." Comp. for the last phrase, the remarks made, Ex. xxxi. 4, xxxv. 33, on Bezaleel.—On ver. 14, comp. ver. 9; the there expressed offer by Solomon of food for his people Huram expressly accepts.—Ver. 15. *According to all thy need.* צֹרֶךְ, "need," only here in the Old Test. (in Aram. very common); likewise the following רַפְסֹדוֹת, "floats," for which, 1 Kings v. 23, דֹּבְרוֹת.—*To the sea of Joppa,* the sea at Joppa, the port of Jerusalem. Also, with respect to this reply of Huram, and its relation to the often-deviating parallel text 1 Kings v. 21 ff., the above remark (ver. 2) on the two texts of the letter of Solomon applies. Neither text is wholly independent of the other, and neither coincides exactly with a presumed original. Both exhibit certainly a freely imitating or rather extracting (partly also interpolating; see especially the additions made by our author, ver. 13) treatment of the original text; as also Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 2. 6 f., in his rendering of the pieces, generally agrees with 1 Kings v., but allows himself many peculiar forms of its language. The statements of this historian, that the ἀντίγραφα of the two letters were extant both in the Old Testament and in the public archives of Tyre (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 8), must therefore be received *cum grano salis,* and must refer not so much to the form as to the substance of the documents. Eupolemus, in Euseb. *Præp. evang.* ix. 33, 34, has copied still more freely than Josephus the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram.

4. Expanded Repetition of the Number of Workmen stated in ver. 1: vers. 16, 17.—*And Solomon counted all the men that were strangers in the land of Israel,* all the serfs of Canaanitish descent under the people of Israel; comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 2, to which place there is here express reference (by the following words: "after the number [סְפָר, 'muster,' only here in O. T.] which David his father had counted"). —Ver. 17. The eighty thousand "hewers" (חֹצֵב) in the mountain are chiefly to be regarded as hewers of stone (comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 2), but partly as fellers of timber.—*And three thousand and six hundred overseers* (מְנַצְּחִים; comp. Ezra iii. 8, 9), *to keep the people at work,* "to make them work"; comp. Ex. vi. 5. With the present statements of the number of workmen levied by Solomon agree those contained in 1 Kings v. 27-30, with two points of difference: —1. Of the 30,000 socagers levied out of Israel itself, there first named, that were to cut timbers successively in three parties of 10,000 each, our text says nothing, as the enumeration of our author is perhaps confined intentionally to the גֵּרִים, perhaps, however, through a mistake in quite overlooking the statement in question; 2. instead of 3600 overseers, the author of 1 Kings v. 30 names only 3300; perhaps he had only in view those of lower rank, and not the higher, who, according to 1 Kings ix. 23, amounted in all to 550, namely, 250 Israelites (2 Chron. viii. 10) and 300 strangers. As the Chronist mentions here only the strangers, he enumerates only these 3000 non-Israelite upper overseers, and thus arrives at the total of 3600 מְנַצְּחִים. He was aware also of the existence of 250 Israelite upper overseers, as is clear from ch. viii. 40 of our book.

*β. The Building of the Temple, and Making of the Holy Vessels:* ch. iii. 1–v. 1.

Ch. III. 1. And Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem on
mount Moriah, which was shown to his father David, and which he had pre-
2 pared in the place of David, in the floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And he
began to build in the second month, on the second[1] day in the fourth year of
his reign.
3 And this is the foundation of Solomon, to build the house of God: the
length after the former measure was sixty cubits, and the breadth twenty
4 cubits. And the porch that was before the length, before the breadth of the
house, was twenty cubits, and the height a hundred and twenty[2]; and he
5 overlaid it within with pure gold. And the great house he lined with cypress,
6 and overlaid it with fine gold, and made thereon palms and garlands. And
he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was

7 gold of Parvaim. And he overlaid the house, the beams, the sills, and its
walls and its doors, with gold, and graved cherubim on the walls.
8 And he made the house of the most holy, that its length before the
breadth of the house was twenty cubits, and its width twenty cubits; and
9 overlaid it with fine gold, to six hundred talents. And the weight of the
nails was fifty shekels of gold: and he overlaid the upper rooms with gold.
10 And he made in the house of the most holy two cherubim of sculptured
11 work, and overlaid them with gold. And the wings of the cherubim were
twenty cubits long; the wing of the one was five cubits, touching the wall of
the house, and the other wing five cubits, touching the wing of the other
12 cherub. And the wing of the other cherub was five cubits, touching the wall
of the house, and the other wing five cubits, joining the wing of the first
13 cherub. The wings of these cherubim spread forth twenty cubits; and they
stood on their feet, and their faces to the house.
14 And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and crimson, and byssus, and
raised cherubim thereon.
15 And he made before the house two pillars of thirty and five[3] cubits height;
16 and the capital that was on the top was five cubits. And he made chains in
the ring,[4] and put them on the pillars; and he made a hundred pomegranates,
17 and put them on the chains. And he set up the pillars before the temple,
one on the right and one on the left; and he called the name of the right
pillar Jachin, and the name of the left Boaz.
CH. IV. 1. And he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits its length, and twenty
2 cubits its breadth, and twenty cubits its height. And he made the sea
molten; ten cubits from brim to brim, round about, and five cubits its height;
3 and a line of thirty cubits compassed it about. And figures of oxen[5] were
under it, compassing it round about; ten in a cubit, encircling the sea around:
4 two rows the oxen formed, cast out of its mass. It stood upon twelve oxen,
three looking northward, and three looking westward, and three looking
southward, and three looking eastward; and the sea was set on them above,
5 and all their hinder parts were inwards. And its thickness was a hand-
breadth, and its brim was wrought like the brim of a cup, as a lily blossom,
6 holding in it (many) baths; it contained three thousand.[6] And he made ten
lavers, and put five on the right and five on the left, to wash in them; the
work of the burnt-offering they washed in them; but the sea was for the
7 priests to wash in. And he made ten candlesticks of gold, after their plan,
8 and set them in the temple, five on the right and five on the left. And he
made ten tables, and placed them in the temple, five on the right, and five on
9 the left: and he made basons of gold a hundred. And he made the court of
the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the
10 door-leaves with brass. And he set the sea on the right side eastward, over
against the south.
11 And Huram made the pots, and the shovels, and the bowls: and Huram[7]
finished the work which he made for King Solomon in the house of God.
12 The two pillars, and the balls, and the capitals on the top of the two pillars,
and the two grates to cover the two balls of the capitals which were on the
13 top of the pillars. And the four hundred pomegranates on the two grates;
two rows of pomegranates on each grate, to cover the two balls of the capitals
14 which were upon the two[8] pillars. And he made[9] stands, and he made lavers
15, 16 upon the stands. One sea, and twelve oxen under it. And the pots, and
the shovels, and the forks,[10] and all their vessels, made Huram his father for
17 King Solomon, for the house of the LORD, of bright brass. In the plain of
Jordan the king cast them, in the clay ground[11] between Succoth and Zere-
18 dathah. And Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance; for the
weight of the brass was not found out.
19 And Solomon made all the vessels that were for the house of God, the
20 golden altar, and the tables with the shew-bread on them. And the candle-
sticks with their lamps, to burn after their rule before the oracle of costly

21 gold. And the flowers, and the lamps, and the snuffers: this was the most
22 perfect gold.[12] And the knives, and the bowls, and the censers, and the
extinguishers of costly gold: and the door of the house, its inner leaves to
the most holy place, and the door leaves of the house for the temple, of gold.

CH. V. 1. Then was finished all the work that Solomon made for the house of the LORD: and Solomon brought in the holy gifts of David his father; and the silver, and the gold, and all the instruments he put among the treasures of the house of God.

[1] בַּשֵּׁנִי, which the Sept. and Vulg. do not express, appears a gloss brought into the text by the repetition of the foregoing הַשֵּׁנִי.

[2] מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים appears a defective reading, as the Sept. *cod. Al.*, Syr., and Ar. have 20 for 120. Comp. the Exeg. Expl.

[3] According to the parallels 1 Kings vii. 15, 2 Kings xxv. 17, etc., instead of thirty-five (לה) must apparently be read eighteen (יח).

[4] So according to the emendation of Berth.: בִּרְבִיד, instead of the Masoretic בַּדְּבִיר (Sept. ἐν τῷ δαβίρ), which yields no suitable sense.

[5] בְּקָרִים appears a slip of the pen for פְּקָעִים (1 Kings vii. 24), as in *b*, הַבָּקָר for הַפְּקָעִים.

[6] For שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים is to be read, according to 1 Kings vii. 26, אַלְפַּיִם (2000); the שלשת before אלפים seems to have come into the text from the fourfold שלשת in the verse before.

[7] The *Kethib* has here Hiram (חירם), the only time this reading occurs in Chronicles.

[8] For עַל־פְּנֵי read עַל־שְׁנֵי, although פְּנֵי stands also in 1 Kings vii. 42; but see Sept. there.

[9] עָשָׂה seems wrongly written for עֶשֶׂר, as the second time for עֲשָׂרָה. Comp. 1 Kings vii. 43.

[10] מְזַלְגוֹת is perhaps written wrongly for מִזְרָקוֹת, "sprinkling cups," ver. 11. Comp. 1 Kings vii. 44.

[11] For בְּעָבְיִ some prints give בַּעֲבִי.

[12] The words הִיא מִכְלוֹת זָהָב are not represented in the Sept.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—From the description of the building of the temple in 1 Kings vi. and vii., the present account is distinguished—1. By this, that in the introduction more precise statements are made with respect to the plan of the building, but less precise with respect to the time when it began, than there (comp. ch. iii. 1, 2 with 1 Kings vi. 1); 2. By this, that our author describes, in unbroken connection, first (ch. iii. 3–17) the magnitude and arrangement of the edifice itself, then (ch. iv. 1–22) those of its several furnishings in the court and the sanctuary, whereas in 1 Kings vi. and vii. this description meets with two considerable interruptions, inasmuch as—*a.* an account of a divine promise given to the king during the building (ch. vi. 11–13), and—*b.* a description of a palace-building of Solomon, partly concurrent with that of the temple (ch. vii. 1–11), are there inserted; 3. By a somewhat different arrangement of the several objects enumerated and described in 1 Kings; 4. By the greater fulness and circumstantiality of the description, as contained in 1 Kings (for example, with respect to the ten brazen stands, ch. vii. 27–38, which our author, iv. 14, only slightly mentions); and 5. By the here again remarkable excerpting habit of the Chronist. In the following exposition, only that which is peculiar to our author will be fully discussed; but with regard to that which he has in common with 1 Kings, or which he, compared with the more ample details there, only briefly notices, reference will be made to the exposition of Bähr (*Bibelw.* vii. pp. 38–70), which is characterized by solidity and scientific ability.

1. Place and Time of building the Temple: ch. iii. 1, 2.—*And Solomon began . . . on mount Moriah.* Only here is the site of the temple so named; but the designation is no doubt identical with "the land of Moriah" (אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה, "land of the appearing of the Lord"), Gen. xxii. 2. The place of the celebrated sacrifice of Abraham was even that floor of Ornan on which David presented his offering, and which he had consequently chosen for the site of the temple, the hill lying north-east of Zion, which is now called "the Haram," after the holy mosque of the Mahommedans standing on it. Comp. Rosen, *Das Haram*, Gotha 1866, and the plan and description in Ph. Wolff's *Jerusalem* (3d edit. 1872), p. 89 ff.—*Which was shown to his father David*, as the future site of the temple; see 1 Chron. xxi. 15 ff. Against this most usual exposition it may certainly be objected (with Keil) that the *Niphal* נִרְאָה elsewhere denotes, not "be shown," but "be seen, appear." Yet the rendering of Keil: "where He (Jehovah) appeared to his father David" (so also the Sept.), has this defect, that the subject Jehovah has to be supplied, and that אֲשֶׁר has to be taken in the sense of אֲשֶׁר שָׁם, as elsewhere only in the phrase בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר (Ew. § 331, *c*, 3)—(and) *which he had prepared in the place of David*, which site he (Solomon) had prepared on the place fixed by David. So Berth., Kamph., etc., and in

the main Luther, Starke, and other ancients (for example, Rambach: *quam domum præparavit Salomo in loco Davidis*). On the contrary, the Sept., Vulg., Syr., etc., translate as if במקום stood before אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין, "in the place which David had prepared" (the building of the temple); and Keil, in accordance with his supplying of Jehovah as subject to נִרְאָה, interprets: "who (David) had prepared the house, that is, the building of it, in the place appointed of David." None of these expositions is quite satisfactory; whence it is natural to suppose some corruption of the text.—Ver. 2. *And he began to build in the second month, in the second.* As בַּשֵּׁנִי cannot well (comp: Luther, etc.) signify "on the second day," for this would be expressed by בִּשְׁנַיִם לַחֹדֶשׁ or the like (with the cardinal number), it is strongly to be suspected that the word has come into the text by an error of transcription; comp. Crit. Note. The second month is Ziph, corresponding nearly with our May (comp. 1 Kings vi. 37).—*In the fourth year of his reign*, that is, as Solomon reigned from 1015, about the year 1012 B.C. (comp. Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 10 f., whose chronological determinations otherwise contain much that is arbitrary; among other things, the assumption that Solomon reigned from 1035 B.C., thus, on the whole, not forty but sixty years).

2. The building of the Temple itself; and first, of the Porch and the Holy Place (or the Front and Middle Room): vers. 3-7.—*And this is the foundation of Solomon;* these are the fundamental proportions which he employed in building. The *inf. Hoph.* הוּסַד is used substantively, as in Ezra iii. 11.—*The length after the former measure*, the Mosaic or holy cubit, that, Ezek. xl. 5, xliii. 13, was a handbreadth longer than the civic cubit of the later time, in and after the exile (comp. on 1 Chron. xxii. 13 f.). Only the length and the width of the temple are here given, not its height, which was, 1 Kings vi. 2, thirty cubits.—Ver. 4. *And the porch, that was before the length*, that extended in front of the oblong house as its entrance,—*before the breadth of the house, was twenty cubits*, was measured in front of the width of the house, twenty cubits. That the breadth or depth of this porch was not twenty cubits, but only ten (1 Kings vi. 3), is not here said, but follows of necessity from the following statements concerning the size of the most holy place compared with that of the holy place, which was twice as long (comp. ver. 3 with ver. 8).—*And the height a hundred and twenty.* A certainly erroneous statement; a front building of 120 cubits height, before a house only thirty cubits high, could not be called אוּלָם, but would have been a מִגְדָּל, "tower" (Keil). Behind the present defective reading is perhaps concealed the statement that the breadth of the porch was ten cubits. Berth. and Kamph. wish to arrange the text after 1 Kings vi. 3: "And the porch, which was before the house, its breadth was ten cubits before it, and the length, which was before the breadth of the house, was twenty cubits." But there are some objections to this emendation; see Keil, p. 235 (Remark 1).—Ver. 5. *And the great house he lined with cypress.* The holy place is called the great house, as forming the chief room of the whole house. "Line," חִפָּה, coinciding essentially with the foregoing צִפָּה, "overlay," stands here twice, first of lining the stone with wood, and then of overlaying or plating this wood with gold.—*Made thereon palms and garlands*, applied to it ornaments of palms and garlands (according to 1 Kings vi. 18, in the form of bas-reliefs cut in the panels of the wall). תִּמֹּרִים = the fem. תִּמֹּרוֹת used in the same sense, 1 Kings vi. 29, 35, figures of palms; this masc. form occurs also Ezek. xli. 28. שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת, properly, chains of gold wire,—see ver. 16 and Ex. xxviii. 14,—but here ornaments wound like a chain on the gilded walls, representing garlands.—Ver. 6. *And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty;* comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 2, and Bähr on 1 Kings vi. 7.—*And the gold was gold of Parvaim*, from Parvaim, a country, as the etymon of the probable Indian name seems to indicate, situated in the east, but of unknown, and not to be determined, site. On its conjectured identity with Ophir, and the opinions regarding it, see the excursus after ch. viii.—Ver. 7. *And he overlaid the house, the beams*, those of the ceiling, as those next named, the sills that are under the doors. Somewhat more precise than the present statements concerning the internal decorations of the house (the holy place with its porch, which are here in question, as ver. 8 ff. show) are those contained in 1 Kings vi. 18, 29, 30.

3. The Most Holy Place, with its Cherubic Figures and Veil: vers. 8-14.—*And he made the house of the most holy, that its length . . . twenty cubits.* That, besides the length and breadth, the height also was the same, and thus its form was cubic, see 1 Kings vi. 20. Our author does not specially set forth this certainly symbolic circumstance; on the contrary, his love of the ornamental and magnificent leads him to set forth another circumstance omitted in 1 Kings, that the weight of the gold plating for the inner wall of the most holy place was 600 talents.—Ver. 9. *And the weight of the nails*, that served for fastening the gold plate on the wooden lining of the walls. And this statement concerning the weight of the nails being fifty shekels is peculiar to our author, and characteristic of him; as also the following one in *b*, concerning the inner gilding of the upper chambers over the most holy place (comp. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11).—Ver. 10. *Two cherubim of sculptured work*, literally, "a work of imagery." צַעֲצֻעִים, from the Arab. root *zua*, *finxit, formavit*, only here in the O. T.—*Overlaid them with gold*, a remark occurring also 1 Kings vi. 28, but there forming the end of the description of the cherubim.—Vers. 10-12. The description of the size and position of the four outspread wings, each five cubits long, is clumsy and circumstantial, after the Eastern fashion, but at the same time perfectly obvious and clear. The expressions for the mutual contact of the tips of the wings are הִגִּיעַ and (once ver. 12) דָּבֵק, properly; cleave, *adhærere*.—Ver. 13. *The wings of these cherubim spread forth twenty cubits*, literally, "were spreading forth (effected

an expansion of) twenty cubits;" comp. on פֹּרְשִׂים, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18; 2 Chron. v. 8. Against Berth., who would expel כַּנְפֵי out of the text; see Keil on this passage.—*Stood on their feet, and their faces to the house*, that is, to the holy place, not to one another, as the faces of the cherubs on the mercy-seat (Ex. xxv. 20). That they had in this upright position a height of ten cubits, the author of 1 Kings (vi. 26) affirms in his more exact statement of the proportions. Are we entitled to infer from the statement of our author the human form of the cherubim? This appears at all events very probable; comp. Bähr on 1 Kings vi. 23 ff., and Riehm, "Die Cherubim in der Stiftshütte und im Tempel," *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1871, iii. p. 399 ff., where (as in the treatise *De natura et notione symbolica cheruborum*, 1864) this theologian certainly, for the oldest time, conceives the cherubim as theophanic storm-clouds, and represents them in the form of birds, but, for the latter time (and certainly for that of Solomon), affirms a change of this prey-bird form to a winged human form. Similarly H. Schultz, *Alttestamentl. Theol.* i. 337 ff., and Dillmann, Art. "Cherubim" in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon.*—Ver. 14. *And he made the veil of blue, and purple*, etc., thus of the same four materials of which the veil in the tabernacle had been made, and interwoven with the same cherubic figures as it was; see Ex. xxvi. 31. On this פָּרֹכֶת, the inner veil between the holy and the most holy place, the older description of the temple in 1 Kings vi. 21 says nothing.

4. The Two Pillars Jachin and Boaz: vers. 15–17; comp. the much fuller description in 1 Kings vii. 15–22, 41, 42 (also ch. iv. 12 f.).—*And he made before the house* (in the porch) *two pillars of thirty and five cubits height;* in 1 Kings, rather of eighteen cubits; see Crit. Note.—*And the capital that was on the top.* Instead of the הַצֶּפֶת, head-piece (from צָפָה, cover, overlay), the parallel 1 Kings vii. 16 gives the term כֹּתֶרֶת, "crown, pommel."—Ver. 16. *And he made chains in the ring*, in the girdle-formed network encircling the top of the pillars, that served for the fastening of the pomegranates, and is otherwise called שְׂבָכָה, network, but here רָבִיד, collar (comp. Gen. xli. 42; Ezek. xvi. 11); for רביד is certainly to be read instead of דְּבִיר, which gives no tolerable sense, and has drawn away the old translations to strange explanations (Vulg.: *quasi catenulas in oraculo;* Syr. and Arab.: "chains of fifty cubits length," that is, reaching from the most holy place to the pillars, etc.); comp. the Crit. Note. Moreover, the term רָבִיד seems to be a synonym rather of the שְׂבָכָה, network, mentioned ch. iv. 12, 13, than of the גֻּלֹּת, "balls, rolls," mentioned in the same place (against Keil).—*Made a hundred pomegranates, and put them on the chains*, perhaps so "that there was an apple on every link of the chain-like ornament" (Berth.). The number 100, which is given also in Jer. lii. 23, determines also merely the one of the two rows of pomegranates which hung on every ring or girdle of the network. That each of these bore 100 apples, and thus the sum total of all the apples on both pillars amounted to 400, is stated ch. iv. 13, in accordance with 1 Kings vii. 42. On ver. 17, especially on the names Jachin and Boaz, see Bähr on 1 Kings vii. 21.

5. The Holy Furniture of the Temple and its Court: ch. iv. 1–10.—Ver. 1. The brazen altar. *And he made an altar of brass*, the altar of burnt-offering. See more particularly concerning its construction, more exactly described in Ezek. xliii. 13–17, and its probably terrace-like appearance, in Keil, *Archæol.* p. 127, with the plan, plate iii. fig. 2. That our verse has no parallel in 1 Kings vi. and vii. is perhaps only accidental, but may arise from this, that there only articles made by Huram (Hiram) are fully described, to which the altar of burnt-offering did not belong. It is, moreover, only incidentally mentioned in 1 Kings, namely, in ch. viii. 22, 64, on occasion of the dedication of the temple, and again in ch. ix. 25.—Vers. 2–5. The Brazen Sea; comp. 1 Kings vii. 23–26 and the expositors thereon.—*A line of thirty cubits compassed it about*, formed the measure of its circumference (the actual existence of such a line is not to be supposed).—Ver. 3. *And figures of oxen were under it*, instead of which 1 Kings vii. 24 has: "and colocynths (or flower buds, according to Bähr) were under the brim of it round about." Our בְּקָרִים therefore appears an error of transcription for פְּקָעִים, as in the second member הַבָּקָר for הַפְּקָעִים.—Ver. 5. *Holding in it* (many) *baths; it contained three thousand.* According to 1 Kings vii. 26, rather only 2000, which number alone suits the size of the vessel as described in ver. 2 (comp. Crit. Note). Moreover, the יָכִיל, "it contained," is by no means disturbing, as Berth. and Kamph. think, who condemn it as a gloss coming into the text from 1 Kings. The pleonastic phrase rather suits the effort of the author to represent the size of the vessel as very great; and the construction is essentially the same as in the following verse.—Ver. 6. The Ten Lavers, with the incidental Statement of the Use of the Brazen Sea.—*And he made ten lavers.* Much more full is 1 Kings vii. 27–38, where the stands bearing these lavers are described with special minuteness.—*To wash in them; the work of the burnt-offering they washed in them*, the flesh of the burnt-offerings to be burned on the altar. On הֵדִיחַ, scour, rinse, as a synonym of רָחַץ, comp. Josh. iv. 4; Ezek. xl. 38.—Ver. 7. The Golden Candlesticks in the Holy Place. The notice of these is wanting, as well as the following one referring to the ten tables, and the next referring to the two courts, in the parallel text 1 Kings vii. 39, perhaps from a gap in the text. Yet incidental references to these objects are found there; see ch. vi. 36, vii. 12, 48, 49.—*After their plan*, properly, according to their right, כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם, a reference to Ex. xxv. 31 ff.—Ver. 8. *And he made ten tables*, on which to place the ten candlesticks, scarcely for the shew-bread, as seems to follow from ver. 19; see rather on this passage, as on 1 Chron. xxviii. 16 (against Lightfoot), Starke, Bähr, Keil, etc.—*And he made*

*basins of gold*, bowls or tankards for pouring the libation; comp. Amos vi. 6; scarcely bowls for receiving the blood of the victim (as Berth. thinks).—Ver. 9. *And he made the courts of the priests*, the smaller or inner court (1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 12), or also the upper court, as it is called, Jer. xxxvi. 10, on account of its greater elevation. —*And the great court*, the outer (הָעֲזָרָה connected with חָצֵר); comp. Ezek. xliii. 14 ff., xlv. 19, where it is distinguished as the "lower" or "new" court, from the inner or upper court of the priests. A more precise description of this outer court is wanting as well in 1 Kings vi. and vii., where it is not even mentioned, as in our passage, where only its door leaves overlaid with brass are mentioned.—Ver. 10. Addendum concerning the Position of the Brazen Sea; comp. 1 Kings vii. 39*b*.

6. The Brass Works of Huram: vers. 11–18. The list is opened with the "pots, shovels, and bowls," objects belonging to the furniture of the altar of burnt-offering in the court, that belong properly to the foregoing section. Even so 1 Kings vii. 40, where likewise with וַיְכַל in the middle of the verse we pass to all that was made by Huram.—*The pots, and the shovels, and the bowls.* הַסִּירוֹת (for which 1 Kings vii. 40, defectively: הַכִּירוֹת) are the pots for taking away the ashes; הַיָּעִים, the shovels for removing the ashes from the altar; הַמִּזְרָקוֹת (perhaps to be distinguished from מִזְרָקִים, the sprinkling-bowls or wine tankards in ver. 8*b*), the bowls for receiving and sprinkling the blood.—*And Huram finished the work.* Comp. from this to the end of the section the almost literally agreeing verses 1 Kings vii. 40*b*–47, and Bähr on the passage. For the partial deviations and errors in our text, see Crit. Note.—Ver. 16. *And all their vessels.* Most recent expositors (also Keil) wish to read, after 1 Kings vii. 45: "all these vessels," אֶת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה, because we cannot think in the "vessels" of the vessels hitherto named. But might not the forms (models) be meant in which the various vessels were cast? The allusion to the foundries of the king in the next verse makes this very probable; but the reading הָאֵלֶּה in 1 Kings vii. 45 appears by no means absolutely settled.—*Made Huram his father.* For אָבִיו, see on ch. ii. 12.—*Of bright brass*, נְחֹשֶׁת מָרוּק, *accus. materiæ*; in 2 Kings the equivalent נְחֹשֶׁת מְמֹרָט stands for this.—Ver. 17. *In the plain of Jordan* (properly, in the circuit of Jordan) *the king cast them, in the clay ground*, properly, "in the densities of the ground," בַּעֲבִי הָאֲדָמָה (or, if the reading בַּעֲבִי is to be preferred, sing.: in the density of the ground; ἐν τῷ πάχει τῆς γῆς, Sept.). According to the older exegesis, the phrase denoted: in the clay ground, *in argillosa terra* (Vulg.). The designation of the hard forms for the casting, which Berth. thinks are mentioned here, should rather be the כָּל־כְּלֵיהֶם of ver. 16.—*Between Succoth and Zeredathah.* In 1 Kings vii. 46 the name of the second place is Zarthan, which is only another form of Zeredathah; comp. Judg. vii. 22.—Ver. 18. *For the weight of the brass was not found out*, or was not determined (Berth.); that is, there was so great a quantity, that, etc. (comp. ch. v. 6).

7. Enumeration of the Golden Vessels of the Sanctuary, with the Close of the whole Account of the Building: ver. 19–ch. v. 1; comp. 1 Kings vii. 48–51, which section also deviates much in its first verses from the present one.—*And the tables with the shew-bread on them.* Originally, perhaps, only an inexact expression (synecdoche), as in 1 Chron. xxviii. 16, this mention of the שֻׁלְחָנוֹת has here certainly the appearance of a multiplicity of tables for the shew-bread. But 1 Kings vii. 48 names quite distinctly only one table.—Ver. 20. *And the candlesticks . . . to burn after their rule* (כַּמִּשְׁפָּט, as ver. 7) *before the oracle*, the "debir," that is, the most holy place. The candlesticks had accordingly their place in the holy place immediately before the veil; and so the altar of incense (comp. Heb. ix. 4).—Ver. 21. *And the flowers, and the lamps.* Comp. Bähr on 1 Kings vii. 49.—*This was the most perfect gold.* מִכְלוֹת זָהָב, properly, "perfections of gold"; the elsewhere not occurring מִכְלוֹת (equivalent to מִכְלָל, Ps. l. 2, or מִכְלוֹל, Ezek. xxiii. 12) appears unintelligible to the Sept., and hence the whole clause is omitted. As it appears superfluous along with the costly gold at the close of the verse before, and is wanting in 1 Kings vii. 49, it awakens critical suspicion.—Ver. 22. *And the knives*, serving perhaps to clean the lamps (with the snuffers), but also for other purposes. Their place among the vessels of the temple is attested also by 2 Kings xii. 14; Jer. lii. 18. For the next named bowls see on ver. 11. The כַּפּוֹת (trays for the incense) and מַחְתּוֹת (extinguishers) are also named 1 Kings vii. 50: on the contrary, the סִפּוֹת (basons) named there first are wanting here.—*And the door of the house.* וּפֶתַח הַבַּיִת appears to be a general collective phrase for the "opening, doorway, outlet of the house;" for it includes two doors, that into the holy place, and that into the holy of holies. The parallel 1 Kings vii. 50: וְהַפֹּתוֹת לְדַלְתוֹת הַבַּיִת, leads to the conjecture that וּפֶתַח is perhaps an error for וּפֹתוֹת, "and the hinges" (in which case also לְדַלְתוֹתָו must be put for וְדַלְתוֹתָיו). Ch. v. 1 agrees almost to the letter with 1 Kings vii. 51. The ו before אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף is best rendered by "namely"; comp. ch. iv. 19; less probable is the rendering: "as well the silver as also the gold" (Keil). For these gifts of David, see the account in 1 Chron. xviii. 10 f.; also 1 Chron. xxvi. 26 f., xxix. 3 ff.

*γ. The Dedication of the Temple:* ch. v. 2–vii. 10.

1. *Removal of the Ark from Zion to the Temple:* ch. v. 2–14.

2 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes,
the chiefs of the fathers of the sons of Israel, to Jerusalem, to bring up the ark
3 of the covenant of the LORD from the city of David, which is Zion. And all
the men of Israel assembled unto the king in the feast, which was the seventh
4 month. And all the elders of Israel came; and the Levites bore the ark.
5 And they brought up the ark and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels
6 that were in the tent; the priests, the Levites,[1] brought them up. And king
Solomon, and all the assembly of Israel that assembled with him before the ark,
sacrificed sheep and oxen, that could not be told or numbered for multitude.
7 And the priests brought the ark of the covenant of the LORD into its place, into
the oracle of the house, the most holy place, under the wings of the cherubim.
8 For the cherubim spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the
9 cherubim covered the ark and its staves above. And they made the staves so
long that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark,[2] before the oracle, but
10 they were not seen without: and they were there unto this day. Nothing was in
the ark save the two tables, which Moses put into it at Horeb, where the LORD
11 made [a covenant] with the sons of Israel, when they came out of Egypt. And it
came to pass, when the priests came out of the holy place—for all the priests
12 that were present had sanctified themselves, without observing the courses. And
the Levites, the singers all of them, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, and their
sons and brethren, arrayed in byssus, with cymbals, and psalteries, and harps,
stood at the east of the altar, and with them a hundred and twenty priests
13 sounding with trumpets.[3] And the trumpeters and singers were as one [man] to
sound aloud with one voice to praise and thank the LORD, and when they lifted
up the voice with trumpets, and cymbals, and instruments of song, and with
praising the LORD: For He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever: then the
14 house was filled with the cloud of the house of the LORD. And the priests
could not stand to minister before the cloud; for the glory of the LORD filled the
house of God.

2. *Solomon praises the Lord on his Entrance into the new Temple:* ch. vi. 1–11.

CH. VI. 1. Then said Solomon, The LORD hath said that He would dwell in dark-
2 ness. And I, even I, have built a house of abiding for Thee, and a place for Thy
dwelling for ever.
3 And the king turned his face, and blessed the whole congregation of Israel:
4 and all the congregation of Israel stood. And he said, Blessed be the LORD
God of Israel, who hath spoken with His mouth to David my father, and by His
5 hands hath fulfilled it, saying, From the day that I brought my people out of
the land of Egypt, I chose no city among all the tribes of Israel to build a
house, that my name might be there; and I chose no man to be ruler over my
6 people Israel. And I chose Jerusalem, that my name might be there; and I
7 chose David to be over my people Israel. And it was in the heart of David my
8 father to build a house to the name of the LORD God of Israel. And the LORD
said to David my father, Because it was in thy heart to build a house to my
9 name, thou hast done well that it was in thy heart. But thou shalt not build
the house; but thy son, that cometh forth out of thy loins, he shall build to my
10 name. And the LORD hath established His word that He hath spoken; and I
am risen up instead of David my father, and am set on the throne of Israel, as
the LORD hath spoken; and I have built the house to the name of the LORD God
11 of Israel. And there I have put the ark, wherein is the covenant of the Lord
that He made with the children of Israel.

3. *Solomon's Prayer of Dedication:* ch. vi. 12–42.

12 And he stood before the altar of the LORD, before all the congregation of

13 Israel, and spread forth his hands. For Solomon had made a scaffold of brass,
and set it in the midst of the [outer] court; its length was five cubits, its breadth
five cubits, and its height three cubits; and he stood upon it, and kneeled down
on his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands
14 towards heaven, And said, LORD God of Israel, there is no God like Thee in
the heaven nor in the earth, who keepest the covenant and the mercy unto Thy
15 servants that walk before Thee with all their heart. Who hast kept with Thy
servant David that which Thou hast spoken to him; and Thou speakest with Thy
16 mouth, and hast fulfilled it with Thy hand, as it is this day. And now, LORD
God of Israel, keep with Thy servant David my father that which Thou hast
spoken to him, saying, There shall not be cut off from thee a man in my sight to
sit upon the throne of Israel, only if thy sons take heed to their way to walk in
17 my law, as thou hast walked before me. And now, LORD God of Israel, let Thy
18 word be verified which Thou hast spoken unto Thy servant David. But will
God in truth dwell with men on the earth? Behold, heaven, and the heaven of
19 heavens, cannot contain Thee; how much less this house which I have built! But
have respect unto the prayer of Thy servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my
God, to hearken unto the cry and the prayer which Thy servant prayeth before
20 Thee. That Thine eyes may be open upon this house day and night, to the
place where Thou hast said that Thou wilt put Thy name; to hearken unto the
21 prayer which Thy servant prayeth in this place. And hearken unto the suppli-
cation of Thy servant and of Thy people Israel, which they shall make in this
place, and hear Thou from Thy dwelling-place, from heaven; yea, hear, and for-
22 give. If a man sin against his neighbours, and he lay on him an oath to make
23 him swear, and he enter into an oath before Thine altar in this house: Then
hear Thou from heaven, and do, and judge Thy servants, to requite the wicked,
and bring his way upon his own head; and to justify the righteous, and give him
24 according to his righteousness. And if Thy people Israel be smitten before the
enemy, because they have sinned against Thee, and shall return and confess Thy
25 name, and pray and entreat before Thee in this house: Then hear Thou from
heaven, and forgive the sin of Thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the
26 land which Thou gavest to them and to their fathers. When the heaven is shut
up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against Thee, and they pray in
this place, and confess Thy name, and turn from their sin, because Thou dost
27 humble them: Then hear Thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of Thy servants
and of Thy people Israel, because Thou teachest them the good way in which
they should walk, and send rain upon the land which Thou hast given unto Thy
28 people for an inheritance. If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence,
blasting, or mildew, locust or waster; if their enemies besiege them in the land
29 of their gates; if there be any plague or sickness. Every prayer, every suppli-
cation that shall be made by any man or by all Thy people Israel, when they
shall know every man his own plague and his own pain, and shall spread his
30 hands to this house: Then hear Thou from heaven, Thy dwelling-place, and
forgive, and render unto every man according to all his ways, as Thou knowest
31 his heart; for Thou alone knowest the heart of the sons of man. That they
may fear Thee to walk in Thy ways, all the days that they live on the ground
32 which Thou gavest to our fathers. And also to the stranger, who is not of Thy
people Israel, but cometh from a far country for sake of Thy great name and
Thy mighty hand, and Thy outstretched arm; if they come and pray towards
33 this house: Then hear Thou[4] from the heaven, from Thy dwelling-place, and do
all that the stranger calleth to Thee for, that all peoples of the earth may know Thy
name, and fear Thee as Thy people Israel, and may know that Thy name is called
34 upon this house which I have built. If Thy people go out to war against their
enemies in the way that Thou shalt send them, and they pray unto Thee toward
this city which Thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built to Thy name:
35 Then hear Thou from the heaven their prayer and their supplication, and main-
36 tain their right. If they sin against Thee, for there is no man that sinneth not,
and Thou be angry with them, and give them up before their enemies, and their

37 captors take them to a far or near land. And they turn their heart in the land
in which they are captive, and turn and pray unto Thee in the land of their
38 captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have been wrong and wicked. And
they return to Thee with all their heart, and with all their soul, in the land of
their captivity, whither they have taken them, and pray toward the land which
Thou gavest to their fathers, and the city which Thou hast chosen, and toward
39 the house which I have built to Thy name: Then hear Thou from the heaven,
from Thy dwelling-place, their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their
40 right, and forgive Thy people who have sinned against Thee. Now, my God,
let Thine eyes now be open, and Thine ears attent unto the prayer of this place.
41 And now arise, O Lord God, unto Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy strength:
let Thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let Thy saints be
42 glad for the good. O Lord God, turn not away the face of Thy anointed; remember the mercies of David Thy servant.

4. *The Divine Confirmation of the Dedication of the Temple:* ch. vii. 1–10.

Ch. vii. 1. And when Solomon had ended [his] prayer, the fire came down from
heaven and consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the
2 Lord filled the house. And the priests could not enter the house of the Lord,
3 because the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord. And all the sons
of Israel saw the fire come down, and the glory of the Lord upon the house, and
they bowed down their faces to the ground on the pavement, and worshipped and
4 praised the Lord; for He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever. And the
5 king and all the people offered sacrifices before the Lord. And king Solomon
offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty
thousand sheep; and the king and all the people dedicated the house of God.
6 And the priests stood at their posts, and the Levites with instruments of song of
the Lord, which David the king had made, to thank the Lord, that His mercy
endureth for ever, when David praised by their hand; and the priests blew the
7 trumpets[5] before them, and all Israel stood. And Solomon hallowed the middle
of the court that was before the house of the Lord; for there he offered the
burnt-offerings and the fat of the peace-offerings: because the brazen altar which
Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt-offerings, and the meat-
8 offerings, and the fat. And Solomon kept the feast at that time seven days, and
all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from Hamath to the river of
9 Egypt. And they made on the eighth day a solemn assembly; for they kept the
10 dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven days. And in the twenty
and third day of the seventh month he sent away the people to their tents, glad
and merry in heart for the goodness that the Lord had shown to David, and to
Solomon, and to Israel his people.

[1] Before הַלְוִיִּם is to be supplied וְ, according to 1 Kings viii. 4.

[2] מִן־הָאָרֶץ appears to be an error of transcription for מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

[3] *Kethib:* מַחְצְצְרִים; *Keri:* מַחְצְרִים; so ver. 13 and ch. vii. 6. Comp. Exeg. Expl. on 1 Chron. xv. 24.

[4] וְאַתָּה, supported by all the witnesses, Bertheau, without reason, changes into אַתָּה (after 1 Kings viii. 43).

[5] *Keri:* מחצרים, as above, ch. v. 12, 13.

EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—The first three sections or acts of this account agree with the parallel 1 Kings viii., mostly to the letter; only a notice referring to the part of the priests, Levites, and singers in the solemnity in vi. 11–13 is peculiar to our author. In the fourth section (vii. 1–10) is found the more considerable deviation, that instead of the blessing pronounced by Solomon on the community of Israel (1 Kings viii. 54–61), the consuming of the offerings by fire from heaven is narrated (vii. 1–3; comp. the similar account in the history of the census and the plague, 1 Chron. xxi. 26 f.).

1. Removal of the Ark from Zion to the Temple: ch. v. 2–14; comp. 1 Kings viii. 1–11 (and thereon, Bähr, *Bibelw.* vii. 72 ff.).—Ver. 3. *In the feast, which was the seventh month.* According to 1 Kings, the statement: "in the month Ethanim," appears to have fallen out before these words, though also הַחֹדֶשׁ might be a mistake for בַּחֹדֶשׁ, "in the seventh month"—

Ver. 5. The supplement of a ו between הכהנים and הלוים (see Crit. Note) seems indispensable; "for even if Levitical priests bore the ark and the holy vessels of the tabernacle into the temple, yet it is certain that the tabernacle itself (its boards, curtains, and coverings) was not conveyed by the priests, but only by the Levites, into the temple to be preserved as sacred relics. The copula ו is perhaps left out only by a copyist, who thought of הכהנים הלוים, Josh. iii. 3; Deut. xvii. 9, 18" (Keil).—Ver. 10. *The two tables which Moses put into it at Horeb*, properly, "gave," נתן, as Ex. xl. 20. More clear and full is the parallel text 1 Kings viii. 9: אשר הניח שם, "which he had put there."—Ver. 11. *For all the priests that were present had sanctified themselves.* These words begin the longer parenthesis inserted by the Chronist in the statement, 1 Kings viii. 10, concerning the priests, Levites, and singers, which extends to ver. 13*b*. "That were present," literally, "that were found"; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 17; Ezra viii. 25.—*Without observing the courses;* that is, on account of the greatness of the solemnity, and the multitude of persons required, the series of exchanging courses of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv.) could not be observed; all the courses must together sanctify themselves and co-operate. For the construction אין לשמור, comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 26; Ew. § 321, *b*.—Ver. 12. *All of them, Asaph*, etc., properly, "as to all, Asaph," etc.; the introductory ל, as 1 Chron. v. 25 (see on this passage).—*Sounding with trumpets.* For מחצצרים, see on 1 Chron. xv. 24; comp. also the remarks on the temple musicians and their instruments, 1 Chron. xv. 17-28.—Ver. 13. *And the trumpeters and singers were as one man*, literally, "and it came to pass as one concerning the trumpeters and singers (ל, as before), that they sounded loud with one voice." For the construction היה להשמיע, comp. Ew. § 237, and on the import of השמיע, 1 Chron. xv. 16. The קול אחד, "with one voice," is properly redundant, but is added to the להשמיע to strengthen the notion already lying in אחד, "one" of the *unisono* of the trumpet sound, and the singing of the many voices.—*When they lifted up the voice*, literally, "and as the lifting of the voice"; comp. Ezra iii. 12, ix. 1. The words connect again with ver. 11*a*, and so prepare for the conclusion, which, however, is formed by the last words of the verse: *Then the house was filled with the cloud of the house of the Lord*, the well-known light-cloud (shechinah) dwelling in the tabernacle since the time of Moses, the manifestation of the gracious presence of God in His covenant sanctuary. For ver. 14, comp. 1 Kings viii. 11, and Bähr thereon.

2. Solomon praises the Lord on his Entrance into the new temple: ch. vi. 1-11; agreeing almost literally with 1 Kings viii. 12-21.—We notice some of the never very important deviations of our text.—On ver. 1, comp. Lev. xvi. 1.—Ver. 2. *And I, even I, have built*, etc. Instead of ואני בניתי, with its emphatic accentuation of the subject, 1 Kings viii. 13 gives בנה בניתי, "I have surely built," etc.—Ver. 4. *Blessed be the Lord . . . who hath spoken with His mouth*, etc., a reference to 1 Chron. xi. 2, which promise is here repeated with great fulness, resting indeed on the words of Nathan contained in 1 Chron. xvii. 4-14, to which allusion is made, especially from ver. 8.—Ver. 5. *From the day that I brought my people*, etc. From this to ver. 7, the speech of Solomon, compared with 1 Kings viii. 16 f., appears enlarged, especially by the sentences there wanting, ver. 5*b*: "and I chose no man to be ruler," etc., and ver. 6*a*: "and I chose Jerusalem."—Ver. 11. *And there I have put the ark.* Somewhat otherwise 1 Kings viii. 21: "And I have set there a place for the ark" (מקום הארון for the simple הארון).

3. Solomon's Prayer of Consecration: vers. 12-42; except the introduction, ver. 13, and the close, vers. 40-42, very closely agreeing with 1 Kings viii. 22-53.—Ver. 13. *For Solomon had made a scaffold of brass.* This whole parenthesis, with the notice concerning the brazen scaffold (properly, "basin," כיור, pot-shaped elevation, platform; comp. Neh. ix. 4) in the court, is wanting in 1 Kings; whether omitted by an old error of the transcriber, as Then. and Berth. think, must remain doubtful.—Ver. 21. *And hear Thou from Thy dwelling-place, from heaven*, for which 1 Kings viii. 30: "hear to Thy dwelling-place, to heaven," perhaps by a mistake in copying.—Ver. 33. *Then hear Thou*, literally, "and Thou hear"; the ו before אתה, introducing the conclusion, is wanting in 1 Kings viii. 43, for which reason Berth. would here also exclude it from the text, contrary to all the MSS.—Vers. 40-42 form a close of the speech of Solomon, deviating greatly from 1 Kings viii. 50-53. Of the allusion there to the deliverance of Israel, as the heritage of the Lord, from the iron furnace of Egypt, and of the promises given by Moses (vers. 51, 53), there is here nothing. On the contrary, the petition there: "Let Thine eyes be open," etc. (ver. 52), is here notably enlarged and strengthened by the important summons: "Now, arise . . . unto Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy strength." This summons to the solemn and formal taking possession of the temple, to which the following narrative of the fire coming down on the sacrifice corresponds, is justly declared by Thenius to be original, and defended against the assumption that it is an arbitrary addition made by the Chronist (Berth., etc.); for, in consequence of the absence of this summons to take possession of the sanctuary, the point of the whole prayer is wanting in 1 Kings viii., and the suspicion is raised that there some lines have fallen out at the end. Yet, in respect of form, our author, in his rendering of the close of the prayer, might have rested partly on other old documents, particularly on Ps. cxxxii. 8-10, a passage which coincides almost verbally with vers. 41, 42 (but possibly also the Psalmist might have borrowed from the original edition of Solomon's prayer, correctly retained in our passage), and on Isa. lv. 3, where "the mercies of David" occur, coinciding verbally with our passage (ver. 42*b*), and intended,

indeed, in the same sense (denoting the Lord's merciful dealings with David, not David's pious deeds, as Keil thinks); comp. also Ps. lxxxix. 50.—*And now arise, O Lord God, to Thy rest*, enter now the rest to which the throne of Thy glory has attained. נוּחַ for מְנוּחָה, only elsewhere in Esth. ix. 16-18, and there in the form נוֹחַ; comp. also Num. x. 36: בְנֻחֹה, as there is here a significant accord with the words of Moses referring to the setting out and resting of the ark in the wilderness.—*And let Thy saints be glad for the good* (בַּטּוֹב, as Job xx. 18; Ps. civ. 28). The parallel Ps. cxxxii. 9 has here more briefly: "and let Thy saints shout for joy" (יְרַנֵּנוּ for יִשְׂמְחוּ בַטּוֹב).—Ver. 42. *Turn not away the face of Thine anointed*, refuse not his prayer; comp. 1 Kings ii. 16. For the "mercies of David," see above.

4. The Divine Confirmation of the Dedication of the Temple: ch. vii. 1-10. The first part of this section, vers. 1-3, is wanting in 1 Kings viii.; the second, except ver. 6, which is there wanting, agrees almost verbally with 1 Kings viii. 62-66. —*And when Solomon . . . the fire came down from heaven.* Both this account of the descent of a miraculous fire from heaven consuming the sacrifice, and that of the filling of the house with the glory of the Lord, along with the adoring worship of the whole community before God wonderfully manifesting Himself, are peculiar to the Chronist. In 1 Kings viii. 54-61, instead of this is found an address of Solomon to the assembly, with the expression of thanks to God for His goodness to Israel, and the petition for the further manifestation of His mercy and grace. The difference, that our author relates something miraculous on which the books of Kings are silent, is similar to that in the history of the census and the pestilence, 1 Chron. xxi. 26. Yet the earlier account of the miraculous filling of the house with the glory of God (v. 11-14) is also found in the author of 1 Kings viii. 10. Thus both narratives agree in attesting a miraculous appearance at the temple dedication; but that of the older writer places this wonder before the prayer of Solomon, without placing a second miracle at the end of this prayer, whereas the Chronist reports a twofold coming of glory of the Lord, the first before the prayer, the second after it, and connected with the consuming of the offering by heavenly fire (or, as it may be supposed, with Keil, consisting in this operation of fire). Arbitrary reduplication of the miracle that had already taken place according to the oldest record and shaping of the supposed second wonder according to the model from the Mosaic time, Lev. ix. 23 f., are charged by modern criticism (Then., Berth., Kamph., etc.) against the Chronist or the younger narrative adopted by him. But it may at least be assumed that the tendency of the Chronist to the history of worship was the occasion of his mentioning the second wonder, whereas the author of the books of Kings, in accordance with his attention to the history of the kingdom, took less interest in this. It was scarcely abhorrence of the miraculous, or preference of the natural and conceivable, on the part of the latter, that led him to avoid the account of the miraculous consuming of the offering; comp. his account of the corresponding wonder in the history of Elijah (1 Kings xviii.), on which our author is silent on other grounds; and see, moreover, Evangelical and Ethical Reflections after ch. ix., No. 3.—*And consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices*, the offerings mentioned ch. v. 6, which the king and the people had slain at the entrance of the ark in the temple, and which were slain during the prayer of dedication, but not yet burnt, partly on the altar of burnt-offering, partly on other altars erected specially for them in the inner courts (ver. 7).—Ver. 3. *And all the sons of Israel saw the fire come down.* So also in the original fact of the Mosaic history, Lev. ix. 24.—*And they bowed down . . . on the pavement.* For this pavement (רִצְפָה) or flooring in the court, that we may not certainly conceive to be mosaic work of ornamental variegated stone, as in the Persian citadel at Susa, Esth. i. 6, comp. Ezek. xl. 17, 18.—Vers. 4-10. The solemnities of sacrifice and festival, even to the addition concerning the musical part in ver. 6, are described in exact accordance with 1 Kings viii. 62 ff., even with regard to the number of the victims offered. For these great but not incredibly great numbers (22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep), comp. partly the remarks on the great feast at Hebron, 1 Chron. xii. 39, partly the notice justly quoted by Berth. from Josephus, *De bello Jud.* vi. 9. 3, according to which, even in the Roman times, within a few hours, 256,500 passover lambs were slain at Jerusalem. These colossal offerings and festivals exceed our conception quite as much as the numbers attesting the magnitude of the present steam or railway trade, or of the modern warfare, transcend the imagination of the ancients.—Ver. 6. *And the priests stood at their posts*, literally, "watches"; comp. ch. viii. 14, xxxv. 2; the Vulg. rightly in substance: *in officiis suis;* to suppose a standing of the priests according to their divisions (Berth.) is unnecessary. —*When David praised by their hand*, that is, executing the song of praise arranged by David, so that he, as it were, praised God by their musical performance. The Vulg. translate in substance correctly, but somewhat freely: *hymnos David canentes per manus suas* (similarly the Sept.). On the whole verse, comp. the similar but somewhat more diffuse notice of the co-operation of the priests and Levites in the solemnity, ch. v. 11-13.—Ver. 7. *And Solomon hallowed the middle of the court*, "the court immediately before the temple forming the middle of the sacred square" (Then.). This whole inner space had Solomon formed as it were into a great altar of sacrifice, on account of the multitude of offerings to be presented. The notice is plainly supplementary, on which account וַיְקַדֵּשׁ (with the ו *relat.* of mere sequence of thought) may be rendered by the pluperfect.—Ver. 8. *And Solomon kept the feast at that time*, namely, the feast of tabernacles; comp. Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35 ff. On the now following notes of time, and their greater clearness than those of the parallel 1 Kings viii. 65 f., see Bähr on this passage.—Ver. 10. *He sent away the people to their tents*, that is, their homes; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 55; and ch. x. 16 (1 Kings xii. 16).—*For the goodness that the Lord had shown to David and to Solomon.* In 1 Kings viii. 66, "and to Solomon" is wanting; but the arbitrary addition of this expression is not therefore to be charged on the Chronist (against Thenius).

**3. *Revelation of the Lord to Solomon on the Completion of the Temple and his House:* ch. vii. 11-22.**

CH. VII. 11. And Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and the king's house; and
in all that came into Solomon's heart to do in the house of the LORD, and in his
12 own house, he succeeded. And the LORD appeared to Solomon by night, and
said to him, I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for a
13 house of sacrifice. If I shut up heaven and there be no rain, or if I command
14 the locust to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people. And my
people, on whom my name is called, humble themselves, and pray, and seek my
face, and turn from their wicked ways: then will I hear from heaven, and forgive
15 their sin, and heal their land. Now mine eyes shall be open, and mine ears attent
16 to the prayer of this place. And now I have chosen and sanctified this house,
that my name may be there for ever; and mine eyes and my heart shall be there
17 always. And thou, if thou walk before me, as David thy father walked, and do
according to all that I have commanded thee, and observe my statutes and my
18 judgments: Then will I establish the throne of thy kingdom, as I have
covenanted with David thy father, saying, There shall not be cut off from thee
19 a man to rule in Israel. But if ye [and your children][1] turn away, and forsake my
statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and go and serve
20 other gods, and worship them: Then will I pluck them out of my land which I
have given them; and this house, which I have sanctified to my name, will I cast
21 out of my sight, and make it a proverb and a byword among all nations. And
this house, which was high,[2] every passer-by shall be astonished at it, and he
22 shall say, Why hath the LORD done this unto this land and to this house? And
they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD God of their fathers, who
brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and
worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath He brought all this evil upon
them.

[1] וּבְנֵיהֶם seems to have fallen out after אַתֶּם, not merely according to 1 Kings ix. 6, but according to the suffix of the 3d per. in נְתַשְׁתִּים (and also לָהֶם), ver. 20.

[2] For עֶלְיוֹן, which the Vulg. does not give, and the Pesch. and Arab. render by "desolation," עִיִּים (*ruinæ*) appears to have originally stood in the text; thus instead of אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה עֶלְיוֹן there was probably יִהְיֶה עִיִּים, *ruina fiet.* In the parallel text 1 Kings ix. 8, indeed, עֶלְיוֹן stands, and the Sept. renders our passage: *καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ὁ ὑψηλός.*

EXEGETICAL.

The parallel text 1 Kings ix. 1-9 agrees in substance, but often not in words, with our section; in particular, the latter contains some farther extensions and explanations of what is there commanded, and a longer independent addition, ver. 12*b*-ver. 16*a*.

Ver. 11*b*.—*And all that came into Solomon's heart.* This is a paraphrase of וְאֵת־כָּל־חֵשֶׁק שְׁלֹ׳, "and all the desire of Solomon"; comp. also for חֵשֶׁק, desire, viii. 6.—Ver. 12. *The Lord appeared to Solomon by night.* The addition: "the second time, as He had appeared to him at Gibeon," 1 Kings ix. 2, is wanting here. On the contrary, 1 Kings ix. wants all that follows from "have chosen this place for myself" to "have chosen and sanctified this house," ver. 16.—Ver. 13. *If I shut up heaven and there be no rain;* comp. vi. 26, 28, where, among other land plagues, the three here mentioned, drought, locust, and pestilence, are named. The twofold הֵן is here equivalent to the אִם, "if," appearing in the third place; comp. Isa. liv. 15; Jer. iii. 1; Job xl. 23; and see our remark on the latter passage.—Ver. 14. *And my people . . . humble themselves.* Comp. vi. 33; Deut. xxviii. 10; Jer. xv. 16; on ver. 15, comp. vi. 40; on ver. 16, comp. vi. 5, 6.—Ver. 17. *And do according to all,* literally, "to do," etc. The וְ before לַעֲשׂוֹת is redundant, and must apparently be erased according to 1 Kings ix.—Ver. 18. *As I have covenanted with David thy father.* כָּרַתִּי without the object בְּרִית appears to be a mistake for דִּבַּרְתִּי; but comp. v. 10.—*There shall not be cut off from thee a man to rule in Israel.* For this in 1 Kings ix. 5 is: . . . "a man on the throne of Israel." Our מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל seems to be an unintentional variation of the text there, arising from a recollection of Mic. v. 1.—Ver. 19. *But if ye turn away.* For the necessary supplement of וּבְנֵיכֶם, "and

your children," comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 20. *Then will I pluck them;* נְתַשְׁתִּי (for the הִכְרַתִּי in 1 Kings ix. 7) in this sense also Deut. xxix. 27; 1 Kings xiv. 15. For the following: "casting out" of God's sight, comp. Deut. ix. 17, Rev. ii. 5; for a "proverb and a byword among all all nations," Deut. xxviii. 37, Jer. xxiv. 9.—Ver. 21. *And this house, which was high.* In favour of the here probably necessary emendation יִהְיֶה עִיִּים, comp., besides the remark in the Crit. Note, Mic. iii. 12; Jer. xxvi. 18; Ps. lxxix. 1. For the following: "every passer-by shall be astonished," comp. Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8.—*Why hath the Lord done this.* For בַּמֶּה 1 Kings has the more usual and intelligible עַל־מָה.

### *c.* The External Glory of Solomon's Kingdom, and his End.—Ch. viii., ix.

#### *α. Solomon's Building, Serfs, Divine Worship, and Navigation:* ch. viii.

Ch. viii. 1. And after the course of twenty years, in which Solomon built the house
2 of the Lord, and his own house. The cities which Huram had given to
Solomon, Solomon built, and caused the sons of Israel to dwell in them.
3, 4 And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and subdued it. And he built
Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the cities of stores which he had built in
5 Hamath. And he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the nether,
6 fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars. And Baalath, and all the cities of
stores that Solomon had, and all the chariot-cities and cities of the riders,
and all the desire of Solomon which he desired to build in Jerusalem, and in
Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion.
7 All the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the
8 Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, who were not of Israel. Of
their sons who were left after them in the land, whom the sons of Israel had
9 not consumed, these Solomon levied for serfs unto this day. But of the sons
of Israel[1] Solomon made none to be servants for his work; but they were
soldiers, and captains of his knights,[2] and captains of his chariots and riders.
10 And these were the chiefs of King Solomon's officers,[3] even two hundred and
fifty, that bare rule over the people.
11 And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh from the city of David
unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not
dwell in the house of David king of Israel; for the places are holy into
which the ark of God hath come.
12 Then Solomon offered burnt-offerings unto the Lord on the altar of the
13 Lord, which he had built before the porch. And by a daily rule, each day
he offered according to the command of Moses, on the sabbaths, and on
the new moons, and on the solemn feasts, three times a year, in the feast of
unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles.
14 And he appointed, after the order of David his father, the courses of the
priests for their service, and the Levites for their charges, to praise and to
minister before the priests by a daily rule each day, and the porters in their
courses at every gate: for so was the command of David the man of God.
15 And they departed not from the command[4] of the king to the priests and
16 Levites for all things and for the treasures. And all the work of Solomon
was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the Lord, and
until it was finished: the house of the Lord was complete.
17 Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, on the sea-side in the
18 land of Edom. And Huram sent him by the hand of his servants, ships and
servants knowing the sea; and they went with Solomon's servants to Ophir,
and fetched thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them
to King Solomon.

[1] אֲשֶׁר after וּמִן־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל must apparently be erased, as it is wanting in some mss., and likewise in 1 Kings ix. 22.

[2] For שָׂרֵי שָׁלִישָׁיו is perhaps to be read, as 1 Kings ix., וְשָׂרָיו וְשָׁלִישָׁיו, "and his captains and his knights."

[3] *Kethib:* הַנְּצִיבִים (comp 1 Chron. xviii. 13; 2 Chron. xvii. 2); *Keri:* הַנִּצָּבִים (so 1 Kings ix. 23).

[4] For מִצְוַת some mss. have מִמִּצְוַת, though the construction with סוּר by no means requires this change; comp. Ew. § 282, a. As little is it necessary, on account of the Sept. and Vulg., which have the plur. (ἐντολῆς, *mandatis regis*), to point מִצְוֹת.

### EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—Here brief notes and aphoristic accounts, mostly referring to the external occasions and events of the reign of Solomon, are put together, as in the parallel 1 Kings ix. 10-28, in such a way that they form as it were a gleaning to the report of the chief work of his reign, the building of the temple. The order is in both places the same: 1. The building or finishing of several cities; 2. The arrangement of the service for these buildings; 3. The report of the dwelling assigned to the daughter of the Egyptian king; 4. Regulations concerning sacrifice; 5. Navigation to Ophir. But the contents of these five paragraphs differ much from one another in the two narratives, especially the first relating to the building of the cities (vers. 1-6; comp. 1 Kings ix. 10-19), where it is clear that we have extracts, not merely differing in the mode of selection from the same sources, and aiding to complete each other, but (with respect to one point at least) actually contradicting one another; see on vers. 1, 2.

1. Solomon's building of Cities: vers. 1-6.—*And after the course of twenty years,* seven years during which the temple was built, and thirteen years during which the royal palace was built, 1 Kings vi. 38, vii. 1. With the same date the statement in 1 Kings ix. 10 opens.—Ver. 2. *The cities which Huram had given to Solomon, Solomon built,* completed and fortified (comp. vers. 4, 5, and 1 Kings ix. 13).—*And caused the sons of Israel to dwell in them,* transplanted Israelites as colonists into them; comp. 2 Kings xvii. 6. 1 Kings ix. 10-13, deviating from the present statement, speaks rather of twenty Israelitish cities not far from Tyre (in "Galil") which Solomon ceded or pledged to the Phœnician king, to indemnify him for the building materials and moneys received from him. These obviously contradictory statements it has been attempted to harmonize in two ways—1. By the assumption that Solomon first ceded the twenty cities to Huram, who, however, because they were in bad condition, or were little worth to him (comp. 1 Kings ix. 12: "and they pleased him not;" and ver. 13: "he called them—contemptuously—the land of Cabul"), restored them to him, whereupon Solomon built them up (Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 5. 3; Seb. Schmidt, Starke, recently Keil); 2. By the assumption that Solomon gave Huram twenty Israelitish cities, for which the latter gave him twenty Phœnician cities; and the author of 1 Kings speaks exclusively of the former gift, but the Chronist only of the latter (Kimchi and other Rabbis). The former of these two suppositions, for which there is some ground in 1 Kings ix. 12 f., is decidedly preferable. Yet there is much to say for the assumption of modern critics, that our passage contains a remodelling of the old statement in Kings in favour of Solomon; see Bähr on 1 Kings ix.—Ver. 3. *And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and subdued it,* "prevailed over it" (חָזַק עַל, as ch. xxvii. 5; Dan. xi. 5). By Hamath-zobah is to be understood, not a city Hamath in the land of Zobah, but rather the land of Hamath not far from Zobah, the Syrian kingdom of Hamath bordering on Zobah; comp. ver. 4, from which it is clear that a district or kingdom, not a city, is meant, as in 1 Chron. xviii. 3, where (in the designation of Hadadezer as "king of Zobah towards Hamath") inversely the situation of Zobah is determined by that of the neighbouring Hamath. For the designation of bordering, or being in the immediate neighbourhood, by the *status constr.*, comp. the connection often occurring in Numbers and Joshua: "the Jordan of Jericho" for "the Jordan by Jericho," Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13, Josh. xiii. 32, etc., and above, 1 Chron. vi. 63 (which see). Moreover, the account of the subjugation of Hamath by Solomon is peculiar to our book. The fact, indeed, is presupposed in 2 Kings xiv. 28, but is not directly mentioned by the author of the books of Kings. —*And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the cities . . . in Hamath,* the latter obviously to protect the borders of this newly-conquered country against the hostile King Rezon of Zobah (and more lately of Damascus); see 1 Kings xi. 23 ff. Tadmor or Palmyra, for only this celebrated old city of the wilderness can be meant by the expressed addition בַּמִּדְבָּר, appears here connected with the kingdom of Hamath, or bordering on it, and made by Solomon to be a border fortress of it. This notice also, so far at least as Tadmor is concerned, is wanting in 1 Kings ix.; for the Tammor named there, among other cities fortified by Solomon, ver. 18 (for which the *Keri* puts תַּדְמֹר), appears rather to be a place in South Palestine, perhaps identical with the Tamar mentioned Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28, the Θαμαρά of the Onomasticon of Eusebius, and the present Kurnub; comp. Movers, *Chron.* p. 210; Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 160; and Bähr on 1 Kings ix. 18. There is no sufficient reason to doubt the truth of the present statement of the Chronist regarding Palmyra; the whole old Oriental tradition (even the Arabic legends in Schultens, *Index geogr. s.v.* תַּדְמֹר) testifies to it.—Ver. 5. *And he built Upper and Nether Beth-horon;* comp. on 1 Chron. vii. 24, and for the second accusative of the object עָרֵי מָצוֹר, "fenced cities," ch. xi. 10, xiv. 6.—Ver. 6. *And Baalath, and all the cities of stores,* cities for the collection of provisions, magazine-cities, as in ver. 4; comp. ch. xvii. 12, xxxii. 28, and Bähr on 1 Kings ix. 19. Moreover, of the places here mentioned, Upper Beth-horon is not named in 1 Kings ix. 15-18, but, on the contrary, the here wanting Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (ver. 15).

2. Arrangement of the Serfs: vers. 7-10; comp. 1 Kings ix. 20-23, where, however, as the superscription, ver. 15: "and this is the mode of the levy," shows, a closer connection of this section with the previous statements regarding the buildings (vers. 15-19) subsists, whereas here the section appears to follow the preceding one, without

any connecting link.—Ver. 8. *Of their sons who were left after them in the land.* מִן before בְּנֵיהֶם must apparently be taken as the partitive מִן (some of their sons); but a hyperbaton may also be assumed: מִן־בְּנֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר for אֲשֶׁר מִן־בְּ׳ (Keil). The מִן is by no means to be expunged because it is wanting in 1 Kings ix. 21 (against Berth.).—Ver. 9. *But of the sons of Israel Solomon made none.* On the probable spuriousness of the אֲשֶׁר before לֹא נָתַן, and on the perhaps necessary alteration of the שָׂרֵי שָׁלִישָׁיו, "captains of his knights," into "his captains and his knights," see Crit. Notes.—Ver. 10. *And these were the chiefs of King Solomon's officers.* So according to the *Keri*, coinciding with 1 Kings ix. 23; the *Kethib* שָׂרֵי הַנְּצִיבִים would give the sense: "chiefs of the overseers." The number 250 is confirmed by the Sept. and Vulg. in our passage, whereas the same translators and Josephus, in the parallel 1 Kings ix. 23, present the higher number 550. The explanation of this difference see on ch. ii. 17; in our passage only the Israelitish overseers or taskmasters, in 1 Kings ix. 23 the Canaanitish also, are counted.

3. The Change of the Dwelling-place of the Daughter of Pharaoh: ver. 11.—*The daughter of Pharaoh.* This is most probably the daughter of Psusennes, the last king of the twenty-first (Tanitic) dynasty. In 1 Kings ix. 24 this notice is more easily introduced, as it is preceded by an account of the marriage of Solomon with this daughter of Pharaoh, 1 Kings iii. 1 f., which is wholly wanting in Chronicles.—*For he said, My wife shall not dwell.* This reason for the removal of his wife is not found in 1 Kings ix. 24, yet, by its allusion to the special sanctifying of the house of David by the presence of the ark, it corresponds with the mode of thought characteristic of the Chronist.—*Are holy,* the places into which the ark of the Lord came; הֵמָּה has here in some sort a neuter significance; comp. Ew. § 318, *b*. The statement, 1 Kings ix. 24*b*, that at the time of this transference of the daughter of Pharaoh Solomon built Millo, is wholly wanting in our passage, as not sufficiently important for the tendency of our author.

4. Regulations concerning Sacrifice: vers. 12–16; comp. 1 Kings ix. 25, where the corresponding report appears in a considerably shorter form.—*Then Solomon offered burnt-offerings unto the Lord.* "Then," namely, after the building of the temple was completed, and the dedication finished.—*On the altar of the Lord, which he had built,* on that which had been erected by him in the new sanctuary, no longer on that before the tabernacle in Gibeon, as formerly in the beginning of his reign, ch. iii. 1.—Ver. 13. *And by daily rule each day he offered,* "and in the matter of a day in the day to offer;" the ו before בִּדְבַר is explicative, "namely," and the ב before דְּבַר is the so-called ב *essentiæ:* "consisting, namely, in the daily, in that which is appointed for every day," according to the law Lev. xxiii. 37. The infinitive לְהַעֲלוֹת stands in the later usage for the *infin. absol.* (Ew. § 280, *d*); comp. for example, 1 Chron. ix. 25, xiii. 4, xv. 2.—*And on the solemn feasts, three times a year,* on the three great festivals, which are then named in order.—Ver. 14. *And he appointed, after the order of David his father, the courses of the priests;* comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 25, 26, and for the designation of David as "the man of God," Neh. xii. 24.—Ver. 15. *And they departed not from the command of the king.* See the Crit. Note, and comp. for the second member, 1 Chron. xxvi. 20–28.—Ver. 16. *And all the work of Solomon was prepared.* וַתִּכֹּן, as in xxix. 25, xxxv. 10, 16. What is meant here by מְלֶאכֶת is shown by the following מוּסַד וגו׳, which may be taken either (with Kamph.) as genitive depending on הַיּוֹם, or (with Berth., Keil, etc.) as apposition to מְלֶאכֶת, "unto this day, namely, the founding," etc. In the former case, which appears to us preferable, for the construction with עַד, perhaps Ezra viii. 29 might be compared.—*The house of the Lord was complete,* set up in all its parts, finished as a house of God. The notice, which is found literally the same in 1 Kings ix. 25, is meant to denote, not perhaps the building, but rather the fitting up and arrangement of the temple for divine worship, as brought to final completion. It cannot therefore be regarded (with Berth.) as the subscription to all that precedes from ch. i. 18, but closes only the present paragraph referring to worship, which forms a sort of appendix to the account of the temple building.

5. The Navigation to Ophir: vers. 17, 18.—*Then went Solomon.* Comp. 1 Kings ix. 26, where the reference to this trade with Ophir, otherwise agreeing pretty closely with our passage (26–28), begins with the words: "And Solomon made ships" (ואני עשה instead of the present אז הלך). By "then" our author transfers these nautical undertakings in general to the second half of the reign of Solomon, or the time after the building of the temple and the palace. For Ezion-geber and Eloth on the sea (1 Kings more exactly: "Ezion-geber beside Eloth," and then, "on the shore of the sea"), comp. the expositors on 1 Kings ix.—Ver. 18. *And Huram sent him . . . ships.* It is no more necessary to suppose a transport of ships ready made across the isthmus of Suez than a circumnavigation of Africa. The assumption of a supply of timber for ships, and of mariners, by the Phœnician king, is quite sufficient; and with this (which is defended by Keil, Bähr, etc.) our passage appears to be not contradictory to 1 Kings ix. 27.—*And fetched thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold.* According to 1 Kings ix. 28, the profit amounted only to 420 talents, a difference which may be explained either by assuming a change of the numeral כ into נ, or a fault of memory on the part of one of the two reporters (perhaps a round number chosen by the Chronist). Moreover, it appears to be not a single gain, but the sum total of the gold gained in the repeated voyages to Ophir that is here spoken of; comp. ch. ix. 13.

APPENDIX.—It is necessary to go somewhat fully into the question of the situation of Ophir,

on account of the many scientific memoirs recently published on it, especially in geographical literature and travels (comp. our former brief remarks on Job xxii. 24, and those of Bähr on 1 Kings x. 22).

1. As Ezion-geber on the Red Sea is quite definitely given, both in 2 Chron. viii. 17 f. and 1 Kings ix. 26–28, as the starting-point of the voyages under Solomon to Ophir, and as Jehoshaphat's later attempt to renew this trade, 1 Kings xxii. 49, 2 Chron. xx. 35, was made from the same port, all those conjectures concerning the site of Ophir are to be accounted null that place it anywhere west of Phœnicia and Palestine, whether near the coast of the Mediterranean or any of its bays, or beyond the Mediterranean, in the region of the new world. This includes—*a.* the opinions of Hardt, Calmet, Oldermann, of whom the first sought Ophir in Phœnicia, the second in Armenia, and the third in Iberia; *b.* the different hypotheses referring to certain coasts, islands, or lands of America or Oceanica, as the opinion of Columbus that the Ophir of Solomon was rediscovered in the country of Haiti; that of the Spanish navigator Mendana, under Philip II., who in 1567 designated a group of islands, abounding in gold, and inhabited by cannibals, east of New Guinea, which he took for Ophir by the name of Solomon's Archipelago; that of Arias Montanus, Vatablus, Osiander, P. Fr. Pfeffelius, etc., who identified the gold regions of Peru and Mexico first with Parvaim (ch. iii. 6, Parvaim = Peruaim, double Peru, the two Perus), and then also with Ophir; that of the French engineer Ouffroy de Thoron (in an article in the Genevan journal *Le Globe*, 1869), who thinks that the name Ophir is rather to be found in the Japura, a branch of the Amazon, and in accordance with this, transfers Parvaim and Tarshish (ch. ix. 21) to Brazil; and the partly still more extravagant and uncritical fancies of Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, George Brown, in his *Paläorama* (German edit. Erl. 1867), etc. Comp. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 353 ff.; *Ausland* 1872, No. 23, p. 532; *Globus*, vol. xvii. p. 382 f., and vol. xxi. p. 244; and Pressel, Art. "Ophir" in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* x. 656. From the notices of Parvaim (ch. iii. 6) and Tarshish (ch. ix. 21) in our book, not the least hint can be drawn in favour of a western Ophir, or of a western direction of the Ophir trade. For, with regard to Parvaim, the single and quite incidental mention of the gold of Parvaim leaves room for all possible conjectures concerning the import of the name,[1] while yet an eastern situation for this gold country is in itself the most probable (see on ch. iii. 6); and of all the conjectures regarding it, that of Knobel, in which he combines the name with Sepharvaim = Sephar, Gen. x. 30, and places it in the Joktanide South Arabia, or Oman (*Völkertaf.* p. 161), has most in its favour; see No. 5. With regard to the ships of Solomon sailing to Tarshish, as ch. ix. 21 seems to affirm, this rests most probably on a misunderstanding of the phrase: "ships of Tarshish" (see on the passage); and, accordingly, the various hypotheses on the relation of Tarshish to Ophir which have been invented (as that of Michaelis, *Spicileg. geogr. Hebr.* i. 98 ff.): that Hiram's and Solomon's fleets sailed beyond Tarshish, that is, beyond Spain, round Africa, as the Phœnicians did 400 years later under Pharaoh Necho, but in the opposite direction, to Ophir in the East Indies; that of Weston in the *Classic. Journ.* 1821, Sept., p. 17 f., and of Keil in the *Dorpat Contributions*, 1833, ii. 240, and in his earlier *Comm. on the Books of Kings*, 1846, p. 311, according to which the Ophir voyages proceeded from Ezion-geber, and the Tarshish or Spanish voyages from Joppa; that of Seetzen, "Ueber Ophir" in Von Zach's *Monatlicher Korrespondenz*, xix. p. 331 ff., who, in 2 Chron. ix. 21, finds a promontory Tarsis on the Karamanian coast of the Persian Gulf, which is mentioned in the old accounts concerning the Periplus of Nearchus, and endeavours to render probable his removal of Ophir to South Arabia),—are wholly superfluous and groundless.

2. If the eastern situation of Ophir stand, we may take the name first as a general designation of all possible gold-yielding lands east of Palestine, and therefore as an equally indefinite and vague geographical notion with that of Kush in Hebrew antiquity, Scythia among the Greeks, India in the Middle Ages, or Tartary, the Levant, etc., in modern times. But it is against this indefinite and therefore very convenient assumption of Jos. Acosta, Heeren, Hartmann, Tychsen, and Zeune, that, according to all the notices in history of the voyages to Ophir, this must have been a definite country, or, in other words, that the end of this voyage should, no more than Ezion-geber its starting-point, be robbed of its concrete import, and generalized into the indefinite.

3. Among the gold-producing coasts east of Palestine, East India, in particular some province, coast, or island of East India, appears to have a specially high claim to identification with Ophir; for — 1. The name Ophir finds its most convenient meaning in Indian words or local names, whether we combine the form usual in the Sept. Σωφιρά or Σουφίρ (also Σωφηρά, Σωφαρά), as well as the Coptic designation: *Sophir*, for India, with the Sanscr. *Supāra*, "fair coast" (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, i. 107), and with Σουπάρα of Ptolemy = Οὔππαρα in the *Peripl.*, or refer to the pastoral tribe of the Abhira, between the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Cambay. 2. Several of the commodities brought to Palestine from Ophir, namely, the peacocks, apes, and the almuggim or sandal-wood (see 2 Chron. ix. 10, 21, and comp. 1 Kings x. 12, 22), are specifically Indian products, that seem to have been brought only thence, and whose export from any non-Indian emporium is scarcely conceivable. 3. The names also of those imports seem capable of a specially easy explanation from the Indian language;

[1] It has been attempted to identify Parvaim with Barbatia, or Parthatia, a town standing, according to Plin. *H. N.* vi. 32, on the Tigris (Castell. *Lex. heptagl.* 3062); to affirm it = Sepharvaim, 2 Kings xvii. 24, on the one hand, and = Siphron, Num. xxxiv. 8, on the other, and accordingly to refer it to the gold-bearing Chrysorrhous in Syria (*Harenberg, Brem., and Verd. Bibl.* iv. 44); to explain the name as the same with Ophir, and identify the Parvaim-Ophir either with Peru (Arias Mont., etc.; see above) or with Taprobane, now Ceylon (Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 27; *Hall. Allg. Welthistorie*, iii. 413; and Starke, *Synops.* on 2 Chron. iii. 6); or lastly, to explain the name from the Indian, and so compare either the Sanscr. *pûrva*, "before, eastern" (Wilford in *Asiat. Researches*, viii. 276; Gesen. *Th.* ii. 1125), or *paru*, "mountain" (Parvaim = δίδυμα ὄρη), as Hitzig on Dan. x. 5, who, however, transfers this double mountain to South Arabia. Comp. also Leyrer's (Art. "Parvaim" in Herzog's *Real.-Encycl.*) reference to the Parvadros range on the gold-bearing Phasis in Colchis, as well as the combination of Knobel preferred in the text.

comp. with קֹפִים, "apes," the Sanscr. *Kapi*, with תֻּכִּיִּים, peacocks, the Sanscr. *Çikhi*, Malabar. *toghei*, with אַלְמֻגִּים or אַלְגֻּמִּים the Sanscr. *valgu* (*valgum*). 4. The length of the voyage, which, according to 2 Chron. ix. 21 (1 Kings x. 22), required so much time, that only once in three years the fleet of Tarshish came and brought gold and other costly wares of Ophir, appears to indicate a country that was at least as far as East India from the northern point of the Red Sea. For these reasons, and partly also on account of some old traditions pointing to India, for instance, in Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 6. 4, a number of eminent scholars since Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 27 ff.), W. Ouseley and Hadr. Reland (*Dissert. miscel.* No. IV., *de Ophir*), of the moderns, especially Lassen (*Ind. Alterthumskunde*), Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xiv. 346–431), and Kiepert (in the *Nationalzeitung* 1872, No. xlvi.), have declared themselves for some coast of India as corresponding to the ancient Ophir.—But several objections may be made to these arguments: To 1. That suitable coincidences of names or accordances with Ophir are presented in East Africa and Arabia as well as in those localities of India (see below); besides, neither the region of Sufara or Supara (near Goa), nor that of Abhira, south-east of the Delta of Indus, is gold-producing, or even specially near any gold district. To 2. That almug-wood, apes, and peacocks, if really exclusive products of India (what may be doubted with regard to the almug-wood from 2 Chron. ii. 7, and cannot be asserted respecting the apes), might very well be brought, not directly from India, but from a port of Arabia, or even East Africa, whither Indian or other ships had carried them. To 3. That the etyma of the names almuggim, kophim, and tukkiim are Indian, as above quoted, is by no means indubitably certain; for in "almuggim," which does not much resemble the Sanscr. *valgu*, the Arabic article *al-* seems rather to be present. That תֻּכִּיִּים is = the Malabar *tóghai* may be doubted on strong philological grounds (see Rödiger in Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1502); and apes might be called קֹפִים, from the Greek κῆπος, κῆβος, which, according to Aristot. *Hist. animal.* ii. 8, Strabo, Plin., etc., designates an Æthiopian species of ape. Moreover, the latest Egyptology has found the latter name (in the form *kap*, *kaph*, *kafi*) also on the primeval Egyptian monuments, which renders its Sanscrit origin altogether doubtful (see Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer egyptischen Königin*, 1868; and comp. R. Rösler in the *Ausland*, 1872, p. 648). To 4. That no weight is to be attached to the length of the voyage, when we consider the slow method of the ancients, especially of the ancient sea voyages (comp. *Odyss.* xv. 454 ff.); and this argument might be urged as well in favour of the southern East Africa; even the defenders of the hypotheses implying still farther regions (see No. 1) might avail themselves of it.

4. If from all this the determination of the site of Ophir in East India seems doubtful and precarious, it fares little better with that which has been further urged in favour of the East African coast, especially Sofala, on the channel of Mozambique (about 20° south lat.). Following the steps of the Portuguese travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, as de Barros, Juan dos Santos, Th. Lopez, Montesquieu, d'Anville, J. Bruce, Robertson in the last century, and recently Quatremère (*Mémoire sur le pays d'Ophir* in the *Mém. de l'Instit. roy.* 1845, tom. xv. ii. p. 350 sq.), Movers (*Die Phönizier*, ii. 3, 58 ff.), the British geographers R. Murchison and J. Crawfurd, and recently the eminent African traveller Karl Mauch, the geographer Petermann partly approving his views (see his *Mittheilungen*, etc., 1872, p. 4, p. 121 ff.), also the director of missions, Wangemann (*Kreuzzeitung* of 30th Jan. 1872), and an anonymous reporter in *Ausland* (1872, No. 10), have endeavoured to render probable the identity of Sofala or some neighbouring South African coast with Ophir. The chief grounds for this view are: 1. To the name Ophir appears to correspond, if not that of Sofala (which seems rather to lead to שְׁפֵלָה, "lowland"), yet that of a mountain Fura or Afura, with ancient, probably Phœnician, ruins, of which the Portuguese were cognisant in the 16th and 17th centuries (see dos Santos, *Æthiopia orientalis*, Evora 1609), and which have been lately rediscovered by K. Mauch, and have been with great probability identified with the Zembabye or Zimbaoe of the Portuguese, the Agysymba of Ptolemy. 2. The wealth of East Africa in gold excels that of East India, especially the East Indian coast; and with regard to the coast of Sofala and the ancient Agysymba or Zimbaoe, its wealth in gold dust and minerals is celebrated by antiquity. The situation of the mountain Fura with the ruins mentioned, dos Santos defines briefly as "in the gold land" (*tracto do ouro*). 3. The wealth also of East Africa in ivory (שֶׁנְהַבִּים, 2 Chron. ix. 21; 1 Kings x. 22) was much greater than that of India; apes also and precious stones the East African emporia could certainly furnish in great abundance. 4. The report of Herodotus iv. 42 concerning the circumnavigation of Africa by Necho, proves that the Phœnicians were wont to extend their voyages from the Red Sea far southward along the east coast of Africa. 5. The ruins lately discovered again by Mauch of the ancient Zimbaoe on the Fura or Afura mountains, with their rough cyclopean stone walls built without mortar, on an average fifteen feet thick and thirty feet high (see the particulars in Mauch's letters to the missionaries Grützner and Merensky in Petermann as quoted, and in a recent letter of Mauch to the African traveller Ed. Mohr, published in the *Weserzeitung*, Dec. 1872), bear a very ancient stamp; the ornaments wrought on them point at least to a time before the Portuguese and the Arabs, and could apparently be derived only from the Phœnicians or Jews, because numerous cedar beams, employed apparently for ceilings, are found in them, and also because one of the two discovered buildings presents, as Mauch asserts, "an imitation of Solomon's temple, a fortress and house of God at the same time" (?). But none of these reasons is decisive; for in regard to—1. The etymology Ophir = Afura, Fura, has about the same precarious value as the combination with the Sanscr. Abhira; Ofir or Ofar (Ofra; see No. 5) of South Arabia has at least as good a claim to be taken for the biblical Ophir as that region of inner Africa first named by recent writers, which lies, moreover, 200 leagues landward from the coast of Sofala. To 2. Clear traces

that the golden wealth of the region in question was known to the Phœnicians or to the people before the Christian era are still wanting. To 3. Along with ivory, apes, etc., the often quoted classical passages of the Old Testament name also quite distinctly the non-African products, peacocks and (probably) sandal-wood, as imported by the traders of Solomon. To 4. The circumnavigation of Africa under Necho proves nothing for a much earlier period; it is described by Herodotus quite distinctly as something unheard of, quite new and isolated; and from Ptolemy and the old geographers it is evident that the east coast of Africa was known and accessible to the ancients only as far as *Prasum promont.*, the present Cape Delgado, 10-11° south lat., and not farther south. To 5. The existence of the ruins of Zimbaoe before the Portuguese and Arabs, the presence of cedar-wood (?), the supposed partial resemblance to the construction of Solomon's temple, by no means prove its Phœnician or ancient Israelitish origin; to establish this would require much more exact and extensive investigations than those carried on by Mauch in his flying visit of last year (comp. also Petermann as quoted, p. 125).

5. The greatest abundance of probabilities, but certainly nothing more definite or decisive than probabilities, lies with those learned investigators who seek Ophir somewhere in South Arabia, as the Arabian geographers Edrisi and Abulfeda, partly also Bochart, further Niebuhr, Seetzen (in v. Zach as quoted), Volney, Gosselin, Vincent, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, Knobel (*Völkertafel*, p. 190 f.), Hitzig (*Gesch. Israels*, p. 156 f.), Bähr, and Keil (on 1 Kings x. 22), the English geographer C. Beke, the French traveller Jos. Halévy, Pressel also (Art. "Ophir" in Herzog as quoted), and Albr. Roscher (*Ptolemäus und die Handelsstrassen in Centralafrika*, Gotha 1857), the latter two with the peculiar modification that they take an island near the coast of South Arabia, perhaps Dahlak in the Red Sea (so especially Roscher), or Socotora (so Pressel), for the proper Ophir, whence Solomon's traders fetched the various products mentioned. If now the latter assumption, which rests on the report by Eupolemus, in Euseb. *Præp. evang.* ix. 30, of an "island Urphe or Uphre" (Οὐφρή?), situated in the Erythræan Sea, rich in gold mines, and already found by David, appears very precarious on account of the doubtful character of its voucher, yet the following arguments, that are scarcely to be invalidated, speak for South Arabia in general: 1. In Gen. x. 29 occurs the name Ophir among the Joktanite tribes of South Arabia, and significantly indeed along with another tribe, that likewise bears the name of a gold land, Havilah (Gen. ii. 11). 2. The Arabian geographer Edrisi knew in the present Oman in the south-east of Arabia no less than three places whose names accord with Ophir—are, indeed, essentially like in sound, namely—*a.* Ofar, two days' journey landwards from Sohar, the present Sur; *b.* Afir or Ghafir in El Ahsa; *c.* A Mount Ofir in Bahrein (see Edrisi in *Jaubert*, i. 147, 152 ff.). 3. Many biblical passages attest the great wealth in gold of South Arabia, with special reference to Saba, situated in the south-west, as the account of the queen of Sheba in ch. ix. (1 Kings x.); Ps. lxxii. 15; Isa. lx. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 22; likewise more generally, without special reference to the south-west, several classical authors, as Strabo, xvi. pp. 777, 784; Diodorus, ii. 50, iii. 44, etc. (comp. Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 27). 4. The passages of Scripture testify in part that Arabia was rich also in precious stones, especially Isa. lx. and Ezek. xxvii.; and Strabo, as quoted, attests that it produced silver, at least in the country of the Nabatæans. 5. The remaining products named in ch. ix. 10, 21, and 1 Kings x. 12, 22, which might come only from India, or only from Africa, as ivory, apes, peacocks, sandal-wood, must be brought by Arabian and Indian traders to the marts of Arabia Felix, as well to the eastern (Oman, Ophir) as the western (Sheba) part of the south coast, and thence again exchanged into the Phœnician and Hebrew fleets. The high antiquity, reaching far beyond the time of Solomon, of such a trade through South Arabia of Hither Asia, at least with India (therefore also with Africa, especially with Æthiopia and Upper Egypt), is attested in the surest and fullest manner; see Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 593–596; Movers, *Phöniz.* ii. 3, pp. 247, 256. If accordingly we are to seek Ophir with the greatest probability in south-eastern Arabia, the present Oman, there is still much that is obscure in reference to its situation, its mines and metals, its ports, its relation to the neighbouring Sabæa. More exact investigations into the situation of the regions in question, which Moslem fanaticism has almost secluded from Europeans, and for the scientific exploration of which important contributions have been made only in recent times, by v. Wrede, W. Munzinger, Joseph Halévy, and H. v. Maltzan, will alone yield authentic disclosures in this direction. Whether we are warranted in making so sharp a separation of the Ophir of Gen. x. 29 as a country belonging to Arabia, and of that of the books of Kings and Chronicles as a region possibly far removed from Arabia, as the French Vivien de St. Martin declared to be necessary, against Jos. Halévy in a session of the Paris Geographical Society (comp. also F. v. Hellwald in the *Ausland*, 1872, No. 23, p. 536), appears doubtful. It is difficult to produce exegetical grounds for such a separation of the two Ophirs; the juxtaposition of that of Genesis besides a neighbouring Havilah, without doubt also a gold-producing district, appears to favour the opposite conclusion (see above, 1 [and Introd. § 6]).

[To the note at the end of § 6, Introd., may be added the following considerations: 1. It is obvious that the voyage to Ophir, 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11, 2 Chron. viii. 18, ix. 10, in quest of gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, was distinct from that to Tarshish, 1 Kings x. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 21, for gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, which was made in three years. 2. It is certain that the former, and most probable that the latter, voyage proceeded from Ezion-geber or Elath on the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26, xxii. 48; 2 Chron. viii. 17, xx. 36. In this way the trade of Solomon did not interfere with that of Hiram his ally, which proceeded directly from the seaboard of Phœnicia. 3. Ships going to Tarshish, which was the longer voyage, might visit Ophir by the way, 1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Chron. xx. 36. As Tarshish was of the line of Javan, and belonged to the west, his country could only be reached from the Red Sea by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. This would account for the three years spent on the voyage. It would also favour the probability that Ophir was to be found

on the coast of the Red Sea, either in Arabia or Africa, or both. 4. There are traces in Scripture of the name of a country, especially if it be also the name of the tribe, travelling with the tribe. Thus Asshur, Havilah, Cush, Tarshish, and Ophir may have changed their centre in the course of ages. In particular, Ophir may have had settlements on the east and west of the Red Sea; and Tarshish may have ranged over the south as well as the north of the Straits of Gibraltar. Hence Solomon's traders may have met with Tarshish even on the gold coast of Africa, especially as the coast of this country was particularly inviting to ancient mariners from its slight indentations. As all this is possible, if not probable, we are not warranted in assuming a contradiction, or even an inaccuracy, in the report of the writer of Chronicles.—J. G. M.'

*β. The Visit of the Queen of Sheba:* ch. ix. 1–12.

CH. IX. 1. And the queen of Sheba heard the fame of Solomon, and she came to
prove Solomon with riddles to Jerusalem, with a very great company, and
camels bearing spices, and gold in abundance, and precious stones; and she
2 came to Solomon, and spake to him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon
answered her all her questions, and there was nothing hid from Solomon
3 that he answered her not. And the queen of Sheba saw the wisdom of
4 Solomon, and the house that he had built. And the meat for his table, and
the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their
apparel, and his cup-bearers, and their apparel, and his ascent[1] by which he
5 went up to the house of the LORD; and there was no more spirit in her. And
she said to the king, True was the word that I heard in my land of thy affairs,
6 and of thy wisdom. And I believed not their words, until I came, and mine
eyes had seen; and, behold, the half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not
7 told me: thou exceedest the fame that I heard. Happy are thy men, and
happy are these thy servants, who stand continually before thee, and hear thy
8 wisdom. Blessed be the LORD thy God, who delighted in thee, to set thee
on His throne as king for the LORD thy God; because thy God loved Israel,
to establish him for ever, and make thee king over them, to do judgment and
righteousness.
9 And she gave the king a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and spices
in great abundance, and precious stones; and there was no such spice as that
10 which the queen of Sheba gave King Solomon. And also the servants of
Huram, and the servants of Solomon, who brought gold from Ophir, brought
11 sandal-wood and precious stones. And the king made of the sandal-wood
walks for the house of God and the king's house, and harps and psalteries for
12 singers: and none such were seen before in the land of Judah. And King
Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked,
besides that which she had brought unto the king; and she turned, and went
away to her own land, she and her servants.

*γ. Solomon's Pomp, Riches, and Glory:* vers. 13–28.

13 And the weight of the gold which came to Solomon in one year was six
14 hundred and sixty and six talents of gold. Besides that which chapmen[2] and
merchants brought; and all the kings of Arabia and governors of the country
15 brought gold and silver to Solomon. And King Solomon made two hundred
targets of beaten gold; six hundred [shekels] of beaten gold laid he on one
16 target. And three hundred shields of beaten gold; three hundred [shekels] of
gold laid he on one shield; and the king put them in the house of the forest
17 of Lebanon. And the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with
18 pure gold. And there were six steps to the throne, and a footstool was
fastened to the throne with gold, and arms on each side of the seat, and two
19 lions stood beside the arms. And twelve lions stood there on the six steps
20 on each side; the like was not made in any kingdom. And all the drinking
vessels of King Solomon were of gold, and all the vessels in the house of the
forest of Lebanon were of precious gold; silver was of no account in the days
21 of Solomon. For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of
Huram: once in three years came the ships of Tarshish, and brought gold
and silver, ivory and apes, and peacocks.

22 And King Solomon was greater in riches and wisdom than all the kings
23 of the earth. And all the kings of the earth sought the face of Solomon, to
24 hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart. And they brought each his
gift, vessels of silver and of gold, and garments, armour and spices, horses and
25 mules, a rate year by year. And Solomon had four thousand stalls for horses
and chariots, and twelve thousand riders; and he placed them in the chariot-
26 cities, and with the king at Jerusalem. And he was ruling over all kings
from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt.
27 And the king made silver in Jerusalem as stones, and he made the cedars as
28 the sycamores that are in the Shephelah for abundance. And they brought
horses to Solomon out of Egypt and out of all lands.

δ. *Close of the History of Solomon:* vers. 29–31.

29 And the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in
the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite,
and in the visions of Iddi[3] the seer, concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?
30, 31 And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty years. And Solomon
slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David his father;
and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

[1] וַעֲלִיָּתוֹ, "and his ascent, his stair," is exhibited by all the Hebrew mss.; whereas the old translations uniformly ead, with the Heb. text, 1 Kings x. 5: וְעֹלָתוֹ, "and his burnt-offerings, which he offered," etc.

[2] On the very divergent variants of the old translations of אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים, see Exeg. Expl.

[3] *Kethib* יֶעְדִּי, *Keri* יֶעְדּוֹ. Doubtless the same prophet is meant who is elsewhere called עִדּוֹ (ch. xii. 15, xiii. 22).

EXEGETICAL.

On account of the mostly verbal agreement of the first two of these three sections with 1 Kings x., and of the last with 1 Kings xi. 41–43, we have only to explain the peculiarities of the present text. For the rest, the expositors of the book of Kings are to be compared.

1. Visit of the Queen of Sheba: vers. 1–12; comp. 1 Kings x. 1–13.—*And the queen of Sheba heard the fame of Solomon.* The difficult addition to "the fame of Solomon" in 1 Kings: "concerning the name of the Lord," is wanting here, whether intentionally or by inadvertence is doubtful.—Ver. 4. *And his ascent by which he went up.* Whether, according to 1 Kings x. 5, וְעֹלָתוֹ וגו', "and his burnt-offerings, which he offered," is to be read here also with the old translations (and Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 6. 5), it is difficult to decide. Bähr takes our reading to be original, and therefore to be restored in 1 Kings.—*And there was no more spirit in her,* she was beside herself; comp. Josh. ii. 11, v. 1.—Ver. 6. *And I believed not their words;* 1 Kings: "I believed not the words."—*The half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me.* Slightly different is the phrase in 1 Kings (see Bähr). On מַרְבִּית, "multitude, fulness," comp. 1 Chron. xii. 29; 2 Chron. xxx. 18; Lev. xxv. 37.—Ver. 8. *To set thee on His throne as king for the Lord.* More simply in 1 Kings: "To set thee on the throne of Israel"; as also, in that which immediately follows, the circumstantial "to establish him" (לְהַעֲמִידוֹ) is there wanting, and "for ever" (לְעֹלָם) is attached as an adverb to "loved."—Ver. 10. *And also the servants of Huram, and the servants of Solomon.* In 1 Kings more briefly: "and also the ships of Hiram." For the then mentioned algum or sandal-wood, see on ch. ii. 7, and the excursus after ch. viii., No. 3.—Ver. 11. *And the king made . . . walks,* not "stairs" (Luther) or "seats" (Thenius, after the Pesch.), but raised walks, pavements, so that these מְסִלּוֹת of our text are essentially the same with the מִסְעָד of 1 Kings (explained by Raschi as רִצְפָה, tesselated pavement).—Ver. 12. *Besides that which she had brought to the king,* besides the gifts in return (equivalents) for that which was presented by her, but more clearly in 1 Kings x. 13. The emendation of Bertheau: אֲשֶׁר הֵבִיא לָהּ for אֲשֶׁר הֵבִיאָה אֶל־, is unnecessary; the rendering of the Vulg.: *et multo plura quam attulerat ad eum,* is inexact and extravagant.

2. Solomon's Riches, Pomp, and Glory: vers. 13–28; comp. 1 Kings x. 14–22.—*Besides that which the chapmen and merchants brought,* literally, "irrespective of the chapmen . . . bringing" (who brought). אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים are properly spies (Num. xiv. 6, xxxiv. 2), here spying, travelling about for trade; this phrase, substantially agreeing with the following סֹחֲרִים (Gen. xxiii. 16), was not understood by the old translators; hence the Vulg. has *legati diversarum gentium* (followed by Berth. and Bähr, 1 Kings x. 15: envoys), the Sept.: πλὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων; Syr. and Arab.: "besides the tribute of the cities" (הֶעָרִים for הַתָּרִים, and perhaps מִמֶּכֶס for מֵאַנְשֵׁי).—Ver. 16. *Three hundred* (shekels) *of gold laid he on one shield.* For

this 1 Kings x. 17 has "three pounds of gold to one shield," merely a verbal difference, as the mina contains a hundred shekels.—Ver. 18. *And a footstool fastened to the throne with gold.* The participle מָאֳחָזִים, "fastened" (or "enclosed"), refers to the two preceding objects, the steps and the footstool. It is certainly not impossible that originally וְרֹאשׁ עָגֹל לַכִּסֵּה מֵאַחֲרָיו, "and the top of the throne was round from behind," as in 1 Kings x. 19, stood in the text; comp. Thenius and Berth.—Ver. 21. *For the king's ships went to Tarshish.* It is most obvious to regard אֳנִיּוֹת הֹלְכוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ as a mistaken paraphrase of the original and usual phrase, found also in 1 Kings x. 22: אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, "Tarshish-traders" (comp. our East-Indiamen), and thus not find in our passage an actual testimony for voyages of Solomon to Tartessus by the Red Sea (comp. Introd. § 6, No. 5, and the excursus at the end of ch. viii., No. 1). The mistake which is here made by the Chronist standing far away from the events, appears precisely similar to that which occurs in ch. ii. 7 of our book, relative to the algum-trees to be sent from Lebanon, which Solomon desired of Huram (see on this passage). Only if we might understand (with Quatremère, Seetzen, etc.; comp. the excursus on Ophir, No. 1) by Tarshish a place different from Tartessus, or Spain, situated eastward, as the promontory *Tarsis* in the Persian Gulf, which Nearchus doubled with the fleet of Alexander (comp. the supposed Ταρσιάς mentioned by Arrian, *Ind.* 37. 9), may the charge of an error be removed from our author (to which also Petermann seems inclined in his *Geogr. Mittheilungen*, 1872, iv. p. 126). For the other statements of our verse, see the excursus on ch. viii. already quoted.—Ver. 25. *And Solomon had four thousand stalls for horses.* The numerous deviations now following to the close of the section (ver. 28) from 1 Kings x. 26–29, are explained by this, that our author had already introduced, ch. i. 14–17, an account of Solomon's chariots, horses, and horse-trading with Egypt (see on this passage), for which reason in the present place he partly contrasts (especially ver. 28) that which refers to these things, and partly completes it by reports from 1 Kings v. 1, 6; comp. Bähr on these passages.

3. Close of the History of Solomon: vers. 29–31; comp. 1 Kings xi. 41–43, where, however, instead of the three sources named by our author, ver. 29, reference is made merely to the "book of the history of Solomon." For ver. 29 f., see Introd. § 5, II.—Ver. 30. *And Solomon reigned . . . forty years.* Instead of forty years, Hitzig (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* pp. 10 and 161 f.) claims 60 years for the reign of Solomon, because Josephus assigns to the very youthful king, who came to the throne at the age of not more than 20 years (comp. 1 Kings iii. 7), an age of 80 or even 94 years (*Antiq.* viii. 7. 8). But that the reports of Josephus concerning the reign of Solomon are confused and self-contradictory, has been shown by Bengel, *Ordo temp.* p. 95, who has also correctly harmonized the 41 years of Rehoboam when he ascended the throne with the 40 years of the reign of Solomon attested by our passage and 1 Kings xi. 42; comp. Winer, *Realwörterb.*, Art. "Salomo," p. 365.

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS, APOLOGETIC AND HOMILETIC THOUGHTS, ON CH. I.–IX.

The statement of the Chronist does not differ quite so much from the history of Solomon in 1 Kings 1–11 in its compass and arrangement, as his statement of the history of David from its older parallel in the books of Samuel; in particular, he has not found it necessary in Solomon to go over a previous history of so great weight as that of David in 1 Samuel; and therefore so important insertions and expansions in the inner and religious side of the reign of Solomon were not requisite as in that of David. Yet the form given by him to the history of Solomon's reign deviates from that in 1 Kings, in a way that is characteristic of his theocratic position and pragmatism, in which recurs all that peculiarity which distinguishes his conception and treatment of the history of David.

1. The Levitico-religious element comes out very strong, partly in those brief insertions concerning the co-operation of the priests, Levites, and singers in the festivals, as ch. v. 11–13 (1 Kings viii. 10), viii. 12–16 (1 Kings ix. 25), partly in the fact that our author transfers from the old statement into his own all that serves to signalize the external pomp and glory of Solomon's reign, but not likewise all that relates to his wisdom. Thus we miss in him the narrative of the wise sentence concerning the two contending mothers (1 Kings iii. 16–28), and the description of his wisdom and learning, surpassing all the sons of the east, and all the wise men of Egypt, displaying itself in thousands of proverbs and songs (1 Kings v. 9–14); whereas of that which serves to characterize his great pomp and might, irrespective of the list of his court officers and twelve princes, 1 Kings iv. 1–20, not only is nothing omitted, but some things appear purposely enhanced by the omission of less favourable trials and circumstances; in particular, the account of the cities received from Huram of Tyre, ch. viii. 1 f. (see on the passage). It is therefore not so much Solomon the incomparably wise as Solomon the incomparably glorious theocratic ruler whose picture he wished to draw. The glory, especially that which displays itself in the rich unfolding of the religious life (comp. Matt. vi. 29), forms the chief immediate object of his representation, not the wisdom, that other quality of the great king set forth as pre-eminently wonderful in the words of Jesus (comp. Matt. xii. 42).

2. That, from the effort to glorify Solomon as much as possible, some facts of his history adverse to this end have been designedly omitted by our author, is evident partly from his proceeding in the same way in the history of David, and partly from the comparison of his narrative with that of the book of Kings. Neither the particulars of Solomon's ascending the throne and beginning his reign, of which those relating to the removal of three evil-doers—Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei—would have cast a less favourable light on his character (see 1 Kings ii.), are related by him, nor is anything mentioned of the evening of his life, disturbed on the one hand by intercourse with idolatrous wives (1 Kings xi. 1–13), and on the other by unfortunate wars and rebellions (by Hadad, Rezon, and Jeroboam). Not

as if the charge of dishonest colouring or violent suppression of the truth could be made against our author on account of those omissions. He betrays, on many occasions, with sufficient clearness, his acquaintance with the omitted facts. As he had alluded (1 Chron. xxix. 24) to the suppression and punishment of the rebellion of Adonijah at the close of his history of David, so he betrays his knowledge of the revolt of Jeroboam in the closing remark of the present section (ix. 29); alludes a little before to the conflicts with Rezon and Hadad (viii. 4; see on the passage); indicates, by the manner in which he mentions the Egyptian king's daughter, his acquaintance with the corrupt influence of foreign wives during Solomon's reign; and afterwards, in the introduction of his history of Rehoboam (x. 3 f.), he does not ignore the account given in the book of Kings of the murmuring of the people dissatisfied with his severity and partial misgovernment. In short, that his reign did not altogether warrant the name Shelomoh (peaceful, prince of peace), that its splendour in a religious and moral respect was tarnished by many dark spots, and hence the heavy judgments (ch. vii. 19–22) that were pronounced by God on him and his descendants began already to take partial effect—all this appears by no means unknown to our author. Already the names of the three prophets whom he quotes, ch. ix., as guarantees for his statement, are a sufficient security that to him was imparted a knowledge of those facts that form, as it were, the dark side of the otherwise so splendid appearance of the wise and glorious prince, in no less fulness than to the author of the book of Kings (who, on his part, does not expressly mention these prophetic vouchers), but that it did not lie in his plan to add certain dark parts to the bright and glowing picture of Solomon's glorious kingdom, the like of which no king over Israel had had (1 Chron. xxix. 25). It may be that, if Solomon's fall into lust and idolatry had been ascertained and credibly reported to him as a transient darkening of his life-path, from which he at length recovered in genuine repentance, he would not have passed in silence over that sad blot on his fame, but would have given to his history such a close as that of Manasseh (xxxiii. 1–20). But he certainly had not found in his sources any more trace than the author of Kings of such closing repentance of the deeply fallen prince.[1] He therefore preferred to cast the mantle of silence over the last times of the prince whom it was now his concern to paint as the ideal of that theocratic glory (δόξα, Matt. vi. 29) long before his time become proverbial among the people.

3. The statement of the Chronist would then only deserve the reproach of historical untrustworthiness, if in an intrinsically incredible direction it departed far from that of the parallel account, and exhibited from beginning to end a greater number of legendary exaggerations of that which is there related into the miraculous. But of such propensity to apocryphal legendary distortion of his materials no trace is to be discovered in our author. The partial deviations in his numbers from those of the older parallel text are by no means to be regarded as exaggerations of smaller proportions there given; they rest often on purely external and accidental corruptions of the text (as, for example, ch. viii. 18, the 450 talents of gold from Ophir, instead of the 420 of the book of Kings; and ch. iii. 4, the 120 cubits height of the porch of the temple), or run out into mere apparent contradictions and misunderstandings (as, for example, with regard to the quantities of provisions for the woodmen, ch. ii. 9, and the number of overseers; see on ch. ii. 17 and viii. 10); and in several decisive cases, where a later exaggerator would have found special occasion for excess, he agrees to the letter with the author of 1 Kings, as in the 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep at the dedication of the temple (ch. vii. 5), in the determination of the yearly revenue of Solomon at 666 talents of gold (ch. ix. 13), etc. And elsewhere, that which at first sight looks like an historical exaggeration, reduces itself mostly to misunderstood or, if we will, inadequate expressions of the later historian, who is far removed from the events described, as in the cases mentioned in ch. ii. 7, ix. 21, perhaps also viii. 1, 2. The sole important event of a miraculous character with which the Chronist has enlarged the history of Solomon, compared with that in the book of Kings, is that which he records, ch. vii. 1–3, of the consecration of the sacrifice in the new temple by fire from heaven, a fact which he has handed down in his representation of the history of David, in a passage where the older narrative has nothing of the kind (1 Chron. xxi. 26). Suspicion is excited here partly by the position of the fact after Solomon's long prayer of dedication, whereas the entrance of the glory of the Lord into the new house of God was placed before it (as also in 1 Kings), partly by the complete silence of the older reporter concerning the second miracle, in place of which he introduces an address of Solomon to the assembled people (1 Kings viii. 55–61). But as the separation of the probably single miraculous fact into two acts does not appear inexplicable in the magnitude and strongly evangelical import of the whole scene in question (let us bear in mind also the uncommonly great number of the sacrifices offered on the numerous altars occupying the whole inner court; see on ch. vii. 7), so the silence of the author of 1 Kings concerning a miracle of surpassingly religious (Levitical and priestly) interest cannot be deemed strange or unaccountable, if we properly weigh the prominently theocratic and prophetic interest by which this older writer is influenced; comp. Keil, p. 247: "To communicate this speech of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 55 ff.) to the people quite accords with the plan of the book of Kings, in which the prophetical aspect of the realization of the divine counsel of grace, by the doing and suffering of the kings, prevails; whereas the more minute entering into the history of worship was remote from his plan. The mention of the fire which consumed the sacrifices we should consider warranted in the book of Kings, only if the temple had been thereby consecrated for the abode of the divine gracious presence, or for a sanctuary of the Lord. But the consuming of

[1] See in general, against this hypothesis, which might find support at most in the of itself quite problematical and little probable composition by Solomon of the book Coheleth (and in this view has recently been defended by Bernh. Schäfer in his *Neuen Untersuchungen über das Buch Koheleth*, Freiburg 1870, and by Mart. Stier in *Jahrg.* 1870, part iii. of the *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie und Kirche*), Hengstenberg, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes im Alten Bunde*, iii. p. 142, and Bähr in vol. vi. of the *Bibelw.* p. 108 ff.

the victim by divine fire had not this import. Jehovah consecrated the temple for the dwelling-place of His name, for the seat of his gracious presence, only in this way, that in the introduction of the ark into the most holy place He manifested his presence by the cloud filling the sanctuary. The consuming of the sacrifice on the altar by fire from heaven was the confirmatory sign only for this, that He who sat on the mercy-seat in the temple will graciously accept the offerings to be made on the altar of this temple; and, as the people could only approach the Lord before the altar with sacrifice, a confirmation for the people that He from His throne will apply His covenant grace to those who present their offerings before Him; comp. Lev. ix. 23 f. For the plan of the author of Chronicles, namely, to depict exactly the glory of the worship of the past, this divine confirmation of the sacrificial worship, that was to be continually performed in the temple as the only legitimate place of worship, by fire from heaven, was so important a matter, that it could not be omitted, whereas the blessing pronounced by Solomon on the people, as already contained *implicite* in the prayer of consecration, did not seem so important as to be admitted into his work."

4. On Solomon's great wealth, as it is repeatedly described, especially ch. i. 14 ff. and ix. 13 ff., Bengel (on ch. ix. 27) makes the striking remark: "It is strange how soon so much can be accumulated and again vanish away! Men could not endure it if it were always so; they would wander from God, and be distracted by the creatures; as Solomon himself did not long act well. He had the benefit of David as his father; he had gone through tribulation, whereas Solomon entered at once on possession! That is a weighty difference." Comp., with regard to homiletic hints, on the history of Solomon, the copious remarks of Bähr on 1 Kings i. 11 (*Bibelw.* vol. vii.).

## 3. THE KINGS OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH FROM REHOBOAM TO ZEDEKIAH.—CH. X.–XXXVI.

### *a.* REHOBOAM. THE PROPHET SHEMAIAH.—CH. X.–XII.

#### *α. Revolt of the Ten Tribes from the House of David:* ch. x. 1–xi. 4.

CH. X. 1. And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for to Shechem was all Israel come to
2 make him king. And when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard it, and he in
Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king, then
3 Jeroboam returned out of Egypt. And they sent and called him: and Jero-
4 boam and all Israel came; and they spake to Rehoboam, saying, Thy father
made our yoke grievous: and now ease thou the grievous service of thy father,
5 and his heavy yoke that he put upon us, and we will serve thee. And
he said unto them, Yet three days hence return unto me: and the people
departed.
6 And King Rehoboam took counsel with the elders that stood before
Solomon his father when he was living, saying, How do you advise me to
7 return answer to this people. And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be
kind to this people, and please them, and speak good words to them, they
8 will serve thee all thy days. And he forsook the counsel of the old men
which they gave, and took counsel of the young men that grew up with him,
9 who stood before him. And he said unto them, What do ye advise, that we
may return answer to this people, who have spoken to me, saying, Ease thou
10 the yoke which thy father put upon us? And the young men that grew up
with him spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto the people that
spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but do thou ease
our yoke: thus shalt thou say to them, My little finger is thicker than my
11 father's thighs. And now my father laid a heavy yoke upon you, but I will
add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise
you with scorpions.
12 And Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam on the third day, as
13 the king had spoken, saying, Come again to me on the third day. And the
king answered them roughly: and King Rehoboam forsook the counsel of
14 the old men. And he spake to them after the counsel of the young men,
saying, My father made your yoke heavy,[1] but I will add thereto: my father
15 chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions. And the
king hearkened not to the people; for the cause was of God, that the LORD
might accomplish His word, which He spake by Ahijah of Shiloh to Jeroboam
16 the son of Nebat. And all Israel saw[2] that the king hearkened not unto

them: the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David?
We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse; every man to your tents, O
Israel: now look to thy house, David. And all Israel went to his tents.
17 And the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned
18 over them. And King Rehoboam sent Hadoram,[3] who was over the socage;
and the sons of Israel stoned him with stones, that he died: and King
19 Rehoboam hastened to get up into his chariot to flee to Jerusalem. And
Israel revolted from the house of David unto this day.
CH. XI. 1. And Rehoboam came to Jerusalem, and assembled the house of Judah
and Benjamin, a hundred and eighty thousand chosen warriors, to fight with
2 Israel, to bring back the kingdom to Rehoboam. And the word of the LORD
3 came to Shemaiah the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam son of
Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying,
4 Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight with your brethren: return
every man to his house; for this thing is come from me: and they hearkened
to the words of the LORD, and returned from going against Jeroboam.

*β. Reign of Rehoboam:* ch. xi. 5–xii. 16.

5 And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah.
6, 7 And he built Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa. And Beth-zur, and Socho,
8, 9 and Adullam. And Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph. And Adoraim, and
10 Lachish, and Azekah. And Zorah, and Ajalon, and Hebron, which are in
11 Judah and Benjamin, fenced cities. And he fortified the strongholds, and put
12 captains in them, and stores of food, and oil, and wine. And in every several
city shields and spears, and made them very strong: and he had Judah and
Benjamin.
13 And the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him
14 out of all their border. For the Levites left their suburbs, and their posses-
sion, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons had cast
15 them off from executing the priest's office unto the LORD. And he ordained
him priests for the high places, and for the he-goats, and for the calves which
16 he made. And after them, out of all the tribes of Israel, such as set their
heart to seek the LORD God of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the
17 LORD God of their fathers. And they strengthened the kingdom of Judah,
and upheld Rehoboam son of Solomon three years; for they walked three
years in the way of David and Solomon.
18 And Rehoboam took him to wife Mahalath, daughter[4] of Jerimoth son of
19 David, and of Abihail[5] daughter of Eliab son of Jesse. And she bare him
20 sons: Jeush, and Shemariah, and Zaham. And after her he took Maachah
daughter of Absalom, and she bare him Abijah, and Attai, and Ziza, and
21 Shelomith. And Rehoboam loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom more
than all his wives and concubines: for he took eighteen wives and sixty[6]
22 concubines; and begat twenty and eight sons, and sixty daughters. And
Rehoboam made Abijah son of Maachah the chief, to be ruler over his
23 brethren: for he thought to make him king. And he dealt wisely, and
distributed of all his sons in all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, unto
all fenced cities; and gave them victual in abundance: and he desired for
them many wives.
CH. XII. 1. And it came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and
strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the LORD, and all Israel with
2 him. And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, that Shishak
king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed
3 against the LORD. With twelve hundred chariots, and sixty thousand riders:
and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt;
4 Lubites, Succites, and Cushites. And he took the fenced cities which per-
5 tained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem. And Shemaiah the prophet came
to Rehoboam, and the princes of Judah that were gathered into Jerusalem

before Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, Ye have forsaken
6 me, and I also have forsaken you in the hand of Shishak. And the princes
of Israel and the king humbled themselves, and said, The Lord is righteous.
7 And when the LORD saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the
LORD came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; I will not
destroy them, but I will soon grant them deliverance; and my wrath shall
8 not be poured out upon Jerusalem by Shishak. But they shall be his
servants: that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms
of the lands.
9 And Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took the
treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he
took the whole; and he took the shields of gold which Solomon had made.
10 And instead of them King Rehoboam made shields of brass, and committed
them into the hand of the captains of the runners, who kept the entrance of
11 the king's house. And when the king entered into the house of the LORD,
the runners came and carried them, and brought them again into the chamber
12 of the runners. And when he humbled himself, the anger of the LORD turned
from him, and he would not destroy him altogether: and in Judah also there
were good things.
13 And King Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned; for
Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he became king, and he reigned
seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen to put His
name there out of all the tribes of Israel: and his mother's name was Naamah
14 the Ammonitess. And he did evil; for he did not direct his heart to seek
the LORD.
15 And the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the
words of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer for the register? and
16 the wars of Rehoboam and Jeroboam were continual. And Rehoboam slept
with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David: and Abijah reigned
in his stead.

[1] For אָבִי הִכְבִּיד, "my father made heavy" (so also 1 Kings xii. 14), the best mss. and some old prints (1 *Soncin.*, *Complut.*): אֲנִי אַכְבִּיד, "I will make heavy" your yoke, and will now add to it. Nordi, Berth., etc., give the latter reading the preference.

[2] רָאוּ is certainly wanting in most mss., in the old translations (Sept., Vulg, Chald., though not Syr. and Arab.), and in the older polyglots, but can scarcely be spared.

[3] For הֲדֹרָם 1 Kings xii. 18 presents אֲדֹרָם (comp. 2 Sam. xx. 24). So also Sept. *cod. Al.* in our passage, whereas *cod Vat.* writes 'Αδωνιράμ (comp. 1 Kings iv. 6), probably correct as to the fact; see Exeg Expl.

[4] With the *Keri*, which alters בֵּן into בַּת, agree several mss., as well as the Sept. and Vulg. (In the Syr. version the passage vers. 18–23 is altogether wanting).

[5] The ו before אביחיל is certainly wanting in all copies of the Hebrew text, but was read by the Sept., and cannot be dispensed with.

[6] All the mss. and versions certainly testify to the number sixty; but internal grounds of probability speak for the number, given by Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 10. 1, of only thirty concubines; comp. the Exeg. Expl.

EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—The Chronist presents only the first section of the history of Rehoboam, relating to the revolt of the ten tribes and the division of the kingdom, in exact, mostly literal, agreement with the account of the books of Kings (comp. ch. x. 1–xi. 4 with 1 Kings xii. 1–24). The proper history of his reign he treats with considerable enlargement, by the addition of several statements, wanting in the parallel text, concerning his building of forts, reception of the priests and Levites from the northern kingdom, and his family affairs (ch. xi. 5–23). He also reports at length the history of the invasion of Shishak, and the subjection of Rehoboam, and records the words spoken by the prophet Shemaiah at the divine command (ch. xii. 1–12; comp. 1 Kings xiv. 25–28). He refers even to the notes of this Shemaiah as his source for this enlarged account (ch. xii. 15).

1. The Revolt of the Ten Tribes: ch. x.; comp. the explanations of Bähr on 1 Kings xii. Here we have only to remark some deviations from the text of Kings.—Ver. 2. *And when Jeroboam* . . . *and he in Egypt.* 1 Kings: "and he was yet in Egypt" (עוֹדֶנּוּ our narrator omits, because he had related nothing of Jeroboam's flight from Solomon into Egypt; comp. 1 Kings xi. 26–40).—Ver. 5. *Yet three days* (wait). 1 Kings: "Go (לְכוּ)

yet three days."—Ver. 14. On the reading אֲנִי אַכְבִּיד, deviating from 1 Kings, see the Crit. Note.—Ver. 15. *For the cause was of God*, literally, "for it was a decree (turning) of God." Both נְסִבָּה and its parallel סִבָּה in 1 Kings are *ἅπαξ λ.*—Ver. 16. *And all Israel saw.* If רָאוּ were to be cast out of the text, according to most ancient testimonies (see Crit. Note), it must be translated: "and all Israel (or 'as to all Israel'), when the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered."—*What portion have we in David?* What have we to do with the house of David? it may take care of itself. See again the fourth line of the strophically-arranged speech.—Ver. 18. On the probable identity of the taskmaster (Luther: "receiver of rents") Adoram, or, as our author writes, Hadoram, with the Adoniram of 1 Kings iv. 6, see Bähr on 1 Kings xii. 18.—Ver. 19. *Unto this day;* comp. 1 Chron. iv. 41, 43, v. 26, and the remarks in the Introd. § 5, I. p. 16.

2. Prevention of the War of Rehoboam with Jeroboam by the Prophet Shemaiah : ch. xi. 1-4. This incident also, that belongs to the history of the revolt of the ten tribes, is recorded by our author in substantial agreement with the author of 1 Kings; comp. 1 Kings xii. 21-24, and Bähr on the passage. Only to 1 Kings xii. 20 (Jeroboam is raised by the ten tribes, in solemn assembly, to the throne of the northern kingdom) no parallel is found in our text, because the Chronist sedulously avoids all particulars concerning the history of the kingdom of Israel.—Ver. 3. *Speak unto Rehoboam . . . and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin.* Observe the peculiar depth, almost New Testament (reminding us of Gal. vi. 16; Rom. ii. 29, iv. 12) depth of the sense which our author here attaches to the name "Israel." It is otherwise, certainly, ver. 1, and again ver. 16*a*, where he specially designates the northern kingdom by "Israel"; yet in ver. 16 follows immediately after the name Israel, again in that evangelical, deeper, and more universal sense; so ch. xii. 1.—Ver. 4. *For this thing is come from me*, I have decreed the revolt of the disloyal tribes as a punishment for the disobedience of the house of David; comp. ch. x. 15. The there mentioned revelation by Ahijah the prophet of Jeroboam is here confirmed by Shemaiah the prophet of Rehoboam.—*And returned from going against Jeroboam.* For this 1 Kings xii. 24 has: "and turned home, according to the word of the Lord," a deviation arising perhaps from a mere omission in writing. Our text has probably the original; for the twofold mention of the word of Jehovah shortly after one another is somewhat drawling, leading us to suspect a corruption of the text.

3. Building of Forts by Rehoboam : vers. 5-12 (without parallel in Kings).—*And built cities for defence in Judah*, לְמָצוֹר, "for a fort." Judah is here the name, not of the tribe (ver. 10), but of the whole southern kingdom; for a part of the fifteen forts now to be named lay in Benjamin.—Ver. 6. *And he built Bethlehem and Etam.* That Bethlehem was a fort, for which it was fitted by its tolerably high situation on a rocky eminence, we learn only from this passage. On the here mentioned Etam, as different from the more southern one in the tribe of Simeon, see on ch. iv. 32. Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, etc., p. 89) has again pointed out our Etam in the Ain Attân, a side glen south-west of Urtâs, or Artâs, the well-known starting-point of Solomon's aqueduct for Jerusalem. For Tekoa, now Tekua, a hill-top covered with ruins, two hours south of Bethlehem, see the Expl. on Josh. xv. 59 and on Amos i. 1.—Ver. 7. For Beth-zur (now Beit-Sur, between Urtâs and Hebron), comp. Fay on Josh. xv. 58; for Socho (now Shuweike, three and a half hours south-west of Jerusalem) and Adullam (perhaps = Dula, six miles east of Beit-jibrin), see the same on Josh. xv. 35.—Ver. 8. *Gath* (comp. 1 Chron. xviii. 1; 1 Kings ii. 39); its situation is not yet exactly ascertained; it is perhaps near Ascalon, where is now found a Wady *el Gat*, north of the ruins of this city (K. Furrer, *Wanderungen*, etc., 1865, p. 133); according to others (for example, C. Schick) = the conical hill *Tel Safieh* in the Shephelah west of Ascalon.—*Mareshah* = the later Marissa (between Hebron and Philistia) and the present Marash, a ruin twenty-four minutes south of Beit-jibrin or Eleutheropolis; comp. Fay on Josh. xv. 44; and for Ziph (on the hills of Judah, one and a quarter hour south-east of Hebron), comp. the same on Josh. xv. 24, 55.—Ver. 9. *Adoraim* = the Idumæan city Ἄδωρα, 1 Macc. xiii. 20, or Δωρά, Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4, now Dura, two and a half hours west of Hebron (Robinson, iii. 209).—*Lachish* = Um Lakish, on the road from Gaza to Hebron; comp. on Josh. x. 3, xv. 39.—*Azekah*, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 1, Josh. x. 10, not far from Socho, but not yet fully ascertained.—Ver. 10. *And Zorah and Ajalon*, both originally (Josh. xix. 41) cities belonging to the tribe of Dan, which afterwards, on the migration of the Danites to North Palestine (Judg. xviii. 1), were probably occupied by the Benjamites, and thenceforth reckoned to the tribe of Benjamin. For the situation of Zorah, see on 1 Chron. ii. 53; for Ajalon (now Jalo), the expositors on Josh. x. 12. These two Benjamite cities are perhaps the most northerly of the fifteen cities fortified by Rehoboam. All the others, including Hebron, which closes the list (formerly Kiriath-arba, now el-Khalil, the ancient patriarchal city), lie south or south-west of Jerusalem, in the middle or south of the tribe of Judah. It follows, perhaps, from this position of the line of forts on the south border of the kingdom of Judah, and thus in the main directed toward Egypt, that Rehoboam began to establish them after the invasion of Shishak (Keil). So far as the arrangement of our section follows a material rather than a chronological principle of division, nothing seems to stand in the way of this assumption; but it can scarcely be reconciled with ch. xii. 4; see on this passage.—Ver. 11. *And he fortified the strongholds*, put them in a good state of defence by nominating captains (נְגִידִים, properly, "princes, leaders"), provisioning them and (ver. 12) arming them properly.—*And he had Judah and Benjamin.* This notice, forming the close of the statement concerning the measures of Rehoboam for the security of his kingdom, leads directly to the following section, which describes the Levitical and priestly followers of Rehoboam as flowing not merely from Judah and Benjamin, but from the whole kingdom.

4. Adhesion of the Levites out of all Israel to the Kingdom of Rehoboam: vers. 13–17—as is to be expected, a notice peculiar to the Chronist, to which, however, the author of 1 Kings affords an indirect confirmation, in so far as he twice refers to the institution of a new non-Levitical priesthood on the part of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33 f.—*And the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him*, "placed themselves before him to receive his commands, placed themselves at his disposal;" comp. הִתְיַצֵּב in Job i. 6, ii. 1; Zech. vi. 5.—Ver. 14. *For the Levites left their suburbs*, their commons or pasture grounds (מִגְרְשִׁים, as in ch. vi. 40 ff., xiii. 2; Num. xxxv. 2–8).—*For Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office.* See the fuller account of the erection of the impure worship of Jehovah with a new non-Levitical priesthood in the kingdom of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii. 26–31. By the sons of Jeroboam our passage naturally means his successors, none of whom rejected the impure worship which he had introduced. They were also in so far his sons in a spiritual sense, although, with the exception of his immediate successor Nadab, they belonged to other dynasties.—Ver. 15. *And he ordained him priests.* This ויעמד לו וגו' continues the proof begun with the second כִּי in ver. 14.—*For the high places* (in Dan and Bethel, 1 Kings xii.), *and the he-goats*, etc., the idols of the form of he-goats, after the pattern of the Egyptian Pan, to whom, though not Jeroboam himself, yet his later successors, sinking into a still grosser idolatry, offered sacrifice; comp. Lev. xvii. 7, whence the term שְׂעִירִים is taken. The calves named in the third place are the representatives of Jehovah under the form of a calf, as Jeroboam (after the example of Aaron, Ex. xxxii.) had made them, 1 Kings xii. 28, and as they retained their places of worship during the whole period of the northern kingdom in Dan, Bethel, and perhaps elsewhere. According to this state of things, the "calves" should properly have been named before the "he-goats." That the author makes no note of the gradual sinking into grosser idolatry in the development of the northern kingdom, is explained by his theocratic zealous abhorrence of idolatry in general, the various forms and steps of which appear to him all equally bad.—Ver. 16. *And after them . . . such as set their heart*, etc. On נָתַן לֵב, comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 19. What is here related of the emigration of theocratic pious Israelites from the other tribes to Judah and Benjamin is repeated afterwards under Asa (ch. xv. 9) and Hezekiah (xxx. 11). That, moreover, the time during which the reign of Rehoboam gathered and attracted the true worshippers of Jehovah in other tribes amounted only to three years, and afterwards made way for an inclination to foreign and idolatrous customs (on which that accession of pious Israelites from the neighbouring kingdom ceased), is manifest from ver. 17; comp. with ch. xii. 1 ff.

5. Domestic Affairs of Rehoboam: vers. 18–23; again without parallel in the books of Kings, and wanting also in the Syr. version of Chronicles (which arises merely from an oversight).—*Mahalath, daughter of Jerimoth.* The name of the father-in-law of Rehoboam is wanting in the list of the sons of David (1 Chron. iii. 1–8). יְרִימוֹת might possibly be corrupted from יִתְרְעָם, or be a by-form of this name; it is easier to suppose that he was one of the many sons of David by the concubines.—*And of Abihail daughter of Eliab son of Jesse.* As necessary as the supply of the wanting ו before אֲבִיהַיִל (see Crit. Note) is the taking of this name as the genitive, thus (contrary to the Sept. and Vulg., which rather make her a second wife of Rehoboam) as the name of the mother of Mahalath. For—1. Ver. 19 shows that only one wife of Rehoboam, the mother of the three there named otherwise unknown sons, should be named; 2. Along with the obscure father of Mahalath we expect the name of her mother, who is more celebrated, because she descends from Eliab the brother of David; 3. A daughter of Eliab the eldest brother of David (1 Chron. ii. 13; 1 Sam. xvii. 13) could scarcely have been a wife of Rehoboam the grandson of David; even as granddaughter of Eliab (comp. ver. 20), Abihail suited better in age a son of David than a son and successor of Solomon.—Ver. 20. *And after her he took Maachah daughter of Absalom.* This second wife of Rehoboam is perhaps to be regarded, not strictly as the daughter, but the granddaughter of Absalom, the daughter of Tamar, the only daughter, and perhaps only child, of this unlucky prince; comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 27, xviii. 18, and Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 10. 1, as well as ch. xiii. 2 of our book.—*And she bare him Abijah.* Only this first-born of Maachah, whose name, moreover, is constantly written Abijam (אֲבִיָּם) in 1 Kings, is more particularly known to us as the successor of Rehoboam; the three younger sons, Attai, Ziza, and Shelomith, do not occur elsewhere.—Ver. 21. *For he took eighteen wives* (נָשָׂא, as in ch. xiii. 21) *and sixty concubines.* On account of the number of daughters immediately after given as sixty, it is not improbable that Josephus, who tells only of thirty concubines, deserves the preference; comp. Crit. Note.—Ver. 22. *To be ruler among his brethren;* to this explanatory apposition to לְרֹאשׁ is added the following כִּי לְהַמְלִיכוֹ, as a further determination of that which the king meant by Abijah's elevation to be chief. On the breviloquence here, comp. Ew. § 351, c.—Ver. 23. *And he dealt wisely, and distributed of all his sons in all the countries of Judah and Benjamin;* he showed his prudence as sovereign and as father by appointing his numerous sons as captains in the several forts of his kingdom, employing them usefully, and separating them from one another, to prevent any attempts at rebellion among them.—*And he desired for them many wives*, made many marriages between them and the daughters of the land, both to make them contented and to make firmer connections between his house and the inhabitants of the land. The desiring or asking (יִשְׁאַל) of wives for his sons became him as their father and natural guardian: the author will scarcely charge him with an immoral, pimp-like gratification of the lusts of his sons.

6. The Invasion of Shishak: ch. xii. 1-12; comp. the briefer narrative of 1 Kings xiv. 25-28. —*And it came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and strengthened himself*, literally, "at the time of the establishing" (כְּהָכִין, inf. act. with indefinite subject), and on the strengthening of him or it (כְּחֶזְקָתוֹ, from the *nom. verbale* חֶזְקָה, strengthening; comp. xxvi. 16; Dan. xi. 2).—*He forsook the law of the Lord* (by a partial falling into idolatry; comp. 1 Kings xiv. 22 ff.), *and all Israel with him*, all the inhabitants of the southern kingdom, who are here, somewhat to their shame, designated Israelites; comp. ver. 6 and ch. xi. 3.—Ver. 2. *And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam*, thus soon but not immediately after his apostasy from the Lord. Concerning Shishak (= Sheshonk, Sesonchis, the first king of the 22d dynasty of Manetho), and the relievo proceeding from him, celebrating the present campaign against the Jews, and victory over Rehoboam, that probably exhibits Rehoboam himself among his captives, see Thenius on 1 Kings xi. 40, and Bähr on 1 Kings xiv. 25.—Ver. 3. *With twelve hundred chariots, and sixty thousand riders.* In 1 Kings these data concerning the strength of the Egyptian army are wanting, though they are by no means incredible. Of the auxiliaries of Shishak, the Lubites (לוּבִים) are certainly those Egyptian Libyans (the *Libyægyptii* of the ancients) who are also named with the Egyptians in ch. xvi. 8, Nah. iii. 9, Dan. xi. 43, and from whom the Lehabim of the Mosaic table of nations are perhaps not different; comp. Knobel on Gen. x. 13. The Succites (סֻכִּיִּים) are, according to the Sept. and Vulg., *troglodytæ*, cave-dwellers, to which the Hebrew etymon seems to point, dwellers in holes of the earth, probably of Ethiopian origin, and inhabiting the mountains of Eastern Egypt. The Cushites are probably inhabitants of Ethiopia proper, that is, Abyssinia, as they are also named, Nah. iii. 9, as allies of Egypt (along with "Put" and "Lubim").—Ver. 4. *And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah;* comp. ch. xi. 5 ff. These may not yet have been very strong, or their works proved insufficient against the military force of Egypt; comp. on ch. xi. 10.—Vers. 5-8. The Prophetic Mission of Shemaiah, and the consequent Submission of the Jews and Mitigation of their Punishment,—a section quite wanting in 1 Kings.—*But I will soon grant them deliverance.* כִּמְעַט, properly, "for a little," that is, in a short time, soon; comp. Ezra ix. 8 (rightly Berth., Keil, etc., against Kamph., who translates: "a small deliverance").—*And my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by Shishak.* No judgment of full extirpation shall overtake the capital; comp. xxxiv. 25.—*That they may know my service and the service of the kings of the lands;* that they may experience what a difference there is between the government of the Lord in the theocracy of Israel, and the so much more oppressive rule of heathen kings.—On vers. 9-11, comp. Bähr's remarks on 1 Kings xiv. 26-28.—Ver. 12. *And when he humbled himself*, literally, "and in his self-humiliation." On the following elliptical phrase: וְלֹא לְהַשְׁחִית, "and not to destroy" (did Jehovah's wrath turn itself), comp. the like breviloquence in ch. xi. 12, and the passage there quoted from Ew.—*And in Judah also there were good things.* This was a further motive to the Lord to restrain his wrath, in addition to the first motive, consisting in the repentance of Rehoboam.

7. Close of the History of Rehoboam: vers. 13-16 (comp. 1 Kings xiv. 21, 22, 29-31).—*And King Rehoboam strengthened himself;* comp. ch. i. 1, xiii. 21; concerning the following note of age, which it seems necessary to change into twenty-one years, comp. Bähr on 1 Kings xiv. 21.—*Naamah the Ammonitess*, the daughter of the Ammonite King Nahash (1 Chron. xix. 1), according to a probable note of the Sept. after 1 Kings xii. 24. —Ver. 14. *For he did not direct his heart.* For this phrase, comp. ch. xix. 3, xxx. 19; Ezra vii. 10.—Ver. 15. *Are they not written in the words of Shemaiah the prophet.* On this quotation, and especially on the obscure phrase "for the register" (לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ), see Introd. § 5, II.—*And the wars of Rehoboam and Jeroboam*, their smaller dealings and disputes, in which their continued hostile disposition showed itself; see Bähr on 1 Kings xiv. 30.

### EVANGELICAL AND MORAL REFLECTIONS ON CH. X.-XII.

1. In the reign of Rehoboam, as the Chronist represents it, is signalized above all the tendency to keep the kingly ideal of David and Solomon pure from the dark stains of untheocratic opinion and destructive apostasy into idolatry. Some time after the beginning of his reign, this corrupt influence comes out distinctly and clearly, accompanied with divine punishments as its evil effect (ch. xii. 1 ff.), though in the first three years Rehoboam and his subjects "walked in the way of David and Solomon" (ch. xi. 17). Yet in the first half of the section, the account of the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, several expressions betray the acquaintance of the author with the fact that corruption had begun already under Solomon. The polygamy and idolatry of this glorious king, and the consequent divine corrections and threatenings of punishment, he had not mentioned in his representation of the history of Solomon (comp. the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections on ch. i.-ix.). But now in Rehoboam there is express reference to that which had been prophesied on account of those errors of Solomon by Ahijah the Shilonite against him, and in favour of Jeroboam (ch. x. 15; comp. 1 Kings xi. 29-39). And this part of our author's narrative indicates that his religious and moral fall had already been productive of many immediate evils in his kingdom, that his government had become latterly quite a misgovernment (comp. 1 Kings xi. 14 ff.), by the mention of the repeated request of the dissatisfied people: "lighten the heavy yoke which thy father laid on us" (ch. x. 4, 9, 10; comp. ver. 15), and by the report of the words of the ten tribes betraying an a ready deep-seated dissatisfaction with the previous government: "What portion have we in David? We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse" (ver. 16). Thus, according to our author, the ideal time of David and Solomon closes with this, that it

presents at last the germs of a growing and grasping corruption, while that which had to be recorded concerning it is first introduced in the section belonging to Rehoboam, and therefore chiefly in the form of an appendix to the already concluded history of Solomon. Indeed, to our author, the evangelical result of the reign of Solomon is simply that which is brought forward in 1 Kings xi. "Along with a great outgrowth of public prosperity, we observe a gangrene commencing, that gnaws unceasingly, and destroys the religion of the people, the condition of their salvation, and this salvation itself It becomes manifest that the peace, which a merely human ruler can give, bears in itself the germ of decay, that it brings with it temptations, which a lesser anointed of the Lord (like David or Solomon) cannot give the power to withstand. The result of the whole brilliant period is a Kyrie Eleison and an: O that Thou wouldst rend the heavens and come down!" (Hengstenberg, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde*, ii. 2, 146 f.)

2. Thus the Chronist partly only places Rehoboam, with respect to the beginning of his reign, in an unfavourable contrast with the brilliant reign of his father Solomon. In a certain respect (particularly with regard to the tendency to tyrannical cruelty and domineering pride; see ch. x. 10, 14) he puts them on a par, and makes the son only gradually different from the father, by descending a step lower. So with regard to the further course of Rehoboam's reign. At first Rehoboam continues the effort of his father, if not to enlarge, at least to establish the kingdom (comp. ch. xi. 5-12 with i. 14 ff., viii. 1-10, ix. 25-28). But certainly his fortifications are of no avail to ward off the war-storm bursting on the country from Egypt, no more than his defiant threat of a warlike attack could have hindered the dismemberment of the kingdom that still held together under his father (comp. x. 15 ff., xi. 1 ff.). He likewise applied himself during the first three years of his reign to the theocratically pure and correct principles of government which were followed by his father, if not to the last yet during the greater part of his reign, with so much blessing to himself and his people. He thereby makes Jerusalem and the southern kingdom for a time the refuge and gathering-place of the pious worshippers of the Lord of priestly and non-priestly descent from the whole kingdom, and, so to speak, effects the transfer of the tribe of Levi to his sway, so far only as those of them who were scattered among all the tribes can find a settlement in Judah and Benjamin. But this attractive power in the sense of forming and consolidating a theocracy (ch. xi. 13-17) did not last long. After three years, he "forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him" (ch. xii. 1). What Solomon was able to do during at least two-thirds of his reign of forty years, to maintain the "hearing heart" and the true wisdom with which the Lord had endowed him, this Rehoboam was scarcely able to do during a sixth part of his reign of seventeen years. In this also he resembles his father; but he behaves much worse, and seems to surpass him in a bad sense. Hence he has to endure much greater shame and humiliation; for if the Lord had only to threaten Solomon thus: "I will humble the seed of David, but not for ever" (1 Kings xi. 39), this prophetic threat pronounced by Ahijah is now fulfilled in bitter earnest on him and his people (ch. xii. 2 ff.); and what the prophetic interpreter says in behalf of a right understanding of the misfortune that had befallen them (ch. xii. 7, 8) is certainly not altogether comfortless, but at the same time not unconditionally promising. The punishment shall be mild, not of long endurance; but for a time its bitterness shall be required, that they may understand what it is to prefer the rule of a heathen king to the mild sway of God.

3. There is something peculiar in the position which the Chronist gives to the family history of Rehoboam (ch. xi. 18-23). He tells of his eighteen wives and sixty (or, if the number is to be reduced according to Josephus, thirty) concubines with objective candour, without adding a judgment unfavourable to the moral character of the king. While he passes with significant silence over the extravagant polygamy of the latter years of Solomon, to spare the great and wise king, and even thereby indicates the untheocratic and immoral character of an immoderate harem, he seems to find the married life of Rehoboam not more offensive than that of David, of whom he expressly named at least seven lawful wives, and mentioned besides the possession of an indefinite number of concubines, without expressing any disapprobation. The manner also in which Rehoboam procured for his sons many wives from the daughters of the land (ch. xi. 23), he adduces merely as a proof of his prudent dealing, not in the tone of serious blame or moral disapprobation. He places this statement also before the account of his fall into idolatry, without noticing in the way of censure the manifest connection of the two things, the polygamy of himself and his sons, and his giving way to the worship of foreign gods. He almost appears, indeed, as afterwards in the case of Abijah's fourteen wives and thirty-eight children (ch. xiii. 21), to have regarded the taking of many wives and begetting of numerous children as something laudable, serving to multiply and perpetuate the house of David. This manner of thinking is characteristic of the strict theocrats of the later times, that form the transition to the Pharisaic orthodoxy of the New Testament epoch (comp. Introd. § 6). Because the law does not directly forbid polygamy, he readily allows on this point an almost unlimited compliance with the lusts of the flesh, while he censures with strictness the as it were only theocratic error of which the same king becomes guilty by falling into idolatry in the fourth year of his reign, as he had before shown his abhorrence of that still greater idolatrous error of the king and subjects of the northern kingdom in the strongest, indeed almost hyperbolical, terms (ch. xi. 15). We meet here the same rather externally orthodox than morally strict tendency, which our author discovers also in many other points. It is the ethically imperfect and crude, not yet evangelically consecrated and glorified, stage of the legal standpoint of the Old Testament, which is expressed in this lax position of the Chronist with regard to the custom of polygamy. New Testament statements, such as those relating to Moses' regard to the hard-heartedness of the Jews, to the killing power of the letter of the law, to the shadowy and not essential character, to the weakness and impotence of the law (Matt. xix. 8;

2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. viii. 3; Col. ii. 17; Heb. x. 1, etc.), first receive their full light and deeper meaning by a phenomenon like this (comp. also John i. 17; Gal. ii. 16 ff., iii. 10 ff., iv. 3, 9 ff.)

### b. ABIJAH.—CH. XIII.

CH. XIII. 1. In the eighteenth year of King Jeroboam, Abijah became king over
2 Judah. He reigned three years in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was
Michaiah,[1] daughter of Uriel of Gibeah.
3 And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam. And Abijah began
the war with an army of valiant warriors, four hundred thousand chosen men:
and Jeroboam prepared war against him with eight hundred thousand chosen
4 men, valiant in might. And Abijah arose on Mount Zemaraim, which is in
5 Mount Ephraim, and said, Hear me, Jeroboam and all Israel. Do you not
know that the LORD God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David
6 for ever, to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt? And Jeroboam son
of Nebat, servant of Solomon son of David, arose and rebelled against his
7 master. And vain men, of no account, gathered unto him, and withstood
Rehoboam son of Solomon; and Rehoboam was young and weak of heart,
8 and held not out against them. And now ye are saying that ye will hold
out against the kingdom of the LORD in the hand of the sons of David; and
ye are a great multitude, and with you are golden calves, which Jeroboam
9 made you for gods. Have ye not cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons
of Aaron, and the Levites, and made you priests like the nations of the lands?
whosoever cometh to fill his hand with a young steer and seven rams is a
10 priest to them that are no gods. And we, the LORD is our God, and we have
not forsaken Him; and the priests that minister to the LORD are the sons of
11 Aaron, and the Levites in their business. And they burn unto the LORD
burnt-offerings every morning and every evening, and incense of spices, and
laying of bread on the pure table, and the candlestick of gold and its lamps
to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye
12 have forsaken Him. And behold, with us, at our head, are God and His
priests, and the clanging trumpets to sound against you: sons of Israel,
fight not against the LORD God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper.
13 And Jeroboam led round an ambush to come behind them; and they were
14 before Judah, and the ambush was behind them. And Judah turned, and
behold they had the battle before and behind; and they cried unto the LORD,
15 and the priests sounded with the trumpets. And the men of Judah shouted;
and when the men of Judah shouted, God smote Jeroboam and all Israel
16 before Abijah and Judah. And the sons of Israel fled before Judah; and
17 God gave them into their hand. And Abijah and his people smote them with
a great slaughter; and there fell slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen
18 men. And the sons of Israel were humbled at that time; and the sons of
Judah prevailed, because they trusted in the LORD God of their fathers.
19 And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, and took cities from him: Bethel and
her daughters, and Jeshanah[2] and her daughters, and Ephron[3] and her
20 daughters. And Jeroboam had no more strength in the days of Abijah; and
21 the LORD smote him, and he died. And Abijah strengthened himself, and
took to him fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons and sixteen
22 daughters. And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his words,
23 are written in the commentary of the prophet Iddo. And Abijah slept with
his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David; and Asa his son
reigned in his stead. In his days the land was quiet ten years.

### c. ASA. THE PROPHETS AZARIAH SON OF ODED AND HANANI.—CH. XIV.–XVI.

#### α. *Asa's Theocratic Zeal and Care for the Defence of the Kingdom:* ch. xiv. 1–7.

CH. XIV. 1. And Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of the LORD
2 his God. And he took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high

3 places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherim. And commanded
Judah to seek the LORD God of their fathers, and to do the law and the
4 commandment. And he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high
places and the sun-statues: and the kingdom was quiet before him.
5 And he built fenced cities in Judah; for the land had rest, and there was
6 no war with him in those days; for the LORD gave him rest. And he said
to Judah, Let us build these cities, and make about them walls and towers,
gates and bars, and the land is yet before us; because we have sought the
LORD our God, and He hath given us rest around: and they built and pros-
7 pered. And Asa had an army, bearing shield and spear, out of Judah three
hundred thousand, and out of Benjamin, bearing shield and drawing bow,
two hundred and eighty thousand: all these were men of valour.

*β. Asa's Victory over Zerah the Ethiopian:* vers. 8–14.

8 And Zerah the Ethiopian came out against them with a host of a thousand
9 thousand, and three hundred chariots; and he came to Mareshah. And Asa
went out against him, and they joined battle in the valley of Zephathah at
10 Mareshah. And Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, no one
is nigh Thee to help with the mighty or with no might; help us, O LORD
our God, for we rely on Thee, and in Thy name we go against this multitude:
11 O LORD, Thou art our God; no man may hold out against Thee. And the
LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians
12 fled. And Asa, and the people that were with him, pursued them unto
Gerar: and the Ethiopians fell, so that there was no recovery; for they were
broken before the LORD, and before His host; and they carried off very great
13 spoil. And they smote all the cities round Gerar; for the terror of the LORD
14 was upon them. And they smote also the tents of cattle, and took sheep in
abundance, and camels, and returned to Jerusalem.

*γ. The Prophetic Warning of Azariah Son of Oded:* ch. xv. 1–7.

CH. XV. 1, 2. And the Spirit of God came upon Azariah son of Oded. And he
went forth before Asa, and said unto him, Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah
and Benjamin; the LORD is with you, while ye are with Him; and if ye seek
Him, He will be found of you; and if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you.
3 And many days will be to Israel without the true God, and without a teach-
4 ing priest, and without a law. And he shall return in his trouble unto the
5 LORD God of Israel, and seek Him, and He shall be found of him. And in
those times is no peace for him that goeth out or cometh in, but great vexa-
6 tions on all the inhabitants of the lands. And nation shall be smitten[4] by
7 nation, and city by city; for God hath vexed them with all trouble. But be
ye brave, and let not your hands be slack; for there is a reward for your
labour.

*δ. Asa's Reform of Worship, and Renewal of Covenant with the Lord:* vers. 8–19.

8 And when Asa heard these words, and the prophecy of Oded[5] the prophet,
he took courage, and put away the abominations out of all the land of Judah
and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken from Mount Ephraim,
and renewed the altar of the LORD, that was before the porch of the LORD.
9 And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them, out
of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon; for they fell to him out of
Israel in abundance, when they saw that the LORD his God was with him.
10 And they gathered at Jerusalem, in the third month of the fifteenth year of
11 the reign of Asa. And they sacrificed to the LORD in that day, of the spoil
12 they had brought, seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep. And they
entered into a covenant to seek the LORD God of their fathers with all their
13 heart, and with all their soul. And whosoever would not seek the LORD God

14 of Israel should be put to death, small or great, man or woman. And they
sware unto the LORD with a loud voice, and with clangour, and with trumpets
15 and cornets. And all Judah was glad at the oath; for they had sworn with
all their heart, and sought Him with their whole desire, and He was found of
16 them: and the LORD gave them rest round about. And also Maachah, the
mother of Asa the king, he removed from being queen, because she had made
an idol for Asherah: and Asa cut down her idol, and crushed it, and burnt
17 it in the brook Kidron. But the high places were not taken away out of
18 Israel; but the heart of Asa was perfect all his days. And he brought the
things which his father and himself had consecrated into the house of God,
19 silver and gold, and vessels. And there was no more war unto the thirty-
fifth year of the reign of Asa.

ε. *The War with Baasha of Israel*: ch. xvi. 1–6.

CH. XVI. 1. In the thirty-sixth year[5] of the reign of Asa, Baasha king of Israel
came up against Judah, and built Ramah, to let no one come out or go in to
2 Asa king of Judah. And Asa brought out silver and gold out of the treasures
of the house of the LORD, and of the king's house, and sent to Benhadad king
3 of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus,[7] saying: A league is between me and thee,
and between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent thee silver and
gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart
4 from me. And Benhadad hearkened unto King Asa, and sent the captains of
his army against the cities of Israel; and they smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-
5 maim, and all the stores of the cities of Naphtali. And when Baasha heard
6 it, he left off building of Ramah, and let his work cease. And Asa the king
took all Judah, and carried away the stones of Ramah, and its timber, with
which Baasha had built, and built therewith Geba and Mizpah.

ζ. *Hanani's Prophetic Warning: Asa's Transgression and End:* vers. 7–14.

7 And at that time came Hanani the seer to Asa king of Judah, and said
unto him, Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and hast not relied
on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped from
8 thy hand. Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubites a huge host, in chariots
and horsemen very many? and when thou didst rely on the LORD, He gave
9 them into thy hand. For the eyes of the LORD run throughout all the earth,
to prove Himself strong for those whose heart relies wholly on Him: thou
10 hast done foolishly in this; for henceforth thou shalt have wars. And Asa
was displeased with the seer, and put him in the prison; for he was in a rage
with him because of this. And Asa oppressed some of the people at that
time.
11 And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, behold, they are written in
12 the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. And Asa, in the thirty-ninth
year of his reign, was diseased in his feet, until his disease was very great:
13 and in his disease also he sought not the LORD, but to the physicians. And
Asa slept with his fathers; and he died in the forty-first year of his reign.
14 And they buried him in his own tomb, which he had dug for himself in the
city of David; and they laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet
odours of divers kinds, compounded by art; and they made a very great
burning for him.

[1] On the probable error of the pen here (מִיכָיָהוּ for מַעֲכָה), see Exeg. Expl.

[2] For יְשָׁנָה the Sept. has 'Ιεσυνά (but Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 11. 3: 'Ισάνας).

[3] For the *Kethib* עֶפְרוֹן, supported by the Sept. and Vulg., the *Keri* is עֶפְרַיִן.

[4] For וְכֻתְּתוּ some mss. read וְכִתְּתוּ; but the *Pual* is required by the context.

[5] Sept. *cod. Vat.*: 'Αδὰδ (Ὠδὴδ) τοῦ προφήτου; on the contrary, *c. Al.*, *ed. Ald.*, etc.: 'Αζαρίου τοῦ προφήτου. Vulg.: *Azariæ filii Oded prophetæ*. Perhaps the words עֹדֵד הַנָּבִיא should be cancelled as an old gloss. See the Exeg. Expl.

[a] So all the MSS. and versions but the Sept., which has ἐν ἔτει ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ, by a mistake of λ for ι, or on the ground of some peculiar chronological reckoning.

[b] Properly, "Darmascus;" see 1 Chron xviii. 5, 6, and the Crit. Note thereon. For the υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄδερ, given by the Sept. for בן הדד, comp. the Exeg. Expl.

EXEGETICAL.

The histories of both reigns, that of Abijah and that of Asa, are presented here in a very extended form, when compared with the parallel accounts in 1 Kings xv. 1–8, 9–24; and in particular, there are several discourses of a prophetic nature in the history of Abijah, one addressed by this king himself on Mount Zemaraim to Jeroboam and the army of Israel (ch. xiii. 4–12), and in that of Asa, the warnings of the seers Azariah son of Oded and Hanani (ch. xv. 2–7, xvi. 7–10), by the insertion of which the Chronist has considerably enlarged his account. But with respect to the history of war and worship, his representation is a far richer gain from the ancient sources than that preserved in 1 Kings xv.

I. Abijah: ch. xiii.; comp. 1 Kings xv. 1–8. —*In the eighteenth year of King Jeroboam.* This date of the beginning of Abijah's reign is also given in 1 Kings, and also the three years' duration of his reign (he is, moreover, always called אֲבִיָּם; see on ch. xi. 22).—*And his mother's name was Michaiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah.* As Abijah's mother is called Maachah, not merely ch. xi. 20 ff., but also 1 Kings xv. 2, the present name מִיכָיָהוּ must be regarded as a mistake for the original מַעֲכָה. Her father, Uriel of Gibeah, is to be regarded as the husband of Tamar the daughter of Absalom, and herself, therefore, as the grand-daughter of the latter; see on ch. xi. 20. From the Maachah, further mentioned ch. xv. 16 (and 1 Kings xv. 13), the mother of Asa, whom he removed from the dignity of a gebirah (mistress, Sultana Walide, queen-mother) for her idolatry, she is scarcely to be considered different; rather is her designation there as mother to be supposed = grandmother, and her continued regency under her grandson Asa is to be explained simply from the brief duration of Abijah's reign, and the probable minority of Asa at his death (comp. Athaliah's attempt to reign instead of her grandson Joash, ch. xxii.). Against the assumption by Thenius and Bertheau of the diversity of the two Maachahs (of whom the mother of Abijah was the daughter of Absalom, but the mother of Asa in reality the one who is here falsely called "a daughter of Uriel of Gibeah"), see Keil, p. 261, Rem.—Ver. 3 ff. Abijah's War with Jeroboam.—*And Abijah began the war with . . . 400,000 chosen men.* Neither this number nor the double number of the warriors of Jeroboam should be taken strictly, as is abundantly clear from the substantial agreement of both numbers with the results of Joab's enumeration under David (800,000 men-at-arms of Israel and 500,000 of Judah; comp. 1 Chron. xxi.). Less probable is the assumption of an error in transcription, resting on a change of the numeral letters, as the cause of these almost incredibly high numbers (Kennicott, *Dissert. Gen.* § 27; J. Pye-Smith, *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 6th edit. vol. i. p. 29); for to explain the fact in this way, we must assume several such mistakes or corruptions in similar circumstances, which would be very strange. Comp. also on ch. xvii., and Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—Ver. 4. *And Abijah arose on Mount Zemaraim,* obviously a steep cliff or summit lying between the contending armies, from which the king addressed the foe in like manner as Jotham once addressed the Shechemites from Mount Gerizim, Judg. ix. 7. That every single warrior of the host of Israel, numbering several hundred thousands, could have heard his words is not said, and need not be assumed. The situation of Mount Zemaraim is no longer to be ascertained. It was probably in the neighbourhood of Bethel, near which is a town, Josh. xviii. 22, named צְמָרַיִם (Zemaraim), the ruins of which may have been found in el Sumra, between Jerusalem and Jericho, near the valley of the Jordan. At all events, the locality should be sought east of Bethel (Robinson, *Phys. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, p. 38), and this el Sumra may lie too far in a south-easterly direction.—Ver. 5. *Do you not know,* literally, "Is it not to you, concerns it not you, to know?" comp., for example, 1 Chron. xiii. 4.—*That the Lord . . . gave . . . to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt,* by an irrevocable covenant; comp. Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19. בְּרִית מֶלַח belongs to the whole sentence, as accusative of restriction (therefore: "in the manner of a covenant of salt").—Ver. 7. *And vain men, of no account, gathered unto him,* properly, "sons of worthlessness, children of Belial," a phrase occurring not elsewhere in Chronicles, but again in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. On רֵקִים 'א, "loose, fickle men," comp. Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3.—*And withstood Rehoboam,* "showed themselves strong against him" (הִתְאַמְּצוּ עַל); comp. the (הִתְחַזֵּק לִפְנֵי) resistance afterwards shown on the part of Rehoboam to this opposition.—*Rehoboam was young and weak of heart,* faint-hearted, unstable. The term נַעַר, young, used of Rehoboam when already king, appears not specially to favour the former statement (ch. xii. 13) that he was then forty-one years old, and to require the change of this age into twenty-one years. Moreover, Abijah relates in this his speech the events in the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam in a very inexact way (Rehoboam did not show himself "weak of heart" on that occasion, but rather hard and daring of heart, etc.); for he clearly wishes "to justify his father as far as possible, and roll all the blame of the revolt of the ten tribes on Jeroboam and his worthless followers" (Keil).—Ver. 8. *The kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David,* the theocratic kingdom founded by David, and hereditary in his house (comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 23 and the like).—Ver. 9. *Have ye not . . . made you priests like the nations of the lands,* not divinely called, but only humanly chosen, priests, like those of heathendom; comp. 1 Kings xii. 31.—*Whosoever cometh to fill his hand,* that is, institute and consecrate himself priest of the new worship; comp.

Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9, xxxii. 29: see 1 Kings xiii. 33. The following words: "with a young steer (literally, with a steer the son of the herd) and seven rams," belong not so much to "fill" as to "cometh" (בּוֹא בְ, as Ps. xl. 8). As according to Ex. xxix. the offerings to be made on the consecration of a priest consisted of a young steer as a sin-offering, a ram as a burnt-offering, and a ram of consecration, and this presented on seven days in succession (thus in all seven steers and fourteen rams), the offering appears here to be imperfectly stated, not on account of an inaccurate report, but because Abijah might know that in fact there had been a considerable deviation from the strict requirements of the law, in order the more speedily to obtain a new priesthood. Indeed, it was a priesthood of non-gods or ungods (comp. Deut. xxxii. 21) which was so founded.—Ver. 10. *And the Levites in their business* ("in the business," במלאכת), performing their office in the legal way; comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 28 ff.—Ver. 11. *Burn unto the Lord burnt-offerings*, "fumigate, turn into smoke," הִקְטִיר, which is then zeugmatically connected with the laying of the shew-bread and the lighting of the lamps, which are also parts of the priestly office. On these various priestly functions, that are then combined as a "keeping of the charge of the Lord" (Lev. viii. 35), comp. Ex. xxix. 38 ff., xxv. 30 ff., xxvii. 20 ff.; Lev. xxiv. 7 ff.—Ver. 12. *The clanging trumpets to sound* are made prominent, because God had expressly designated them in the law as the pledges on account of which He would remember and help His people in war, Num. x. 9.—Ver. 13 ff. Judah's Victory over the Superior Force of Israel.—*To come behind them;* comp. Josh. viii. 2; Judg. xx. 29 ff. —Ver. 15. *And the men of Judah shouted.* Keil rightly says: "In וַיָּרִיעוּ and בְּהָרִיעַ the loud cry of the warriors and the clanging of the priests with the trumpets are combined, and הֵרִיעַ is to be referred neither alone to the war-cry of the combatants assailing the enemy, nor, with Berth. (and Kamph.), to the blowing of the clanging trumpets;" comp. also Judg. vii. 19 ff. (Gideon in the conflict with the Midianites).—Ver. 17. *Smote them with a great slaughter;* for the phrase, see Num. xi. 33; Josh. x. 30. For the number 500,000, which appears inconceivably great as the number of those who fell in the one field at Zemaraim, comp. Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—Ver. 18. *The sons of Israel were humbled* (comp. נִכְנַע in ch. xii. 6 f.), or "weakened" by their enormous loss (comp. Judg. iii. 30, viii. 28; 1 Sam. vii. 13).—Ver. 19. *Bethel and her daughters*, her daughter towns; comp. Neh. xi. 25. Besides this border city of south Israel, well known from Gen. xii. 8, xxviii. 19, xxxv. 15, Josh. vii. 12., etc. (the present Beitin), are named the otherwise unknown Jeshanah (or Jesyna; comp. Crit. Note), and an Ephron, as cities taken by Abijah from the conquered. The last has scarcely anything but the name common with Mount Ephron on the south border of Benjamin (Josh. xv. 9), but should probably be identified with Ophrah near Bethel (Judg. vi. 11), or the town Ephraim situated there, mentioned Josh. xi. 54 (comp. Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 9. 9), especially if we are to read עֶפְרַיִן, with the Masorah; see Crit. Note.—Ver. 20. *And Jeroboam had no more strength;* עָצַר כֹּחַ, as ch. xx. 37; 1 Chron. xxix. 14.—*And the Lord smote him, and he died*, not "snatched him away by a sudden death" (of which nothing is known from 1 Kings), but "smote him, visited him with misfortune (comp. נגף in ver. 15 and ch. xxi. 18) till his death," referring probably to that which is related in 1 Kings xiv. 1-18.—Ver. 21 ff. Family History of Abijah; his End.—*And Abijah strengthened himself* (התחזק, as ch. xii. 13), *and took to him fourteen wives.* Comp. the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections in the previous section, No. 3. Abijah must have had most of these fourteen wives before he ascended the throne, or at least before his war with Jeroboam. That he took them after the war follows only apparently from the position in the narrative, which has no chronologic import.—Ver. 22. *Are written in the commentary of the prophet Iddo.* Comp. on this source of our author, Introd. § 5, II. p. 17.—Ver. 23. *And Asa . . . in his days the land was quiet ten years*, in consequence of the great victory of his father over Jeroboam, and the weakening of the northern kingdom thereby occasioned; comp. ch. xiv. 4, 5, xv. 19.

II. Asa: 1. His Theocratic Zeal and Care for the Defence of the Kingdom: ch. xiv. 1-7; comp. 1 Kings xv. 9-12, 14, 15.—*And Asa did that which was good and right;* comp. ch. xxxi. 20.—Ver. 2. *Took away the altars of the strange gods*, consecrated to strange gods, of the idolatrous foreign countries; comp. Gen. xxxv. 2, 4. That only these, and not also "high places," or illegal places of sacrifice consecrated to Jehovah, were removed by him, is clear from ch. xv. 17.—*And brake the pillars*, the memorial stones erected to Baal (מַצֵּבוֹת); comp. Ex. xxxiv. 13; Judg. iii. 7; 2 Kings iii. 2. Likewise the "Asherim," wooden posts and holy trees consecrated to Astarte; comp. 1 Kings xiv. 23, and Bähr on the passage.—On ver. 3, comp. ch. xv. 12.—Ver. 4. *And he took away . . . the high places and the sun-statues;* חַמָּנִים, the statues before the altars of Baal, consecrated to him as the sun-god; comp. ch. xxxiv. 4; Lev. xxvi. 30; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 343 ff.—*And the kingdom was quiet before him*, that is, under him, under his eye (לְפָנָיו); comp. Num. viii. 22; Ps. lxxii. 5; Prov. iv. 3.—Ver. 5. *Built fenced cities in Judah . . . in those days*, during this quiet of ten years. Comp. Rehoboam's fortifications, ch. xi. 5 ff.—Ver. 6. *Let us build these cities.* What cities? It is not said; but certainly Geba and Mizpah, which were built after the war with Baasha (ch. xvi. 6). Asa assigns as the motive for these buildings: "the land is yet before us," free, open to us, unoccupied by the foe; comp. Gen. xiii. 9.—*And they built and prospered.* Vulg. very free, yet in substance correct; *nullumque in exstruendo impedimentum fuit.*—Ver. 7. *Bearing shield and spear.* The great or long shield (צִנָּה) is here meant, in opposition to the short or round shield (מָגֵן) then mentioned; the same difference as in ch. ix. 15, 16. That the Jews had exclusively only long shields and spears, and the Benjamites only

short shields and bows, as armour, need not be assumed; the representation is only relative, summary, and not to be pressed, as also the numbers (300,000 of the Jews and 280,000 of the Benjamites) are obviously only round. They are, moreover, so far as the whole population fit to bear arms is concerned, by no means incredible. With respect to the comparatively high number of 280,000 Benjamites, we are to consider not only their lighter armour (which might be borne by younger and weaker men), but also that Benjamin was an eminently warlike tribe, "a ravening wolf" according to Jacob's prophetic word, Gen. xlix. 27, that must have taken the field with all possible force. Comp. also on 1 Chron. vii. 6–11, and the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.

2. Asa's Victory over Zerah the Ethiopian: vers. 8–14, a section wanting in Kings.—*And Zerah the Ethiopian came out against him.* This Zerah (Sept. Ζαρί; Vulg. *Zara*) counts with most recent expositors, on account of the similarity of name, as the same with the Egyptian King Osorchon I., successor of Shishak-Sesonchis, and so the second king of the twenty-second or Bubastite Dynasty (comp. Unger, *Manetho*, p. 233; Thenius on 1 Kings xv. 23); whereas Hitzig rather identifies him with the Sabakos of Herodotus (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* p. 165 f.; comp. Herod. ii. 137 ff., 152), but Brugsch takes him for an Ethiopian, not Egyptian, ruler, who, under the reign of Takeloth I. (about 944 B.C.), invaded the south-west of Asia and Egypt as a conqueror. The last assumption certainly agrees best, as well with the Biblical chronology as with the designation of Zerah as a Kushite.—*With a host of* 1,000,000. On this number, as scarcely to be pressed, but rather depending on a rough and ideal estimate, see the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—*And he came to Mareshah,* mentioned in ch. xi. 9, between Hebron and Ashdod.—Ver. 9. *And Asa went out against him,* literally, "before him"; comp. xv. 2; 1 Chron. xix. 14, xiv. 8.—*In the valley of Zephathah,* scarcely = Tell es Safieh (Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 625), but a place nearer Mareshah, perhaps that described by Robinson, ii. 613.—Ver. 10. *Lord, no one is nigh Thee to help,* no one is able like Thee (literally, "with Thee"; comp. ch. xx. 6; Ps. lxxiii. 25) to help.—*With the mighty, or with no might,* "between the mighty and the impotent" (בֵּין with לְ following, as Gen. i. 13, etc.); the help of God is conceived as imparted either to the mighty or the weak, and therefore as between both. Some conceive the passage otherwise; Vulg., Ramb., S. Schmidt, etc.: *Domine, non est apud te ulla distantia utrum in paucis auxilieris an in pluribus;* Berth., Keil, etc.: "No other than Thou can help in an unequal combat, that is, help the weaker part;" Kamph. (writing conjecturally לַעְצֹר for לַעְזֹר): "It is impossible that anything could prevail (עָצַר כֹּחַ, as ch. xiii. 20, etc.), whether the mighty or the weak." Substantially correct, though inexact, Luther: "It is no difference with Thee to help among many, or where there is no power."—*In Thy name we go against this multitude,* trusting to Thy help.—*No man may hold out against Thee.* For the omission of כֹּחַ with עָצַר, comp. ch. xx. 37 (1 Chron. xxix. 14; 2 Chron. xiii. 20). On the sentence, comp. (partly at least) Ps. ix. 20*a*.—Ver. 12. *And Asa . . . pursued them unto Gerar,* the old Philistine city, now Khirbet el Gerar, three and a half hours south-east of Gaza.—*And the Ethiopians fell, so that there was no recovery,* not "so that there was none left living" (Berth., Kamph., etc.), but so that they could not rally, *ut eis vivificatio, i.e. copias restaurandi ratio non esset* (J. H. Mich., Keil, etc.). לְאֵין stands for אֵין of the older style, in the sense of "so that not" (comp. Ew. § 315, *c*). מִחְיָה, preservation of life, revival, as Gen. xlv. 5; Ezra ix. 8, 9.—*For they were broken* (נִשְׁבְּרוּ, as Ezek. xxx. 8) *before the Lord, and before His host;* Asa's army is here so called as the instrument of the divine justice against the haughty foe. To think of a host of angels that had contended invisibly on the side of the Jews (Starke and other older writers, with allusion to Gen. xxxii. 2 f.) is without any warrant, as the term מַחֲנֶה, especially in the singular, stands for a single earthly army.—Ver. 13. *And they smote all the cities around Gerar,* probably because, like the Philistines generally, they had made common cause with the Cushites, and joined them against the Jews.—*For the terror of the Lord,* a terror occasioned by the Lord, and therefore the more powerful; comp. xvii. 10, xx. 29; 1 Sam. xi. 7.—Ver. 14. *And they smote also the tents of cattle,* the herds of the nomad tribes in the neighbourhood of Gerar (in the northern regions of the wilderness of Shur and Paran, the old country of the Amalekites).

3. Prophetic Warning of Azariah Son of Oded to Asa returning Home: ch. xv. 1–7 (likewise peculiar to Chronicles).—*Upon Azariah son of Oded.* The names of both father and son occur only here: the identification of Oded with Iddo (ch. ix. 29, xii. 15) is an idle fancy of some ancients.—Ver. 2. *Before Asa,* to meet him; comp. on ch. xiv. 9.—*The Lord is with you, while you are with Him.* Comp. Jas. iv. 8; and with respect to the following sentence, 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. xii. 5, xxiv. 20; Jer. xxix. 13.—Ver. 3. *And many days will be to Israel without the true God.* The Sept. and Vulg., Luther, Clericus, and most moderns rightly refer these words to the future, and thus conceive them to be a prediction of that which was to happen with respect to the relation of God's people to the Lord,—a prediction of like import with Hos. iii. 4, 5. For this view speaks, on the one hand, the generality of the term "Israel," which appears to be used here in the same ideal sense as in ch. xi. 3, xii. 1, and, on the other hand, the absence of any more precise date in וְיָמִים רַבִּים, by which that which is said is characterized as a general truth holding for all times; but the reference to any definite earlier time, with which, besides, the closing monition in ver. 7 would ill agree, is absolutely excluded. Neither the time of the judges, with its illegal conditions and its closing reformation by Samuel, is described by the prophet (against Vitr. and Ramb.), nor the last decennium of the southern kingdom before the reforms of Asa (as the Syr., Arab., Raschi, Berth., think), nor, finally, the circumstances of the northern king-

dom since Jeroboam (Targ., Tremell., Grotius, etc.). The last opinion is certainly the most arbitrary of all; for what occasion had the prophet to greet the king of the southern kingdom, returning as a conqueror after deliverance from a great danger, with a reflection on the errors and calamities of the northern kingdom? But if we refer the words as a prophecy to the future, no unsuitable limitation must be introduced (as, for example, to the Babylonish exile, of which Kimchi, Mariana, S. Schmidt, have thought). It is the whole future of the people of God, of which the prophet asserts the law: "If ye turn away from God, He will turn away from you." Comp. besides, Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 1. On the "true God," properly, "God of truth," אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת, comp. Jer. x. 10 and Isa. lxv. 16 (אֱלֹ' אָמֵן). לְלֹא אל' א', properly, "to not a god of truth"; לְלֹא, not essentially different from לְאֵין, 1 Chron. xxii. 4, 2 Chron. xx. 35, is distinguished from בְּלֹא only as לְ is distinguished from בְּ: the latter expresses the being in a state, the former the falling into it (Keil). —*Without a teaching priest*, without priests to perform the function of teaching (Lev. x. 10; Deut. xxxiii. 10); the special reference to the high priest (Vitr. and others) has no ground in the context. To the defect in teaching priests corresponds the defect in a law; for where there is no מוֹרֶה, there is no תּוֹרָה!—Ver. 5 f. The prophetic address returns after a passing brief promise of salvation (ver. 4*b*) to the description of th lamentable effects of the future apostasy from God.—*N peace for him that goeth out or cometh in*, thus no free, peaceful intercourse; on "going out and in," comp. ch. xvi. 1; Zech. viii. 10; Josh. vi. 1; on the following "great vexations" (מְהוּמוֹת), Deut. xxviii. 20; Amos iii. 9. "All the inhabitants of the lands" are all the inhabitants of the provinces of Israel (or Judah); see ch. xxxiv. 33. The view of the speaker here scarcely extends over the whole inhabited globe (Kamph.), although in the following verse he transcends the boundaries of Judah, and depicts its attraction into the confusion and conflict of the neighbouring nations.—*And nation shall be smitten by nation.* Kamphausen's rendering: "they are pushed nation on nation," is too far-fetched, and by no means required by the meaning of כתת. The Jews had a striking fulfilment of this gloomy foreboding of a *bellum omnium contra omnes* in the times of Nebuchadnezzar; a second in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, with respect to which Christ also makes use of similar prophetic expressions, Luke xxi. 10, 26, and the parallels.—*For God hath vexed them with all trouble;* comp. Judg. iv 15; Zech. xiv. 13.—Ver. 7. *But be ye brave, and let not your hands be slack;* comp. Zeph. iii. 16; Neh. vi. 9; and "the hands becoming slack" as a figure of sinking courage, 2 Sam. iv. 1; Isa. xxxv. 3; Heb. xii. 11. On the closing promise of reward, comp. Jer. xxxi. 16; 1 Cor. iii. 8, xv. 58.

**4. Asa's Reform of Worship and Renewal of Covenant with the Lord**: vers. 8–19.—*And when Asa heard . . . this prophecy of Oded the prophet.* The Hebrew text has not וְהַנְּבוּאוֹת, but וְהַנְּבוּאָה. This circumstance points to a corruption of the passage, as well as the absence of עֲזַרְיָהוּ בֶּן before עֹדֵד, which was to be expected according to ver. 1. As the readings of the Sept. and Vulg. (see Crit. Note) may be only later attempts at emendation, and as the assumption of a double name of Azariah, according to which he was at times called by the name of his father (Starke and other ancients), is certainly as questionable as the transposition of the corresponding names in ver. 1 into "Oded son of Azariah" (Mov.), it appears most advisable to remove the words עֹדֵד הַנָּבִיא from the text as an old gloss (Berth.), or (with Keil) to assume the omission of several words after וְהַנְּבוּאָה (say אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עֲזַרְיָהוּ בֶּן).—*He took courage* (הִתְחַזֵּק), according to Azariah's exhortation: "be ye brave," חִזְקוּ.—*Put away the abominations*, properly, "make to pass over (הֶעֱבִיר, as 1 Kings xv. 12) the abominations," the idols; comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 24; Ezek. xxx. 7, 8; Dan. ix. 27.—*Which he had taken from Mount Ephraim*, לָכַד, as ch. xiii. 19, xvii. 2. According to the former of these passages, it appears that these were the cities that Abijah, Asa's father, had taken. In fact this assumption is necessary, because no war of Asa with the northern kingdom had taken place at this time. A co-operation of Asa as lieutenant or joint-commander with his father in that war seems a questionable assumption, on account of his then very great youth (perhaps his minority; comp. on ch. xiii. 1).—*And renewed the altar of the Lord, that was before the porch of the Lord*, the altar of burnt-offering, that might have been in need of repair sixty years after its erection by Solomon (ch. viii. 12). Yet חִדֵּשׁ, *renovare* (comp. ch. xxiv. 4), might possibly also be taken in the sense of "consecrate again," after the previous defilement by idolatry (Vulg.: *dedicavit;* Berth., Kamph., etc.).—Ver. 9 ff. The Great Festival on the Renewal of the Theocratic Covenant.—*And the strangers with them, out of Ephraim.* That by these strangers are meant not merely the theocratically-disposed immigrants into Judah under Rehoboam (xi. 16), but also a newer addition to them that had come under Asa himself, is expressly asserted in the following words (comp. xxx. 11, 18). The mention of Simeon with Ephraim and Manasseh, and therefore as a district belonging to the northern kingdom, is scarcely to be explained by a migration of many Simeonites to North Palestine (Berth., Kamph.), but rather by th fact that the tribe of Simeon, though in a geographical situation it belonged to the kingdom of Judah, yet in the point of idolatry had made common cause with the northern kingdom by the erection of that impure worship of Jehovah at Beersheba, of which Amos iv. 4, v. 5, viii. 14 speaks along with Bethel and Gilgal (correctly Keil, Net., etc.).—Ver. 10. *In the third month of the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa*, in

the spring of the year 940 B.C.; comp. Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 197.—Ver. 11. *And they sacrificed . . . of the spoil they had brought,* in the war with the Ethiopians and their allies; for this war, though it broke out in the eleventh year of Asa (ch. xiii. 23, xiv. 8), might have extended even to the present date, and therefore lasted for four years; the statement in ch. xiv. 8-14 admits of this very well.—Ver. 12. *They entered into a covenant,* a new covenant of peace with God; comp. בּוֹא בִבְּרִית, Jer. xxxiv. 10; Neh. x. 30.—Ver. 13. *And whosoever . . . should be put to death,* according to the strict letter of the law, Deut. xvii. 2-6; comp. ch. xiii. 10, 17. Observe the present trace of a far higher age of the book of Deuteronomy than the time of Josiah, where modern criticism places its origin. Comp. Schröder, *Deuteron.* Einl. pp. 25, 32; Kleinert, *Das Deuteron. und der Deutoronomiker,* 1872, especially p. 136 ff.—Ver. 14. *And they sware unto the Lord with a loud voice.* On the musical instruments accompanying this act of the solemn renewal of the covenant, comp. xxiii. 13; Neh. xii. 27 ff.—Vers. 16-18. Comp. Bähr on the almost literally coinciding parallel 1 Kings xv. 13-15.—*And also Maachah, the mother of Asa the king, he removed.* In 1 Kings stands simply אִמּוֹ, "his mother," because there Maachah had been mentioned just before (ver. 10). For the rest, comp. on ch. xiii. 1.—*And Asa cut down her idol, and crushed it, and burnt it.* The "crushing" (comp. Ex. xxxii. 20; 2 Kings xxiii. 15) is mentioned only by the Chronist; in 1 Kings וַיָּדֶק is wanting.—Ver. 17. *Out of Israel* is wanting in 1 Kings. It naturally means the southern kingdom as the legitimate and normal people of Israel; comp. ver. 3.—*But the heart of Asa was perfect,* entirely devoted to the Lord. The עִם יְהוָה expressly added 1 Kings is here omitted, because the שָׁלֵם, as predicate to לֵב, is plain enough of itself (comp. ch. xvi. 9, xix. 9); that is, Asa's exclusive interest in the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, not in that (still tolerated) worship on the high places, is distinctly enough expressed.—Ver. 19, introducing the following account of the war.—*And there was no more war unto the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Asa.* The contradiction to 1 Kings xv. 16: "And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days," is in so far only apparent, as מִלְחָמָה there denotes only a state of hostility, here a formal war actually carried on in open field. It is not so easy to explain the difficulty involved in the date: "unto the thirty-fifth year of Asa's reign;" see on xvi. 1.

5. Asa's War with Baasha: ch. xvi. 1-6; comp. 1 Kings xv. 17-23.—*In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa.* As, according to 1 Kings xvi. 8, 10, Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign, and his successor Elah was killed before two years more had elapsed, and therefore in the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year of this king, the misplacing of the war between Asa and Baasha in the thirty-sixth year of the latter involves an error, and a very old one, already noted by the Sept., and provided with an attempt at emendation (see Crit. Note). A mistake of the pen, that, as ch. xv. 19 shows, existed perhaps in the sources of the Chronist, is probably the ground of this error; and 36 appears to have been miswritten for 16 (and in accordance with this, in ch. xv. 19, 35 for 15). From the similarity of the numeral ל (30) to י (10) in the old Hebrew character, this change was very possible; and the circumstance that Asa's reform of worship, ch. xv. 10, took place in the third month of his fifteenth year, agrees on the whole very well with this determination of time; there results an interval of a year or a year and a half between the reform and the new war. The solution preferred by most of the old expositors, that the thirty-sixth year of the kingdom of Asa, that is, the thirty-sixth year from the founding of the kingdom of Judah by Rehoboam, which coincides with the sixteenth year of the reign of Asa, is meant (des Vignoles, Ramb., Starke, Mich., and Hengstenberg, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes,* iii. 169), is not consistent with the word לְמַלְכוּת, which in this connection always signifies "reign, sovereignty." The attempts made by Movers (*Chron.* p. 255 ff.) and Thenius (on 1 Kings xv.) to explain this surprising mistake are too artificial, and arbitrary (see, on the contrary side, Berth. p. 325). On the following particulars, coinciding almost word for word with 1 Kings xv. 17 ff., comp. Bähr's exposition.—Ver. 2. *And sent to Benhadad.* Instead of the form בֶּן־הֲדַד, presented here and generally in the Old Testament, the Assyrian monuments constantly exhibit this name in the form Binhidri (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften,* p. 101 f.), thus agreeing with the υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄδερ of the Sept. (= בֶּן־הֲדַר).—Ver. 4. *And they smote Abel-maim* = Abel-beth-maachah of the parallel text in 1 Kings, as is clear from 2 Sam. xx. 14.—*And all the stores of the cities of Naphtali.* For this 1 Kings has: "And all Cinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali." That the one of the two readings has arisen from the other by misunderstanding or miswriting seems certain; perhaps the כִּנֲּרוֹת in 1 Kings is corrupted from מִסְכְּנוֹת (*Gesen.-Dietrich im Lex.*), though our וְאֵת כָּל־מִסְכְּנוֹת עָרֵי נ׳ might possibly also be an explanation of the וְאֵת כָּל־כִּנֲּרוֹת עַל אֶרֶץ נ׳, 1 Kings xv., whereby the Chronist might have characterized the high fertility of the district of Cinneroth (or Cinnereth, Josh. xix. 35) by the symbolic expression: "stores (corn-magazines) of the cities of Naphtali" (so Keil).—Ver. 5. *And let his work cease.* Instead of this, 1 Kings xv. 21: "and dwelt in Tirzah." In our וַיַּשְׁבֵּת אֶת־מְלַאכְתּוֹ, scarcely anything else is to be seen but an attempt at interpretation, where the words וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּתִרְצָה had become illegible (Berth., Kamph.); for after the words: "he left off building of Ramah," a second repetition of the thought, that Baasha gave up his undertaking against Judah, was obviously superfluous (against Keil).—Ver. 6. *And built therewith Geba and Mizpah,* the former (Geba of Benjamin in 1 Kings) half an hour north-east,

the latter an hour south-west, of Jerusalem. The historical character of this notice is confirmed by Jer. xli. 9, where a pit made by Asa in Mizpah is mentioned.

6. Hanani's Prophetic Warning: Asa's Transgression and End: vers. 7-14.—*And at that time came Hanani.* This prophet (חֲנָנִי) is otherwise unknown, though he appears to be identical with the father of the prophet Jehu ben Hanani, who about this time announced to Baasha the downfall of his house (1 Kings xvi. 1); comp. xix. 2. That this Hanani was the author of the prophetic sentence (שָׁמַע) quoted by Hos. vii. 12, whereby Israel is warned against a league with foreign powers, or more definitely, that the present oracle of Hanani, without naming its author, is quoted in this passage of Hosea, is the quite untenable conjecture of some moderns, for example, Fürst (*Gesch. der bibl. Lit.* ii. 206, 293).—*Therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped from thy hand,* the occasion has escaped thee of smiting both at once, Baasha of Israel and his presumptive ally the Syrian king. Comp. the rebuke by Elisha of Joash of Israel, for smiting only three times with the arrows instead of five or six times (2 Kings xiii. 15 ff.).—Ver. 8. Confirmatory reference to the victory of Asa over Zerah (xiv. 8 ff.). For the Lubites, comp. on xii. 3 f.—Ver. 9. *For the eyes of the Lord,* etc., literally, for Jehovah, His eyes. On "to prove himself strong for any one," that is, help him mightily, comp. 1 Chron. xi. 10. On "running" about, שׁוֹטְטִ בְּ, comp. Jer. v. 1; Zech. iv. 10. Before עִם־לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלָיו the relative אֲשֶׁר is omitted; comp. 1 Chron. xv. 12.—*For henceforth thou shalt have wars,* entanglements in unhappy worldly transactions, in the dangerous mazes of the policy of the great powers; a prediction of misfortune that was abundantly fulfilled, if not in Asa himself, yet in his successors until the exile.—Ver. 10. *Put him in the prison,* properly, "house of the stocks": מַהְפֶּכֶת, "turning round," is the well-known instrument of torture for locking round the culprit, in which Jeremiah also and Paul were forced to languish (Jer. xx. 2, xxix. 26; Acts xvi. 24). Comp. the equivalent סַד, Job xiii. 27, xxxiii. 11. —*And Asa oppressed some of the people at that time,* from anger at the deserved censure of the prophet (on the suitableness and importance of this address, see the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections). רִצֵּץ, properly, "shatter," in *Pi.*: "oppress, misuse," as Job xx. 19.—Vers. 11-14. Asa's End. On ver. 11, comp. Introd. § 5, II.—Ver. 12. *And Asa . . . was diseased in his feet,* probably with gout; the following also: "his disease was very great" (literally, till it reached a great height, עַד לְמַעְלָה), points to severe suffering of this kind.—*And in his disease also he sought not the Lord, but to the physicians.* דָּרַשׁ, first with the accusative of the object אֶת־יְהוָה, as is usual elsewhere, then with בְּ, by which preposition is elsewhere designated, inquiring or seeking help from God or from idols (1 Chron. x. 14; 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; 2 Kings i. 2 ff.); thus here expressing a superstitious trust in the physicians, and accordingly not opposed to the right of making use of medical aid, especially in cases of sickness; so far from this, that inversely the not seeking of the Lord may be regarded as a not seeking of his priests who were in Israel, analogous to the Egyptian priests, the legitimate physicians (as is done by K. Ad. Menzel in his posthumous work, *Religion und Stadtsidee,* 1872, p. 29).—Ver. 14. Asa's solemn burial is related by the Chronist with surprising detail, probably on account of the heathenish pomp and luxury which it displayed, reminding us of the manner of the Egyptian Pharaohs.—*And they buried him in his own tomb,* literally, "in his own sepulchres;" comp. 2 Kings xxii. 20; Job xxi. 32. This preparation of a burial-place or mausoleum, different from the common tombs of the kings, reminds us of the customs of the Egyptian kings, or at all events (comp. our Remark on Job iii. 14) indicates a haughty inclination to self-apotheosis incompatible with a genuine theocratic disposition; comp. Isa. xxii. 16 ff.—*Laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours of divers kinds.* On זְנִים, "kinds," comp. Ps. cxliv. 13, Dan. iii. 5; the term may well serve to describe more precisely the foregoing בְּשָׂמִים, "spices" (Song iv. 10 ff.).—*Compounded by art,* properly, "compounded by compounding of work," by the work of the artificer; comp. Ex. xxx. 25, 35, and 1 Chron. ix. 30. מִרְקַחַת is in this connection מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקֵחַ; the assumption that the latter word is omitted is unnecessary.—*And they made a very great burning for him,* namely, of the sweet-smelling substances of the kind mentioned. Such burnings of incense were always made at the burial of the kings of Judah, as appears from Jer. xxxiv. 5. But what the Chronist notices as culpable is the exaggerated splendour and lavish excess with which the custom was observed in the burial of Asa, as if it were the burial of a Pharaoh of Egypt (comp. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs,* etc., ii. 385 f.; Uhlemann, *Egypt. Alterthumsk.* ii 325). Against the assumption of some, as Michaelis (*De combustione et humatione mortuorum apud Hebræos,* in his *Syntagma dissertatt.* i. 225 sqq.), that the body of the king was burned among the spices, see Geier, *De luctu Hebræor.* c. vi., who rightly maintains that such cases as the burning of Saul and his sons were exceptions to the general custom of Hebrew antiquity.

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS AND APOLOGETIC REMARKS ON CH. XIII.-XVI.

1. To much that is original, and in a theological sense important, in the comparatively full account given by our author of the reigns of Abijah and Asa, belong especially the three speeches which it contains, of which the old parallel text presents neither a brief *résumé* nor even a passing trace. All three are in a high degree characteristic, and point to a primitive tradition, true in all essentials to word and deed as their source. The address of Abijah to the Ephraimites from Mount Zemaraim is strictly an *oratio pro domo,* a defence of a royal representative of the house of David maintaining the good cause of his theocratic inheritance. With no

little skill, and with much diplomatic art as well as downright popular rhetoric, all is put forward that can be said for the legitimate kingdom and worship, and against the usurpation of Jeroboam. There is reference, on the one hand, to the unchangeableness of the covenant with Jehovah (xiii. 5), to the divine origin of the Davidic dynasty (as "a kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David," ver. 8), to the beauty and established order of the service of God in the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, and to the hereditary legal chartered dignity of the theocratic priesthood (vers. 10–12); and, on the other hand, to the unworthy aims of the revolution party led by Jeroboam (the men of Belial who took advantage of the tender youth, inexperience, and weakness of Rehoboam, ver. 7), to the folly of the worship of the golden calves, the illegal and heathenish character of its priesthood, the hopelessness of a contest with Jehovah, the God of their fathers (vers. 8, 9, 12), in the tone now of fine irony, now of bitter scorn, and now of threatening earnest. The whole, inclusive of the partisan, one-sided, and somewhat distorted reference to the procedure in the separation of the kingdom (ver. 7), appears a masterpiece of political eloquence, the present form of which (taken, no doubt, from the Midrasch of the prophet Iddo quoted in ver. 22) may be ideally conceived; but the chief context and process of thought can scarcely be a pure invention. No less original and characteristic are the two prophetic speeches inserted in the history of Asa's reign. The speech of Azariah son of Oded (ch. xv. 2-7) unfolds at the moment a gloomy picture of the future godlessness of the people forsaking their God more and more, and of the troubles and judgments arising from their unfaithfulness, where the tone of jubilant gladness for the great victory secured, and the announcement of optimistic expectations, would have seemed most natural. Instead of a panegyristic flatterer courting princely favour, a deeply-earnest prophet of woe greets the king returning in triumph, who has certainly words of acknowledgment for that which has been performed by the conquerors, but clothes his praise in the form of an exhibition of necessary connection between devotion to God and the gracious reward of such devotion, and dwells with visible predilection on the times of apostasy, with its tragic consequences, that were coming notwithstanding all the admonitions of the prophets. The speech appears badly enough to suit the festive moment that forms its occasion; but it testifies to the unusually deep glance into the inmost heart of the people which the speaker filled with the terrible earnest of the coming destiny has long taken. And as such testimony, it fails not also of its effect, but rather proves, as the consequent energy of the king in purifying the form of worship shows, a true comfort and strengthening for good (παράκλησις, *confortatio;* comp. הִתְחַזֵּק, Sept. κατίσχυσεν, ver. 8), an impulse at least effectual for a time to return to the path of theocratic truth and righteousness, a model (Hos. iii. 4 f., ix. 3, 4, where there seems to be an allusion to it) and primitive form held in esteem by later prophets of genuine prediction, the fundamental thought of which, as it recurs (*mutatis mutandis*) in the woe-foreboding addresses of an Isaiah to Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix.; 2 Kings xx.), and a Huldah to Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv 22 ff.), stands forth not essentially different in the pictures of the future presented in the New Testament (Matt. xxiv. 5 ff.; 2 Thess. ii. 3 ff.; 1 John ii. 18 ff.; Luke xviii. 8, etc.). In severe rebuke of a temporary departure of the king from the path of theological strictness and conscientiousness marked out for him by the prophetic word of Azariah, proceeds the second of the two prophetic speakers, Hanani (ch. xvi. 7–9). With a sharp lecture he treats the king, looking for nothing but praise for his victory over Baasha. That he made not Jehovah but the Syrian heathens his stay, he pronounces not only imprudent but directly "foolish" (ver. 9). His sagacity, not unexercised in political matters, lets him know immediately, under the influence of the illuminating Spirit of God, that the calling in the help of the Syrian power must draw to it the dependence, not merely of the conquered Israelites, but also of the Jews. Wherefore he not only blames the misled prince's weakness of faith and fear of man, and emphatically lays before him, that the eyes of the Lord are only strong for those who serve Him with entire devotion, but hurls upon him a hard נִסְכַּלְתָּ, *stulte egisti* (unduly softened by the Sept. into a weak ἠγνόηκας ἐπὶ τούτῳ). He suffers for this boldness the same punishment which Jeremiah brought upon himself, when he, a no less zealous preacher of the truth that man should not make flesh his arm than Hanani, had spoken hard words against the obstinacy and folly of his contemporaries (Jer. xx. 2; comp. ch. xvii. 5, xix. 15).—Here again is nothing that is not in the highest degree original and powerful, breathing the stern prophetic spirit of Samuel and Nathan. Both speeches may show in their present form the elaborating hand of the Chronist, but in matter they appear with incontestable evidence as documents taken from the prophetic historical sources of the writer, of a time bordering upon and cognate with the spirit of Elijah and Elisha.

2. In a religious and moral respect, the two kings described in our section appear again somewhat better than Rehoboam, who trod in the paths of the degenerate Solomon. In particular, Asa receives due praise for his theocratic zeal, as he busied himself as a reformer of the worship of God, that had been in several ways disfigured by superstition. The Deuteronomic law, which threatens every partaker in such idolatry with death, he not only binds upon the people by an oath (xv. 13 f.), but puts in practice the judicial rigour of this statute even against his own mother (grandmother), as he removes her from her dignity as queen-mother on account of her worship of Astarte, and so makes judgment begin at the royal house itself (ver. 16). Inasmuch as he certainly does not set aside (ver. 17) the worship on the high places, he does not rise to the height of theocratic rigour and purity which was attained in the subsequent reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. The later time and the end of his reign also were tarnished by bursts of passion and acts of violence towards pious men of God, as the prophet Hanani; and a severe and painful disease is not able to bring him back to the early well-known simplicity of his devotion to Jehovah (ch. xvi. 12; comp. xv. 17). He seeks not the Lord, but betakes himself to the physicians; the impure

juggling method, mingled no doubt with superstition and idolatry, pursued by the medicine men or goetæ of his time, gave him more confidence than the helping hand of the God of truth, with whose witnesses he had also quarrelled. So it fared otherwise with him than with the pious Hezekiah, who without medical aid, by the miraculous help of God obtained through the prophet, was delivered from a dangerous sickness, and had fifteen years added to his life (2 Kings xx.; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24). The word of the wise Sirach was verified in him: "He that sinneth before his Maker shall fall into the hand of the physician" (Sir. xxxviii. 15). Like the woman having the issue of blood, he must become *πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν*, Mark v. 26. In setting forth the impotence of these human helpers exclusively sought by him (comp. Sir. x. 11: *μακρὸν ἀῤῥώστημα σκώπτει ἰατρόν*[1]), there is no absolute condemnation of medical art or science, but merely a gentle hint of the state of his heart, enslaved to worldly and idolatrous lusts, God-estranged and unbelieving, on account of which might justly be addressed to him the question of the prophet Jeremiah: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why, then, is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" Jer. viii. 22; or also that question of Elijah: "Is it not because there is not a God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron?" 2 Kings i. 3. Comp. also, with respect to Asa's religious and moral character, the weighty remark of Bengel (*Beiträge zum Schriftverständniss*, p. 17 f.): "Asa was righteous (xv. 17), and yet he behaved so badly at the last (xvi. 10, 12). How can this be? Answer.—He has not turned to idols all his life long; he has constantly held the Lord to be the right, true, and only God. But it was, as it were, an *atheismus practicus*, that he withdrew his confidence from Him. He thought, Shall I have been pious so long, and yet now receive a reprimand? If he had only received it like David: I have sinned, etc., all would have been right, etc."

3. In an apologetic respect, we have to observe, in conjunction with the remarks made under No. 1, that weighty credentials of an internal kind support the two great wars as the Chronist relates them here, in completion of the very imperfect account in the books of Kings of these episodes in the history of the reigns of Abijah and Asa. That Abijah's conflict with Jeroboam, after the total dissolution of the army of the latter, led to the annexation of the three towns Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron to the southern kingdom (ch. xiii. 19), is a notice so definite and concrete, that no scepticism of de Wette and Gramberg, with its assertion of the feigned character of the narrative in question, can be accepted, as, on the other hand, the attempt of Ewald, while admitting a kernel of historical fact, to stamp at least the speech of Abijah on Mount Zemaraim as a free composition of the Chronist, is wrecked on the highly original contents of this speech (see No. 1, and comp. Keil, *Commentar*, p. 264 f., Remarks). The passage 1 Kings xv. 15 also, where the things dedicated by Abijah are mentioned, which his son Asa afterwards brought into the house of the Lord along with his own dedicated gifts, affords an indirect proof that both rulers had gained great victories and taken much spoil from their foes (comp. 2 Chron. xiv. 12 f.), by which must be meant the victory of the former over Jeroboam, and that of the latter over Zerah (comp. Thenius on this passage, and Berth. on Chron. p. 324). The credibility of the account of this last great battle derives support also from what is related at its close of the conquest and spoliation of the cities around Gerar, and the cattle tents of the nomad tribes dwelling south of Palestine, a detail, again, that gives the lie altogether to the suspicion of pure fiction.—Only the very high numbers in the account of the slaughter should be regarded as falling beyond the range of the historically exact. They "are perhaps not to be understood according to the nominal value of the numbers given, but only an expression conceived in figures of the contemporaries of these wars, which imports that the two kings (first Abijah and Jeroboam, then Asa and Zerah) had summoned to the field the whole military strength of their kingdoms" (Keil, p. 265). In the war of Abijah with Jeroboam, this is favoured by the approximative accordance of the numbers 800,000 and 400,000 with results of the census by David, as well as the round ideal sum of 500,000 as the number of those who fell on the side of Israel, a number that perhaps only indicates that Jeroboam had lost more than half his force. In the war with the Ethiopian king, the corresponding assumption is favoured by the round number 1,000,000, as well as by the circumstance that exact accounts, resting on actual numbering, and not on a mere estimate, of the strength of the enemy, were not at the command of the observers and reporters on the Jewish side (comp. above on the passages in question). The necessity of a merely ideal and approximate conception of these numbers is evident, if we compare the statements, resting on actual numbering, of the strength of the men-at-arms in the several tribes in the genealogical summaries (1 Chron. v.–vii.). The smallest of the numbers there named (for example, 44,760, 87,000, 22,034, 20,200, 17,200, 26,000) are round. It is the same with the numbers referring to the warriors from the several tribes at the elevation of David to the throne in 1 Chron. xii.; comp. the remarks on this in p. 120 f.

[1] *Ἰατρόν*, we believe, in the notorious corruption of the text (see Fritzsche's *Libb. apocr. V. T.* p. 409), with Hitzig (*Der Proph. Daniel*, p. 142), should be read here instead of *ἰατρός*.

## *d.* JEHOSHAPHAT: THE PROPHETS MICHAH SON OF IMLAH AND JEHU SON OF HANANI. – CH. XVII.–XX.

### *α. Jehoshaphat's Measures for the External and Internal Defence of his Kingdom:* ch. xvii. 1–9.

CH. XVII. 1. And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, and strengthened himself
2 against Israel. And he placed forces in all the fenced cities of Judah, and
placed garrisons in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which

3 Asa his father had taken. And the LORD was with Jehoshaphat; for he
walked in the former ways of his father David, and sought not unto Baalim.
4 But sought to the LORD God of his father, and walked in His commandments,
5 and not after the doing of Israel. And the LORD stablished the kingdom in
his hand; and all Judah brought presents to Jehoshaphat; and he had riches
6 and honour in abundance. And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the
LORD; and, moreover, he took away the high places and Asherim out of
7 Judah. And in the third year of his reign he sent his princes, Benhail,[1] and
Obadiah, and Zechariah, and Nethaneel, and Michaiah, to teach in the cities
8 of Judah. And with them the Levites, Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and
Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth,[2] and Jehonathan, and Adonijah,
and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, Levites; and with them Elishama and
9 Jehoram, priests. And they taught in Judah, and had with them the book
of the law of the LORD, and went round all the cities of Judah, and taught
among the people.

*β. The Effects of these Measures: Jehoshaphat's increasing Power:* vers. 10–19.

10 And the fear of the LORD fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that
11 were around Judah, and they warred not with Jehoshaphat. And some of
the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents, and silver in abundance; the
Arabs also brought him flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and
12 seven thousand and seven hundred he-goats. And Jehoshaphat became ever
greater to the highest degree; and he built in Judah castles and cities with
13 stores. And he had much store in the cities of Judah: and men of war,
14 mighty men of valour, in Jerusalem. And this was the muster of them after
their father-houses: of Judah, the captains of thousands: Adnah the chief,
15 and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand. And at his
hand Jehohanan the chief, and with him two hundred and eighty thousand.
16 And at his hand Amasiah son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto
17 the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour. And
of Benjamin: Eliada, a mighty man of valour, and with him, armed with bow
18 and shield, two hundred thousand. And at his hand Jehozabad, and with
19 him a hundred and eighty thousand equipped for the war. These were they
who ministered to the king, besides those whom the king had placed in the
fenced cities in all Judah.

*γ. Jehoshaphat's Affinity with Ahab, and the War against Ramoth-gilead:* ch. xviii.

CH. XVIII. 1. And Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance, and joined
2 affinity with Ahab. And in the course of years he went down to Ahab
to Samaria: and Ahab killed for him, and the people that were with him,
sheep and oxen in abundance; and he persuaded him to go up with him to
3 Ramoth-gilead. And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of
Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he said to him, I
am as thou, and my people as thy people; and we will be with thee in the
4 war. And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Ask now this day the
5 word of the LORD. And the king of Israel gathered the prophets, four
hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or
shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; and God will give it into the hand
6 of the king. And Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the LORD
7 besides, that we may ask of him? And the king of Israel said unto
Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man, by whom we may inquire of the LORD;
but I hate him, because he never prophesied good to me, but always evil:
that is Michah son of Imlah: and Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king
say so.
8 And the king of Israel called a chamberlain, and said, Fetch quickly
9 Michah[3] son of Imlah. And the king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat king of
Judah, sat each on his throne, clothed in robes, and they sat in a floor at the

entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them.
10 And Zedekiah son of Chenaanah made him iron horns, and said, Thus saith
11 the LORD, With these thou shalt push Syria, until they are consumed. And
all the prophets prophesied so, and said, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and prosper;
and the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king.
12 And the messenger that went to call Michah spake to him, saying, Behold,
the words of the prophets are with one mouth good for the king: let now thy
13 word then be as one of them, and speak thou good. And Michah said, As
14 the Lord liveth, what my God saith, that will I speak. And he came to the
king; and the king said unto him, Michah, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to
battle, or shall I forbear? And he said, Go ye up, and prosper, and they
15 shall be delivered into your hand. And the king said to him, How many
times shall I adjure thee, that thou speak nothing to me but truth in the
16 name of the LORD? And he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the moun
tains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no
17 master; let them return every man to his house in peace. And the king of
Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy
good to me, but evil?
18 And he said, Therefore hear ye the word of the LORD; I saw the LORD
sitting upon His throne, and all the host of heaven standing on His right
19 hand and on His left. And the LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab king of
Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said[4] this,
20 and another said that. And the spirit came forth, and stood before the LORD,
21 and said, I will entice him: and the LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And
he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets:
and He said, Thou shalt entice, and shalt also prevail: go forth, and do so.
22 And now, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy
23 prophets, and the LORD hath spoken evil against thee. And Zedekiah son of
Chenaanah drew near, and smote Michah on the cheek, and said, Which way
24 went the Spirit of the LORD from me to speak with thee? And Michah said,
Behold, thou shalt see on that day when thou goest from chamber to chamber
25 to hide thyself. And the king of Israel said, Take ye Michah, and carry him
26 back to Amon the governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son. And say
ye, Thus saith the king, Put him in the prison, and let him eat bread of trouble,
27 and water of trouble, until I return in peace. And Michah said, If thou
return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken by me: and he said, Hear,
all ye people.
28 And the king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat king of Judah, went up to
29 Ramoth-gilead. And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Disguised I will
go into the battle; but thou put on thy robes: and the king of Israel dis-
30 guised himself, and they went into the battle. And the king of Syria had
commanded the captains of his chariots, saying, Fight ye not with small or
31 great, but only with the king of Israel. And it came to pass, when the
captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, This is the king of
Israel; and they compassed about him to fight; and Jehoshaphat cried out,
32 and the LORD helped him, and God turned them away from him. And it
came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king
33 of Israel, that they turned from after him. And a man drew a bow in his
simplicity, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness:
and he said to the charioteer, Turn thy hand,[5] and carry me out of the host;
34 for I am wounded. And the battle went up in that day, and the king of
Israel was standing in the chariot against Syria until the evening; and he
died at the time of the sun setting.

*b. Judgment of Jehu the Prophet on the Covenant of Jehoshaphat with Ahab:* ch. xix. 1-3.

CH. XIX. 1. And Jehoshaphat king of Judah returned home in peace to Jerusalem.
2 And Jehu son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said to king
Jehoshaphat, Must we help the wicked, and shouldst thou love them that

3 hate the LORD? and for this is wrath upon thee from the LORD. Yet good
things are found with thee; for thou hast destroyed the Asherim out of the
land, and thou hast directed thy heart to seek God.

*ε. Jehoshaphat's further Reforms of Worship and Law:* vers. 4–11.

4 And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out again among the
people, from Beersheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back to the
5 LORD God of their fathers. And he appointed judges in the land, in all the
6 fenced cities of Judah, city by city. And said to the judges: See what ye
do; for ye judge not for man, but for the LORD; and He is with you in judg-
7 ment. And now let the fear of the LORD be upon you; take heed and do
ye; for with the LORD our God is neither iniquity, nor respect of persons,
8 nor taking of gift.—And also in Jerusalem Jehoshaphat appointed of the
Levites and priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment
9 of the LORD, and for pleading; and they returned to Jerusalem. And he
commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the LORD, with
10 truth and a perfect heart. And in[6] every plea that cometh before you of
your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between
law and commandment, statutes and judgments, ye shall advise them, that
they trespass not against the LORD, so that wrath come upon you and your
11 brethren: thus shall ye do, and not trespass.[7] And, behold, Amariah the
chief priest is over you for every matter of the LORD; and Zebadiah son of
Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, for every matter of the king; and
the Levites are officers before you: take courage, and do ye, and the LORD
will be with the good.

*ζ. Jehoshaphat's Victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and other Nations of the East:* ch. xx. 1–30.

CH. XX. 1. And it came to pass after this, that the sons of Moab and the sons of
Ammon, and with them of the Meunites,[8] came against Jehoshaphat to battle.
2 And they came and told Jehoshaphat, saying, There cometh against thee a
great multitude from beyond the sea, from Syria; and, behold, they are at
3 Hazezon-tamar, that is Engedi. And Jehoshaphat was afraid,[9] and set his
4 face to seek the LORD, and proclaimed a fast over all Judah. And the Jews
assembled to seek the LORD: even from all the cities of Judah came they to seek
5 the LORD. And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jeru-
6 salem, in the house of the LORD, before the new court. And said, LORD God
of our fathers, art not Thou God in heaven, and ruler over all the kingdoms of
the nations? and in thy hand are strength and might, and none is with Thee
7 to withstand Thee. Hast not Thou, our God, driven out the inhabitants of
this land before Thy people Israel, and given it to the seed of Abraham Thy
8 friend for ever? And they dwelt therein, and built Thee a sanctuary therein
9 for Thy name, saying: If evil come upon us, sword, judgment, or pestilence
or famine, we shall stand before this house, and before Thee—for Thy name is
in this house—and shall cry unto Thee out of our affliction: then Thou wilt
10 hear and help. And now, behold, the sons of Ammon, and Moab, and mount
Seir, whom thou wouldst not let Israel invade, when they came out of the
11 land of Egypt, but they departed from them, and destroyed them not. And,
behold, they requite us by coming to cast us out of Thy possession which
12 Thou hast given us. Our God, wilt Thou not judge them? for in us is no
might against this great multitude that cometh against us; and we know not
13 what we shall do: but our eyes are upon Thee. And all Judah stood before
the LORD, and their little ones, their wives, and their sons.
14 And upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of
Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, the Levite of the sons of Asaph, came the Spirit
15 of the LORD in the midst of the congregation. And he said, Attend ye, all
Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat; Thus

saith the LORD unto you, Be not afraid nor dismayed before this great multi-
16 tude; for the battle is not yours, but God's. To-morrow go ye down against
them: behold, they go up by the hill of Haziz; and ye shall find them at the
17 end of the valley, before the wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not have to fight
here: step forth, stand ye, and see the help of the LORD who is with you, O
Judah and Jerusalem: fear ye not, nor be dismayed; to-morrow go out
18 against them, and the LORD will be with you. And Jehoshaphat bowed his
face to the ground; and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell
19 before the LORD, to worship the LORD. And the Levites of the sons of
Kohath, and of the Korhites, stood up to praise the LORD God of Israel with
an exceeding loud voice.
20 And they rose early in the morning, and went forth into the wilderness
of Tekoa; and as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood up and said, Hear ye
me, Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem: Believe in the LORD your God,
and ye shall be established; believe in His prophets, and ye shall prosper.
21 And he advised the people, and appointed men singing unto the LORD, and
praising in holy beauty, when they go out before the armed men, and saying,
22 Give thanks to the LORD; for His mercy endureth for ever. And at the time
when they began with song and praise, the Lord set an ambush against the
sons of Ammon, Moab, and mount Seir, which were come against Judah; and
23 they were smitten. And the sons of Ammon and Moab stood up against the
inhabitants of mount Seir, to cut off and destroy them; and when they had
ended with the inhabitants of Seir, they helped to destroy one another.
24 And Judah came to the watch-tower in the wilderness, and looked to the
multitude; and, behold, they lay as corpses on the earth, and none escaped.
25 And Jehoshaphat and his people came to take their spoil, and they found with
them in abundance, goods and corpses,[10] and costly vessels; and they stripped
off for themselves more than they could carry; and they were three days
26 taking the spoil, for it was great. And on the fourth day they assembled in
the valley of blessing; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore they
27 called the name of the place the valley of blessing unto this day. And they
returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat at their head,
to return to Jerusalem with gladness; for the LORD had made them glad over
28 their enemies. And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries, and harps, and
29 trumpets, unto the house of the LORD. And the fear of God was upon all
the kingdoms of the countries when they heard that the LORD fought against
30 the enemies of Israel. And the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet; for his God
gave him rest round about.

*η. End of the Reign of Jehoshaphat:* vers. 31–37.

31 And Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah: he was thirty and five years old
when he became king, and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem
32 and his mother's name was Azubah, daughter of Shilhi. And he walked in
the way of his father Asa, and departed not from it, so that he did that
33 which was right in the sight of the LORD. Only the high places were not
taken away, and the people had not yet directed their heart to the God of
their fathers.
34 And the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are
written in the words of Jehu son of Hanani, which are inserted in the book
of the kings of Israel.
35 And afterwards Jehoshaphat king of Judah allied himself with Ahaziah
36 king of Israel: he was wicked in his doing. And he allied himself with him,
37 to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made ships in Ezion-geber. And
Eliezer, son of Dodavah [11] of Mareshah, prophesied against Jehoshaphat,
saying, Because thou hast allied thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath
broken thy work: and the ships were wrecked, and were not able to go to
Tarshish.

[1] For בֶּן־חַיִל the Sept. (and Syr.) appears to have read בְּנֵי חַיִל; for they translate appellatively, υἱὸν τῶν δυνατῶν. But the word is certainly a proper name; comp. בֶּן־חֶסֶד, 1 Kings iv. 10, and similar names.

[2] The *Kethib* שְׁמָרִימוֹת is a mere mistake for שְׁמִירָמוֹת, the *Keri*.

[3] *Kethib:* מִיכָהוּ. *Keri:* מִיכָיְהוּ.

[4] The redundant אֹמֵר after וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה is perhaps inserted by a mistake of the transcriber, and therefore, according to 1 Kings xxii. 20, to be erased.

[5] *Kethib:* יָדֶיךָ. *Keri:* יָדְךָ.

[6] וְ before כָּל־רִיב is wanting in the Sept. and Vulg., but if taken explicatively it involves no difficulty.

[7] *Kethib:* תֶּאְשְׁמוּ. *Keri:* תֶּאְ־שְׁמוּ.

[8] Instead of מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים is undoubtedly to be read מֵהַמְּעוּנִים, as the ἐκ τῶν Μιναίων of the Sept. shows.

[9] *Kethib:* וַיִּרָא. *Keri:* וַיִּירָא.

[10] Instead of פְּגָרִים, four mss. in Kennic. and three in de Rossi, likewise some old editions (Complut., Brix., Bomberg. *a.* 1518, 21, Münst.), read בְּגָדִים; so also the Vulg. (*vestes*), and apparently also the Sept., as well as several recent expositors, Dathe, Berth., and Kamph.

[11] For דֹּדָוָהוּ the Sept. has Δωδία, after which Berth., without sufficient reason, would write דּוֹדִיָּהוּ. Comp. rather such names as Hodaviah, Joshaviah.

EXEGETICAL.

Besides the report in ch. xviii. of the unsuccessful campaign of Jehoshaphat and Ahab against Ramoth-gilead, agreeing almost literally with 1 Kings xxii. 2–35 and the closing section ch. xx. 30–37, which coincides partly in matter and partly in form with 1 Kings xxii. 41–51, the Chronist presents in this enlarged history of the reign of Jehoshaphat only original matter, serving to supplement the books of Kings, and that on the basis of those "words" or records of Jehu ben Hanani, which he himself names as his source in ch. xx. 34.

1. Jehoshaphat's Measures for the Internal and External Defence of the Kingdom: ch. xvii. 1–9.—*Strengthened himself against Israel,* endeavoured to defend and secure himself against attack on the side of Israel (comp. i. 1). This was obviously in the first part of his reign, before he formed affinity with Ahab (xviii. 1), and so long as the recollection of Baasha's attack on his predecessor Asa operated.—Ver. 2. *Placed garrisons in the land;* נְצִיבִים, military posts, as 1 Chron. xi. 16. On *b,* comp. 2 Chron. xv. 8.—Ver. 3. *For he walked in the former ways of his father David,* not in the later ways of David, which were characterized by his crimes regarding Uriah and Bathsheba, by the foolish step of numbering the people, etc.—*Sought not unto Baalim.* לְ here and in the following verse is *nota accusativi,* after the later usage. The Baalim (comp. Judg. ii. 11) comprise all kinds of idolatry, even that finer kind, consisting in the worship of Jehovah under certain animal forms, which is designated in the following verse as the "doing of Israel" that was avoided by Jehoshaphat.—Ver. 5. *And the Lord stablished the kingdom in his hand;* comp. 2 Kings xiv. 5. On the following מִנְחָה, "gift" (=נְדָבוֹת, Ps. cx. 3), comp. ver. 11, where the term denotes the tribute of a subject people. On "riches and honour in abundance," see xviii. 1, also 1 Chron. xxix. 28; 2 Chron. i. 12.—Ver. 6 ff. The Internal Defence of the Kingdom by the Extirpation of Idolatry and the Instruction of the People in the Law.—*And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the Lord,* showed a heightened courage to proceed in a godly walk; גָּבַהּ לֵב here, otherwise than in xxvi. 16, xxxii. 25, etc., not in the bad sense of an ungodly pride, but *sensu bono.* The following "and moreover" (וְעוֹד) points back to ver. 3. For the "high places" and Asherim, comp. on xiv. 2.—Ver. 7. *And in the third year of his reign;* according to Hitzig's not improbable conjecture (*Geschichte,* pp. 9 ff., 198 f.), a jubilee year, and indeed the year 912 B.C. The five princes, nine Levites, and two priests named in the following verse are otherwise unknown.—Ver. 9. *And they taught in Judah,* on the basis of the presently named "book of the law of the Lord," the religious and civil enactments of which, on the occasion of this solemn ecclesiastical visitation of Jehoshaphat (Starke and other ancients), were brought to the recollection and impressed anew on the attention of the Jews. This mention of the book of the law under Jehoshaphat, almost 300 years before Josiah's renewed inculcation and vindication of its authority, is of no small apologetic importance. It shows that, if not the whole Pentateuch in its present form, yet a work already approaching to its present compass, was already extant in the tenth century B.C. (comp. also on xv. 13). And indeed the concrete, detailed, and definite nature of the present notice leaves no doubt of this, that not merely the Chronist living after the exile, but his much older voucher, contemporary with the recorded fact (probably Jehu ben Hanani), bears this testimony to the existence of the Torah at so early a date.

2. The Effects of these Measures: Jehoshaphat's increasing Power: vers. 10–19.—*And the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands* (almost literally so, xx. 29; comp. also xiv. 13, xii. 8, etc.). Rightly Rambach observes: *Erat hoc præmium pietatis Josaphati, quod vicini antique potentes hostes non auderent adversus ipsum hiscere.* On the contrary, Berth. perverts

the theocratic causal nexus set forth clearly enough by the writer, when he remarks on this passage: "Jehoshaphat had time to attend to the instruction of his people, because the neighbouring nations did not then venture to make war on Judah."—Ver. 11. *And some of the Philistines brought.* מִן־פְּלִשְׁתִּים is subject (with partitive מִן).—*And silver in abundance*, literally, "and silver a load"; comp. xx. 25. Falsely the Vulg., which assigns to the term מַשָּׂא, "load," the meaning "tribute" (*vectigal*).—*The Arabs also* (עַרְבִיאִים = עַרְבִים; see xxi. 16, xxii. 1), the Beduin tribes of north-western Arabia, perhaps those whom Asa had subdued by the victory over Zerah (comp. xiv. 14.).—Ver. 12. *And Jehoshaphat became ever greater.* The construction according to Ew. § 280, *b;* עַד־לְמַעְלָה, as in xvi. 12.—*And he built in Judah castles.* בִּירָנִיּוֹת, plur. of בִּירָנִית (= בִּירָה), a Syrian form occurring only here and xxvii. 4. "Cities with stores," as viii. 4.—Ver. 13. *And he had much store.* So rightly Luther, Starke, Keil, Kamph., etc. Of the same signification is מְלָאכָה, Ex. xxii. 7-10. Otherwise (Vulg. *opera magna*, Clericus, Berth., Neteler, etc.): "much labour, great preparations," to which, however, *b* does not suit; comp. also xi. 11.—Ver. 14. *And this was the muster of them*, the result of the muster, or also their "order"; comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 49.—*Of Judah, the captains of thousands*, leaders, field-marshals. The following statement of the three Jewish divisions of the army under Adnah, Jehohanan, and Amasiah, and of the two divisions of Benjamin under Eliada and Jehozabad (vers. 15-18), is certainly historical, if we only mark the concrete form, bearing the stamp of direct historical truth, of the notice concerning Amasiah: "who willingly offered himself unto the Lord," and also the circumstance that the kind of armour worn by the Benjamites agrees with earlier statements (comp. 1 Chron. viii. 40; 2 Chron. xiv. 7). But the exceedingly high numbers, which give for Judah alone 780,000, for Benjamin 380,000, and thus for both tribes together the total of 1,160,000 warriors, form no inconsiderable difficulty; comp. the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections.—Ver. 19. *These were they who ministered to the king.* אֵלֶּה, "these," refers to the five generals or commanders, not to the thousands of warriors. Likewise the following clause: "whom the king had placed in the fenced cities in all Judah," refers to other officers besides those five, not to other troops besides those already enumerated.

3. Jehoshaphat's Affinity with Ahab: the Campaign against Ramoth-gilead: ch. xviii. Comp. 1 Kings xxii. 2-35, and Bähr on this passage. Here are only the statements peculiar to the Chronist to be expounded.—*And Jehoshaphat . . . joined affinity with Ahab*, in this way, that he gave his son Joram in marriage to Athaliah, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel; see xxi. 6.[1] This affinity, which occasioned the subsequent visit of Jehoshaphat to Ahab, and the participation in his unfortunate campaign, is here clearly mentioned as something mischievous, attended with destructive effects, as the first link of a chain of misfortunes (comp. xix. 2); the וְ before יִתְחַתֵּן has accordingly, as it were, an adversative force, and the verse expresses this thought: "Although Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance, yet he was so foolish as to make affinity with Ahab." Comp. S. Schmidt, *Josaphatus, cetera dives et gloriosus, infelicem affinitatem cum Achabo, rege Israelitarum, contrahit*, etc. See, for the rest, Evangelical and Ethical Reflections.—Ver. 2. *And in the course of years*, nine years, as the comparison of 1 Kings xxii. 2, 41 with 2 Kings viii. 26 shows; the affinity of Jehoshaphat with Ahab by the marriage of Joram and Athaliah must, according to these passages, have fallen in the eighth, and the death of Ahab, in the campaign against Ramoth, in the seventeenth, year of Jehoshaphat's reign.—*And he persuaded him*, partly by the great banquets and hospitalities which he prepared in his honour (comp. הֵסִית, "entice, tempt," in such places as Judg. i. 14; Job ii. 3; Deut. xi. 7, etc.). In 1 Kings xxii. 3, instead of this persuasive influence on Jehoshaphat, is set forth rather the political motive of Ahab to begin the war against the Syrians in Ramoth-gilead; our author is silent on this, because on principle he does not wish to recount anything of the deeds or enterprises of the northern king.—Ver. 5. *Gathered the prophets, four hundred men.* 1 Kings: "about 400 men," which is the more correct, as the number is obviously a round one. —*Shall we go;* in 1 Kings: "Shall I go," in harmony with the following אִם אֶחְדָּל, "or shall I forbear." Inversely in 1 Kings (ver. 14) both verbs are plural.—Ver. 7. *Prophesied . . . always evil*, literally, all his days (כָּל־יָמָיו), a phrase emphasizing the opposition, which is wanting in 1 Kings.—Ver. 9. *And they sat in a floor.* The וְיֹשְׁבִים, superfluous on account of the preceding יֹשְׁבִים, is wanting in 1 Kings.—Ver. 14. *And they shall be delivered into your hand.* Instead of this very definite prediction (which is certainly ironical), the parallel text in 1 Kings has, more indefinitely: "And the Lord shall deliver it into the king's hand."—Ver. 19. See the Crit. Notes.—Ver. 23. *Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me?* Instead of this circumstantial אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ (comp. 1 Kings xiii. 1; 2 Kings iii. 8), 1 Kings xxii. 24 has the simpler and shorter אֵי זֶה.—Ver. 26. *Let him eat bread of trouble, and water of trouble.* Possible is also the translation proposed by Kamph. with reference to Ps. lx. 5: "Let him eat as bread of trouble," etc.—Ver. 30. *And the king of Syria had commanded the captains of his chariots.* In 1 Kings the number of these captains (thirty-two) is also given, by reference

[1] There also concerning Hitzig's hypothesis (founded on 2 Kings viii. 26 and 2 Chron. xxii. 2), that Athaliah was not the daughter, but the sister, of Ahab.

to the earlier war, 1 Kings xx. 24.—Ver. 31. *And the Lord helped him, and God turned them away from him.* This religious reflective remark is wanting in 1 Kings xxii. 32, but is by no means a hindrance to the connection, as Berth. thinks, but rather a very seasonable enunciation of that which, to the writer, necessarily formed the point and force of the whole narrative.—Ver. 34. *And the king of Israel was standing in the chariot.* Instead of the *partic. Hiph.* מַעֲמִיד, "holding himself upright," 1 Kings xxii. 35 has, less distinctly, the *Hoph.* מָעֳמָד, "held upright." The close of the whole narrative, containing accounts of the return of the defeated army, and the more particular circumstances of the death of Ahab (1 Kings xxii. 36-39), is omitted by our author, because it belongs properly to a history of the northern kingdom.

4. The Prophet Jehu's Judgment on the Covenant with Ahab: ch. xix. 1-3.—*And Jehoshaphat . . . returned home in peace to Jerusalem,* so that the prophecy of Michah (xviii. 16) was fulfilled in him.—Ver. 2. *And Jehu the son of Hanani . . . went out to meet him:* the same prophet who, 1 Kings xvi. 1, had acted under Baasha in the northern kingdom; perhaps a son of that Hanani whom Asa in wrath had ordered into prison (xvi. 7 ff.).—*Must we help the wicked, and shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?* The construction is as in 1 Chron. v. 1, ix. 25 (לְ with the *infin.*). It is to be supposed that the words are spoken in earnest indignation, but they turn with their displeasure rather against the idolatrous tyrant Ahab than against Jehoshaphat, who only for a season walked by his side.—*And for this is wrath upon thee from the Lord;* comp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, and with קֶצֶף מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה the simpler קֶצֶף יְהוָה, 2 Chron. xxxii. 26. The words point prophetically to the soon after occurring dangerous invasion of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Meunites, and also to the unfortunate sea-voyage from Ezion-geber, ch. xx.—Ver. 3. *Yet good things are found with thee,* things worthy of praise; comp. xii. 12; 1 Kings xiv. 13. For *b* (where the fem. הָאֲשֵׁרוֹת appears instead of the usual plur. masc.), comp. xvii. 4 f., xii. 14.

5. Jehoshaphat's further Reforms of Worship and Law: vers. 4-11.—*And he went out again among the people,* literally, "and he turned and went." Reference is made to the former going out, xvii. 7 ff. The following statement of the south and north boundary of the kingdom of Judah: "from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim," is copied after the similar formula: "from Dan to Beersheba," which refers to the whole land of Israel; comp. Judg. xx. 1; 2 Sam. iii. 10, xvii. 11; 1 Kings v. 5.—*And brought them back to the Lord,* "made them return"; comp. xxiv. 19.—Ver. 5. *City by city,* or "in every city" (לְעִיר וָעִיר; comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 29), according to the legal precept, Deut. xvi. 18.—Ver. 6. *Not for man, but for the Lord,* in God's name, and according to His holy will, as Θεοῦ διάκονοι, Rom. xiii. 4; comp. also Prov. xvi. 11.—*And he is with you in the judgment,* in the judicial decision, in passing sentence; comp. Deut. xvii. 9, also ch. i. 17; Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7, etc. The supplying of יְהוָה as subject to עִמָּכֶם is indispensable, as the failure of all attempts to explain it without this supplement, for example, that of the Vulg. (*et quodcunque judicaveritis, in vos redundabit*), shows.—Ver. 7. *And now let the fear of the Lord be upon you* in a preserving way, that ye may beware of judging unjustly. For the phrase, comp. xvii. 10.—*Take heed, and do ye,* do it in a heedful, conscientious way, *cum diligentia cuncta facite* (Vulg.). On the following words, comp. Deut. x. 17, xvi. 19; Ps. lxxxix. 7; Acts x. 34.—Vers. 8-11. The Supreme Tribunal instituted by Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem,—an institution resting on Ex. xviii. 19, 26, Deut. xvii. 8-13; comp. Keil, *Bibl. Archæol.* ii. 250 ff.—*And also in Jerusalem,* not merely in the various fenced cities (ver. 5), where judges of inferior instance were appointed. That besides Levites and priests, laymen, "of the chiefs of the fathers of Israel," tribe-chiefs out of the rest of the people, are named as appointed by Jehoshaphat to be judges, involves no contradiction of 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29, according to which David had appointed 6000 Levites as "judges and officers" (שֹׁטְרִים); for that these Levites should exclusively administer the law was not there asserted.—*For the judgment of the Lord, and for pleading.* Synonymous with לְמִשְׁפַּט יְהוָה stands, ver. 11, לְכֹל דְּבַר יְהוָה, "for every matter of the Lord"; and synonymous with לָרִיב that passage gives לְכֹל דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, "for every matter of the king or the state"; so that the sense of the whole is: "for all matters relating to religion or polity." As examples of the former, Berth. well adduces disputes concerning the release of the first-born, dues to the temple, the clean and the unclean, etc.—*And they returned to Jerusalem;* Jehoshaphat and the commission accompanying him returned from their journey through the country and the fenced cities of Judah to Jerusalem; comp. ver. 4. As this statement would have been more suitable before ver. 8, and as any reference of it to others than Jehoshaphat and his companions (for example, to the Levites, priests, and chiefs nominated for the new supreme court, as Rambach, Starke, and others think) is inadmissible, the change proposed by Kamph. of וַיָּשֻׁבוּ into וַיֵּשְׁבוּ, "and they dwelt in Jerusalem" (the supreme judges just nominated), appears not inappropriate.—Ver. 9. *Thus shall ye do,* as is fully stated in ver. 10. On בְּלֵבָב שָׁלֵם, "with undivided heart," comp. xv. 17, xvi. 9; 1 Kings viii. 61.—Ver. 10. *And in every plea.* כָּל־רִיב stands before as *cas. absol.;* the וְ before is explicative; comp. Crit. Note. As "brethren who dwell in their cities" those are designated who bring appeals from the country or the smaller cities of Judah and Benjamin before the supreme court at Jerusalem, and demand its higher decision; comp. Deut. xvii. 8.—*Between blood and blood,* in criminal cases which involve murder and homicide (comp. Ex. xxi. 12 ff.). The fol-

lowing phrase: "between law and commandment, statutes and judgments," applies to a dispute concerning the import or application of certain laws, or a doubt according to what legal enactment the case in point is to be decided (comp. Deut. xvii. 8).—*Ye shall advise them*, by imparting instruction concerning the decisions of the law, admonish (הִזְהִיר, as in Ex. xviii. 20; Eccles. xii. 12), that they may not err by the theoretical or practical abuse of the law, and thereby bring guilt (אָשֵׁם) upon the whole people.—Ver. 11. *And, behold, Amariah the chief priest*, scarcely different from the fifth high priest after Zadok, mentioned 1 Chron. v. 37 (see on the passage). The "ruler of the house of Judah," Zebadiah son of Ishmael, is not otherwise known.—*And the Levites are officers before you*, שֹׁטְרִים, as in 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29.—*The Lord will be with the good;* וִיהִי is here a future, scarcely an optative: "the Lord be with the good." Comp. besides, xx. 17. The good are the judges who discharge their office fitly and well.

6. Jehoshaphat's Victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites: ch. xx. 1–30.—*And it came to pass after this*, after the events related in xviii. 19, which fall perhaps six or seven years before the death of Jehoshaphat, and of which the death of Ahab almost certainly falls in the year 897 B.C. A still more exact date for the present war results from the monument of victory of the Moabitish King Mesha, discovered three years ago, which must have been erected very soon after Ahab's death, and shortly before the outbreak of the present war, and therefore about 896 B.C. See Schlottmann, "Der Moabiterkönig Mesa," *Stud. u. Krit.* 1871, p. 587 ff., especially p. 610 ff.; and comp. beneath, Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 4.—*And with them of the Meunites.* מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים can scarcely mean, as many of the ancients, and even Hengst. (*Gesch. d. Reiches Gottes.* ii. 2, 211), think, nations beyond the Ammonites; for even if מִן, according to 1 Sam xx. 22, 37, could have the sense "beyond or remote from," yet vers. 10 and 22 f. point distinctly to a people inhabiting mount Seir. Accordingly we must read, as ἐκ τῶν Μιναίων of the Sept. indicates (comp. 1 Chron. iv. 41), rather מֵהַמְּעוּנִים, and think of the Meunites (Meinites, 1 Chron. iv. 41, *Kethib*) inhabiting the city Maon (מָעוֹן) near Petra as their capital. If in the following verse (with Calmet, Keil, and others) מֵאֱדֹם were read instead of the difficult מֵאֲרָם, every scruple against this assumption (proposed by Hiller, *Onomast.* p. 285, and supported by nearly all the moderns) must vanish. But even without this further emendation, it possesses a high degree of probability; for, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* ix. 1. 2, they were Arabs, and probably inhabitants of Arabia Petræa, who, in alliance with the Ammonites and Moabites, undertook the expedition against Jehoshaphat; and in xxvi. 7 Meunites are named along with Philistines and Arabs as a southern tribe subdued in war by Uzziah.—Ver. 2. *From beyond the sea, from Syria.* For מֵאֲרָם must apparently be read מֵאֱדֹם, "from Edom or Idumæa"; for only this determination of the starting-point agrees with מֵעֵבֶר לַיָּם, "beyond the sea" (the Dead Sea); and the Syr. seems to have read מֵאֱדֹם, while the remaining old versions certainly confirm the Masoretic text. If we adhere to it, "Aram" or Syria must at all events be taken in a very wide sense (=North Arabia); comp. Hengst. as quoted.—*And, behold, they are at Hazezon-tamar, that is Engedi* (comp. Gen. xiv. 7; Josh. xv. 62; Song i. 14; Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 439 f.), where Ain Jidy now lies, at the middle of the west shore of the Dead Sea, about fifteen hours from Jerusalem. The army of the allied foes had, it appears, reached this place through a marsh surrounding the south end of the Dead Sea, or by crossing the south ford of this sea (between the eastern peninsula Lisan and the opposite point of the west shore, not far from the valley Engedi; comp. Hoffmann, *Blicke in die früheste Gesch. des Gelobten Landes*, ii. 26 f.).—Vers. 3–13. Jehoshaphat and the People seek the Help of the Lord.—*And Jehoshaphat . . . set his face*, שׂוּם פָּנִים=נָתַן פָּנִים; comp. Jer. xlii. 15; Dan. ix. 3. On the "proclaiming of a fast over all Judah," comp. Judg. xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; Joel ii. 15.—Ver. 5. *Before the new court*, the outer or great court (see iv. 9), that might have been built or repaired in Asa's or Jehoshaphat's time, and therefore is here called new. The place before this court, from which Jehoshaphat offered his prayer, was perhaps at the entrance of the inner or priest's court.—Ver. 6. *Lord God of our fathers.* Jehoshaphat thus addresses God, to remind him of his former benefits to his people, to which is then annexed a reference to his absolute omnipotence; comp. Ps. cxv. 3, and on "None is with Thee, to withstand Thee," Ps. xciv. 16; 1 Chron xxix. 12; 2 Chron. xiv. 10, and like passages.—Ver. 7. Comp. Ex. xxiii. 20 ff.; Josh. xxiii. 9, xxiv. 12; also Gen. xiii. 15 f., xv. 18.—Ver. 9. *If evil come upon us, sword, judgment* (שְׁפוֹט only here in this sense), *or pestilence*, etc. The cases enumerated in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (vi. 22–39) are here summarily recapitulated.—Ver. 10. *The sons of Ammon and Moab . . . whom Thou wouldst not let Israel invade*, from whom our ancestors in the time of Moses and Joshua peacefully withdrew, without attacking them; comp. Num. xx. 14 ff.; Deut. ii. 4, 9, 19, 29; Judg. xi. 17 f.—Ver. 11. *And behold* = "yea, behold."—*Possession which Thou hast given us*, "made us possess," הוֹרִישׁ, as in Judg. xi. 24; Ezra ix. 12.—Ver. 12. *For in us is no might against this great multitude*, "before, in the face of this great multitude"; comp. xiv. 9, etc. For the following expression of confidence: "our eyes are upon Thee," comp. Ps. xxv. 15, cxxiii. 2, cxli. 8. On ver. 13 ("and their little ones"), comp. Jon. iii. 5.—Vers. 14–17. God's Answer by the Prophet Jahaziel.—*And upon Jahaziel . . . the Levite of the sons of Asaph.* The ancestor in the fifth degree of this Jahaziel is said to be Mattaniah, possibly the same son of Asaph who is called, 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 12, Nethaniah (as מ and נ in the formation of *nom.*

*propr.* are often interchanged). An identity with Mattaniah the son of Heman, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 16, is not to be thought of.—Ver. 15. *The battle is not yours, but God's;* comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 47; Neh. iv. 14; also Matt. x. 20.—Ver. 16. *Behold, they go up by the hill of Haziz,* perhaps the Wady el Hasasah on the north border of the wilderness of the same name, which stretches from the Dead Sea to Tekoa, and no doubt corresponds to the here-named "wilderness of Jeruel." With this reference to El Hasasah corresponds the rendering of the name הַצִּיץ by 'Ασσεῖς in the Sept., whereas certainly Josephus renders the name by ἀνάβασις λεγομένη ἐξοχῆς (*Antiq.* ix. 1. 2), and thus conceives it as if it were צִיץ (ἐξοχή) with the article; were this view, the necessity of which is by no means established (comp. Ew. *Gesch.* 2d edit. iii. p. 475), confirmed, the hill of Ziz would have to be identified with the steep pass over Ain Jidy (Robinson, ii. 438, 446).—Ver. 17. *Ye shall not have to fight here.* בְּזֹאת, in this conflict with so great a multitude of foes; comp. ver. 15.—Vers. 18, 19. Thanksgiving of Jehoshaphat and the People for the encouraging Promise by the Prophet.—*And the Levites of the sons of Kohath and of the Korhites.* The second ן before מִן־בְּנֵי הַקָּרְחִים may be only explicative, as the Korhites descended from Kohath, 1 Chron. vi. 18, 22.—Vers. 20-23. The divine promise is fulfilled by an unexpected self-destruction of the foemen.—*And as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood up,* probably in the gate by which the warriors went forth (the valley or dung-gate, at all events one of those facing the south). On the words: "believe, and ye shall be established," comp. Isa. vii. 9, xxviii. 16; Deut. i. 32.—Ver. 21. *And he advised the people,* busied himself as a sound adviser (יוֹעֵץ), by exhorting to confidence in God; in a similar sense stands יָעַץ אֶל in 2 Kings vi. 8.—*And appointed men singing unto the Lord* (לְ in לַיהוה *as nota genitivi*), *and praising in holy beauty:* לְהַדְרַת־ק׳, as otherwise בְּהַדְרַת־ק׳, 1 Chron. xvi. 29; Ps. xxix. 2, cx. 3.—Ver. 22. *And at the time . . . the Lord set an ambush.* מְאָרְבִים signifies *insidiatores, insidiæ* (Vulg.), as in Judg. ix. 25. By these waylayers cannot be meant angels sent by God (Piscat. and other ancients, Ew., Kamph., Berth.—doubtful H. Schultz, *Theol. des A. T.* ii. 322); for such an interference of supernatural powers, good or evil, must have been clearly indicated (as in 2 Kings vi. 17, xix. 35). As little can the מְאָרְבִים be waylaying Jews, because the Jews, according to vers. 15, 17, 24, were merely spectators of the bloody encounter between their opponents. The waylaying without doubt was done by a part of the confederates themselves, probably some of the Meunites, the inhabitants of mount Seir, who, being eager for booty, had laid the crafty ambush, on whose sudden assault the Ammonites and Moabites must have regarded their Meunite allies as traitors, and thereupon opened the wild game of the self-slaughter of their army. Thus in the main, by comparison with the partly similar event in Judg. vii. 22 ff., J. H. Mich., Cler., Calm., etc., and recently Keil and Hengst. (*Gesch. des R. G.* ii. 2, 213 f.). the latter of whom appears inclined to find in מְאָרְבִים an allusion to the name Arabs ("the predatory swarms," he thinks, of the tribes of Arabia Petræa and Deserta might have joined the Idumæans), and to lay down a hypothesis similar to that of K. H. Sack (*Theol. Aufsätze*, Gotha 1871), who wishes to make Arabs (עֲרָבִים) also of the ravens (עֹרְבִים) of Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 6. Comp. also Schlottmann, p. 611, who endeavours to make out the fanaticism of the Ammonites and Moabites, as heathenish polytheistic opponents of the monotheistic Edomites, to be one of the causes of the massacre, but overlooks the fact that the Edomites had properly no part in the affair.—Ver. 23. *And when they had ended with the inhabitants of mount Seir,* had completely massacred them in the affray that arose; comp. Dan. xi. 44. On the words: "they helped to destroy one another," comp., for the substantive מַשְׁחִית, xxii. 4; Ezek. v. 16; Dan. x. 8.—Vers. 24-30. The Impression of the Event on the Jews and their Neighbours.—*And Judah came to the watch-tower in the wilderness,* to an elevated point, a rising ground not far from Tekoa, whence the wilderness of Jeruel (ver. 16) might be surveyed.—*And none escaped:* so at least it appeared. The statement is to be understood as ideal, and not strictly real.—Ver. 25. *And they found with them in abundance, goods and corpses, and costly vessels.* Intermediate between רְכוּשׁ, "goods," and כְּלֵי חֲמֻדוֹת, "costly vessels" (comp. Dan. xi. 38), are named "corpses," obviously very surprising. The reading בְּגָדִים, garments, should therefore at once receive the preference; comp. Judg. viii. 25 f.—*And they stripped off for themselves more than they could carry,* literally, "to nothing of carrying"; comp. Num. iv. 24.—Ver. 26. *And on the fourth day they assembled in the valley of blessing.* This "vale of blessing" (Emek-berachah) must be sought near the field of battle. It is evidently the present Wady Bereikut, west of Tekoa, near the road leading from Jerusalem to Hebron, in which pretty broad and open valley the ruins of a place of the name of Bereikut are still preserved (Robinson, *Phys. Geogr.* p. 106); comp. the Caphar Baruka of Jerome in the *Vita S. Paulæ*, with its outlook on the Dead Sea. It is inadmissible, with Thenius and Hitzig (on Joel iv. 2, 12, and *Gesch.* p. 199), to make this valley of blessing the same with the Kidron or the valley of Jehoshaphat. For though Joel iv. 11 f. names the site of the present battle "the valley of Jehoshaphat," it does not follow from this poetico-prophetical designation that he had in view the upper valley of Kidron afterwards so called, which bears this name first in Eusebius, but nowhere in the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (see Berth. on this passage).—Ver. 27. *For the Lord had made them glad over their enemies;* comp Ezra vi. 22; Neh. xii. 43.—Ver. 29. *And the fear of God was upon all the kingdoms of the countries* bordering on Judah. On the "fear of God," comp. xvii. 10; on the last words, xv. 15, xiv. 4.

7. End of the Reign of Jehoshaphat: vers. 31-37. Comp. 1 Kings xxii. 41-51, a section which there forms the whole account of the reign of Jehoshaphat, but is therefore amplified with some notices that are wanting here—1. With the statement that "Jehoshaphat had peace with the king of Israel," ver. 45 (which appeared superfluous here on account of xviii. 1 ff.); 2. With a passing reference to Jehoshaphat's might and great deeds, ver. 46 (which is wanting here in the corresponding ver. 34, because the most important of these great deeds have been here recorded at length in ch. xvii.-xx.); 3. With a remark on the removal of the rest of the Sodomites out of the land, ver. 47 (which is wanting here, because in the time of Asa, xvi., no notice is taken of these Sodomites who are mentioned in 1 Kings xv. 12); 4. With the notice that Edom had no king, but only a deputy, ver 48 (which is here omitted as unimportant). To these enlargements, as exhibited in the account in 1 Kings compared with our own, are added some partly formal, partly material, deviations, which are set forth in the sequel.—Ver. 33. *The people had not yet directed their heart.* For this 1 Kings xxii. 44 has: "the people offered and burnt incense yet in the high places" (comp. 2 Kings xii. 4, xiv. 4, xv. 4, etc.).—Ver. 34. *The rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat . . . are written in the words of Jehu son of Hanani.* Comp. on this citation, for which in 1 Kings we find merely "the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah," Introd. § 5, No. 2.—Ver. 35. *And afterwards Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah: he* (Ahaziah, not Jehoshaphat, as Berth. thinks) *was wicked in his doing.* This introduction, containing an unfavourable judgment on the covenant with Ahaziah (similar to that pronounced on the affinity with Ahab, xviii. 1), to the narrative of the unfortunate sea-voyage from Ezion-geber, is wanting in 1 Kings. The אַחֲרֵי־כֵן points only in general to the time after the victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and Meunites. The date of the present undertaking follows more exactly from this, that Ahaziah came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, 897 or 896, and reigned two years, that is, till about 894 B.C.—Ver. 36. *To make ships to go to Tarshish.* On the contrary, 1 Kings xxii. 49 has: "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold." The easiest solution of this difference is the assumption of an error on the part of the Chronist, who made out of the ships of Tarshish ships going to Tarshish; comp. Introd. § 6, p. 25. But if we must rather harmonize the two accounts, we must assume either—*a.* a Tarshish in the direction of Ophir, and thus to the east or south-east, different from the Spanish Tarsis-Tartessus (with Seetzen and others; comp. excursus on ch. viii., No. 1), or *b.* that the confederates had designed both a voyage to Ophir in the east and a voyage to Tarsis in the west, for the latter of which either a circumnavigation of Africa round the Cape of Good Hope or a crossing of Lower Egypt by the canal of Seti (between the *Sin. Heroopolitanus* and the Nile) must have been contemplated.—Ver. 37. *And Eliezer son of Dodavah of Mareshah prophesied,* a prophet only named here and known by the present utterance. On the name Dodavahu, see Crit. Note; for Mareshah, on 1 Chron. xi. 8.—*Were not able to go to Tarshish.* עָצַר, as xiii. 20, xiv. 10, and elsewhere. On the repeated invitation of Ahaziah to Jehoshaphat to prosecute the undertaking, when it failed at first through this mishap and Jehoshaphat's refusal, our author says nothing; otherwise 1 Kings xxii. 50.

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS, HOMILETIC AND APOLOGETIC OBSERVATIONS, ON CH. XVII.-XX.

1. The history of Jehoshaphat, as our author relates it, certainly exceeds that which is recorded of him in the book of Kings in the richness and multiplicity of its details. But it furnishes no exhaustive or complete picture of that which Jehoshaphat did in war and peace during the twenty-five years of his reign (915-891), as is manifest from this, that the campaign against Mesha of Moab, undertaken in conjunction with Joram of Israel (2 Kings iii.), that fell probably in one of the later years of his reign (at least after the erection of the monument of Mesha, as Schlottmann has shown, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1871, p. 614 ff.), is altogether omitted. But with the completeness, a simple, well-grounded homogeneous form is wanting in the present description. The varied sources used gleam forth throughout; the accounts of war and peace alternate without internal organic connection; the whole by no means bears the character of a narrative produced at a single casting (comp. Berth. p. 350). Yet a certain plan and an overruling simple principle cannot be unobserved in the present sketch. It is obviously the aim of the author to draw in the reign of Jehoshaphat the picture of a government richly blessed of God, and internally, as well as externally, powerful from the good old times of the yet unimpaired theocracy. The fundamental thought which seems to bind the narrative together he expresses in the twice repeated sentence, that "a terror of God came over all the kingdoms of the countries," with which he accompanies first the rule of Jehoshaphat as prince of peace (xvii. 10), and next the great discomfiture of the confederate nations, Moab, Ammon, and Edom (xx. 29). It is the possession of a power far-ruling, spreading on all sides great fear and awe, solid, and resting on purely theocratic sentiment and organic development of the inner powers of the theocratic constitution, not on tyranny and conquest, which our author finds to admire and celebrate in Jehoshaphat. Hence he industriously sets forth, along with his orthodox reform of religion, and his endeavours to raise as high as possible the defensive and military power of the Jewish state (ch. xvii. 2, 14 ff.), that also which was undertaken by him for the upholding of the administration of justice, in particular the institution of a supreme court of judicature at Jerusalem (xix. 8-11). He therefore relates of his military undertakings chiefly those which were either accompanied with decisive consequences, or in which at least God's protective power and gracious help were realized to him on account of his theocratic inclination; thus, of the two wars which, according to 1 Kings xxii. 2 ff., 2 Kings iii. 1 ff., he undertook as confederate of the northern kingdom, the former, that issued more fortunately for him (that against the Syrians in Ramoth-gilead, xviii.), is described at full length, and with all the characteristic traits found in the source common to him and the author of the book

of Kings; whereas he makes no mention of the second, waged along with Joram against Mesha of Moab, probably on account of its less favourable or at least nearly barren issue.[1] Finally, on account of the wish to depict in Jehoshaphat the representative of the Jewish state developed to its full power before the captivity, he expressly places him on a par with David his "father" (forefather); he makes him therefore enjoy the favour and help of Jehovah, because he walked in "the former ways of David," that is, he worshipped God, in the main at least, and irrespective of the worship still tolerated here and there on the high places, in a theocratically pure and lawful way (xvii. 3). With Solomon, of whom Jehoshaphat likewise reminds us as a prince of peace, as a wise and circumspect father of his country, and as an upholder of the administration of justice, he does not compare him, probably because, first, a characteristic element of the reign of Solomon, its great pomp and splendid wealth, appears to have been wanting in the kingdom of Jehoshaphat, and secondly, notwithstanding his endeavours after peace, his reign had taken a far less peaceful course than that of the great Shelomoh (peaceful).

2. Jehoshaphat is the glorious, pious, and mighty David of the southern kingdom: to this result points the whole narrative of our author. From this point of view also will the prodigious numbers be estimated which he gives in describing the disposable forces of Judah and Benjamin under his reign. The there mentioned 780,000 Jews and 380,000 Benjamites can scarcely be accepted as literally true. Their near approach to the numbers resulting from the census taken by David (1 Chron. xxi. 5) seems intended to convey the idea that the kingdom of Judah alone had under Jehoshaphat, the *alter* David, attained a strength which almost matched the power of the twelve still united tribes under the first David (1,100,000 Israelites and 470,000 Jews), that Judah by itself alone had now developed a number and power which surpassed that of the northern tribes at that earlier period. If this be the meaning of those numbers, the less objection needs be made to their surprising magnitude; their ideal character is also plain from the whole connection; and there is as little need to have recourse to the assumption of some error in the transcribing of the numbers or numeral letters,—an expedient, besides, which seems scarcely admissible, on account of the proportionality of the numbers in the several divisions of the troops, as to that of legendary extravagance or arbitrary fiction, whether it be that of the Chronist or of his older voucher (perhaps the prophet Jehu, ch. xx. 34).[2]

3. How far, therefore, the author was from imparting to the here and there ideally-coloured picture which he drew of the great heroic king the form of a panegyric legend or a fabulous eulogium; how true, on the contrary, he remained to his office as a historian,—is shown by the circumstance that here also, as in the case of David, Asa, etc., he adds the shade to the light, and by no means passes over in silence a series of less favourable traits of the administration of Jehoshaphat. Especially his affinity with Ahab, the idolatrous king of Israel, is duly set forth as a fatal deviation from the path of theocratic purity and strictness (comp. Ezra ix. 1 ff., x. 1 ff.; Neh. ix. 2, xiii. 23 ff.) to the slippery ground of international friendship or affinity with idolatrous neighbours (comp. Solomon's Egyptian spouse, viii. 11 f.). On account of this step, and the consequent often going hand in hand with Israel in warlike expeditions, the king had repeatedly to undergo censure by the mouth of God-inspired prophets, first by the stout Jehu ben Hanani, who directly charged him with helping the wicked, and loving them that hate the Lord (xix. 2), afterwards by Eliezer ben Dodavah, who places the failure of the voyage from Ezion-geber under the character of a divine correction for drawing in one yoke with the unbelieving (xx. 37). On the part of two other prophets, indeed, who are introduced in our section, he encounters no such rebuke: Michah son of Imlah treats him when standing out beside Ahab in the favourable light of a relatively theocratic prince, with mild forbearance, and favours him with the promise of a "return in peace" from the defeat and dispersion of the sheep of the house of Israel (xviii. 16); and so what the Levite Jahaziel says, before setting out to the war with the eastern nations, includes nothing but admonitions to take courage, and promises of deliverance by the strong hand of the Lord (xx. 14–17). But certainly the critical situations to which these prophetic words refer are in and of themselves sufficiently serious and menacing: they are crises introduced by the fault of the king, by his inconsiderate entering into ungodly alliances and relations, feeble preludes of that which the unhappy marriage of his son with the daughter of Jezebel should afterwards bring down in heavy judgments on his house and people. On this account, in the dangerous posture of affairs introduced in this way, along with solemn rebuke, comforting encouragement was in place; the certainly guilty king, deserving of punishment, but not in the same degree as the sovereigns of Israel, was yet one with whom, as the rough Jehu acknowledged, "good things were found" (xix. 3). He deserved along with

[1] The passage 2 Kings iii. 27*b* imports in any case an issue of the war with Moab not quite favourable to Joram and Jehoshaphat, even though we understand the expression: "and there was great indignation concerning Israel," only of the displeasure and abhorrence of the human sacrifice offered by the king of Moab, and the consequent retreat from the country of the enemy (as also Bähr on the passage). But the question is, whether Schlottmann (p. 618 f.) is not right in thinking of a divinely sent calamity, such as a plague, by which the united army of Israel and Judah was forced to a speedy retreat under heavy losses. In this case the Chronist would have had so much the more ground for the omission of this record.

[2] Moreover, that which Neteler adduces (p. 212 f.) in support of their numbers in their literal sense deserves attention. 1. The tribe of Simeon at this time belonged to the tribe of Judah (xix. 4?), by which the number of warriors of the latter, amounting to almost 800,000 men, is explained: 2. The Philistines (?) and the Edomites, who were tributary to Judah, may have been compelled to add their contingent to his force; 3. If we reckon the auxiliary troops of Simeon, Philistia, and Edom at 200,000 men, of the remaining 600,000 Jewish troops on an average, 20.0[illegible] men were due to each of the 120 cities which belonged to the tribe (Josh. xv.), which does not seem unnaturally high, as numerous villages belonged to each of these cities; 4. An increase of 130,000 men fit to bear arms since the census of David, in a period of three generations, is nothing wonderful, especially with the accession of many from the other tribes to the southern kingdom, if we consider the extraordinary fertility of the land, the small means of subsistence required in the south, and the industrial productivity of the Jews at that time. A somewhat satisfactory account would thus be furnished with regard to the 780,000 Jewish troops. But how stands it with the 380,000 warriors whom the small rocky and mountainous territory of Benjamin had to produce?

reproving instruction also strengthening encouragement, that he might continue to walk in the ways of his fathers David and Asa (xvii. 3, xx. 32). He was worthy to be aroused to abide in the path of theocratic righteousness, that at least under his rule the inevitable evil effects of that affinity with an idolatrous house might be restrained as far as possible, and the people retained in that moderate state of piety and morality which is indicated (xx. 33) by the sentence: "the people had not yet directed their heart to the God of their fathers." What he himself says and does, also, in conformity with such encouraging and strengthening words of the prophets, bears the stamp of true repentance, humble acknowledgment of his guilt, and firm continuance in the path of righteousness. As the reproof of Jehu appears to have wrought in him the counterpart of that which Asa had once done on the occasion of a similar announcement from Hanani his father (comp. xix. 4 ff.), so his address in the campaign against the eastern nations to the people, or rather in the name of the people to the Lord (xx. 6–11), vies with the following prophetic utterance of Jahaziel in realizing firm confidence in God and triumphant faith. It is, however, a confidence in God resting on the ground of penitent and believing confession of sin which he here expresses; it is a truly penitent and believing resignation to the divine grace working all in all, an essentially evangelical experience of salvation, whence his subsequent admonition to his warriors: "Believe, and ye shall be established" (xx. 20), springs, a monitory and prophetic word, in which he himself becomes a prophet, a prophetic type, and a presumptive prophetic source, from which the greatest of the Old Testament seers for a century and a half afterwards, in all probability, drew their almost literally coinciding words (see on this passage). At all events, the assumption that Isaiah, the seer of Davidic princely blood, consciously rested on this believing word of a royal ancestor, that might have been early celebrated on account of the divine blessing attending it, is a good deal more natural than either the assertion of an only accidental dependence of the similar phrases, or than the easy expedient of a thoughtless hyper-criticism, according to which the Chronist made his royal hero speak after the manner of Isaiah, or use a play of words borrowed from this prophet.

4. It is, before all, the antique, thoroughly fresh, and concrete characteristic, foreign likewise to the tone of mythical legend or arbitrary invention in the sources, as they lie clearly discernible at the ground of our author's narrative, which must be set forth in an apologetic respect, and maintained with all emphasis against such doubts as that above indicated, with respect to the originality of Jehoshaphat's address, xx. 20; or as Gramberg's and Credner's conjecture (expressed on Joel iv. 11), that the whole narrative xx. 1–30 is nothing but a free, half-poetical remodelling of the short statement in 2 Kings iii. 23 f. With regard to the character of our chapter, as supported throughout by definite historical traditions and solid sources, Movers and Bertheau have already made striking remarks; comp. the latter, p. 349 ff.: "1. In the accounts of Jehoshaphat's institutions, which were designed to spread the knowledge of the law and secure to his people an orderly administration of justice, the many details and names (among others, that of the high priest Amariah, xix. 11, who was also in other accounts a contemporary of Jehoshaphat) are a sure proof of this, that our historian found exact statements in his sources, if he also elaborated the historical material in his own way. 2. This applies also to the reports of the defensive preparations and the division of the army, xvii. 15–19. 3. In the remarkable narrative of the battle in which the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites destroyed one another (xx. 1–30), we discern, indeed, throughout the mode of thought and style peculiar to our author, but we discover also very distinct historical recollections: the localities are exactly described, vers. 16–20; the designation 'new court' is found only in ver. 5 (it must be taken from a source in which the new building was mentioned)· the series of the forefathers of Jahaziel, ver. 14, is a proof that he had already drawn the attention of the older writers to him, who were in a position to give an account of his forefathers. This battle of extermination was before the mind of the prophet Joel when he called the place of the divine decision 'the valley of Jehoshaphat' (comp. on xx. 26). . . . The statement in 2 Kings iii. 23 refers to a quite different situation; and as it might have presented the starting-point and the historical ground for the reports in 2 Chron. xx., it is not to be overlooked. 4. Finally, our author must have found reports of the action of the prophets Jehu (xix. 2 f.) and Eliezer (xx. 37), since he tells of the contents of their speeches in their own words. The brief report also in 1 Kings xxii. 41–51 seems to point to the contents of several narratives of Chronicles: 1 Kings xxii 47 refers to the extirpation of idolatry (2 Chron. xvii. 3–6); 1 Kings xxii. 46 speaks of the military force of Jehoshaphat, of which 2 Chron. xvii. 2, 10–19 treats more fully," and so forth. To the arguments for its authenticity here set forth, mostly taken from the internal value of the sources of our section, with which are to be compared the apologetic discussions of Kleinert (*Das Deuteronomium*, etc., p. 141) respecting the law reform of Jehoshaphat in its relation to Deut. xvii., is to be added a weighty, if only indirect and extra-biblical, testimony—the recently-discovered inscription of Mesha king of Moab, a highly-important monumental document for the history of one of the neighbouring states of the kingdom of Jehoshaphat, which serves to confirm, at least in general, the historical relations as our section represents them, and, especially in a chronological respect, in so far as it proceeds most probably from the time between the campaign described in ch. xviii. and that in ch. xx., fits well into the series of events here described; comp. Schlottmann, as quoted, especially p. 621 ff.

### *e.* Joram: The Letter of the Prophet Elijah.—Ch. xxi.

**Ch. xxi. 1. And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David; and Joram his son reigned in his stead.**

2 And he had brethren, sons of Jehoshaphat, Azariah and Jehiel, and
Zechariah and Azariah, and Michael and Shephatiah: all these were sons of
3 Jehoshaphat king of Judah. And their father gave them many gifts of
silver and of gold and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah; but
4 the kingdom gave he to Joram, because he was the first-born. And Joram
went up to the kingdom of his father, and strengthened himself, and slew all
his brethren with the sword, and also some of the princes of Israel.
5 Joram was thirty and two years old when he became king, and he reigned
6 eight years in Jerusalem. And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel,
as the house of Ahab did; for he had a daughter of Ahab to wife: and he
7 did that which was evil in the eyes of the LORD. And the LORD would not
destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that He had made with
David, and as He had promised to give a light to him and his sons for ever.—
8 In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made them-
9 selves a king. And Joram went over with his princes, and all the chariots
with him; and he rose up by night, and smote Edom, who compassed him,
10 and the captains of the chariots. And Edom revolted from under the hand
of Judah unto this day. Then Libnah revolted at that time from under his
11 hand, because he had forsaken the LORD God of his fathers. He also made
high places in the mountains[1] of Judah, and he debauched the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, and perverted Judah.
12 And there came to him a writing from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus
saith the LORD God of David thy father, Because thou hast not walked in
the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the ways of Asa king of Judah.
13 And didst walk in the way of the kings of Israel, and didst debauch Judah
and the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the whoredom of the house of Ahab;
and hast also slain thy brethren, the house of thy father, who were better
14 than thou. Behold, the LORD will bring a great plague on thy people, and
15 thy sons, and thy wives, and all thy goods. And thou shalt be in great sick-
ness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out from the sickness in a
year and a day.
16 And the LORD stirred up against Joram the spirit of the Philistines and
17 the Arabs, that were near the Ethiopians. And they came up into Judah,
and brake into it, and took away all the substance that was found in the
king's house, and his sons, and his wives; and not a son was left him but
18 Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons. And after all this the LORD smote him
19 in his bowels with an incurable disease. And it came to pass after many
days, namely, about the time of the end of two years, his bowels fell out
with his sickness, and he died with sore pains; and his people made no
20 burning for him, like the burning of his fathers. Thirty and two years old
was he when he became king, and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem; and
he departed without regret;[2] and they buried him in the city of David, but
not in the sepulchres of the kings.

### *f.* AHAZIAH.—CH. XXII. 1-9.

CH. XXII. 1. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah, his youngest son,
king in his stead; for the troop that came with the Arabs to the camp had
slain all the eldest: and Ahaziah son of Joram king of Judah became king.
2 Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he became king;[3] and he reigned
one year in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Athaliah, daughter of
3 Omri. He also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab; for his mother
4 was his counsellor to do wickedly. And he did evil in the eyes of the LORD,
like the house of Ahab; for they were his counsellors after the death of his
5 father, to his destruction. He also walked in their counsel, and went with
Joram son of Ahab king of Israel to war against Hazael king of Syria at
6 Ramoth-gilead: and the Syrians smote Joram. And he returned to be healed
in Jezreel of the wounds[4] which they had given him at Ramah, when he
fought with Hazael king of Syria: and Ahaziah[5] son of Joram king of Judah

7 went down to see Joram son of Ahab at Jezreel; for he was sick. And the
downfall of Ahaziah was from God, in coming to Joram; and when he came,
he went out with Joram against Jehu son of Nimshi, whom the LORD had
8 anointed to cut off the house of Ahab. And it came to pass, when Jehu
executed judgment upon the house of Ahab, he found also the princes of
Judah, and the sons of the brethren [6] of Ahaziah, that ministered to Ahaziah,
9 and slew them. And he sought Ahaziah; and they caught him when he was
hiding in Samaria, and brought him to Jehu, and slew him, and buried him;
for they said, He is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all
his heart: and the house of Ahaziah had none to retain strength for the
kingdom.

### *g.* ATHALIAH'S REIGN AND FALL.—CH. XXII. 10–XXIII.

10 And Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, and she
11 arose and destroyed [7] all the seed of the kingdom of the house of Judah. And
Jehoshabath daughter of the king took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole
him from among the king's sons that were slain, and put him and his nurse
in a bed-chamber: and Jehoshabath, daughter of King Joram, wife of
Jehoiada the priest,—for she was Ahaziah's sister,—hid him from the sight of
12 Athaliah: and she slew him not. And he was with them in the house of
God hidden six years; and Athaliah reigned over the land.
CH. XXIII. 1. And in the seventh year Jehoiada was encouraged, and took the
captains of hundreds, Azariah son of Jeroham, and Ishmael son of Johanan,
and Azariah son of Oded, and Maaseiah son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat son of
2 Zichri, into covenant with him. And they went about in Judah, and gathered
the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the chiefs of the fathers of
3 Israel, and they came to Jerusalem. And all the congregation made a cove-
nant in the house of God with the king; and he said unto them, Behold, the
4 king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath spoken of the sons of David. This
is the thing that ye shall do: a third of you, who enter on the sabbath, of
5 the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters at the thresholds. And a
third shall be at the king's house; and a third at the gate Jesod; and all the
6 people shall be in the courts of the house of the LORD. And none shall enter
the house of the LORD, but the priests, and they that minister of the Levites;
they may go in, for they are holy; and all the people shall keep the ward of
7 the LORD. And the Levites shall surround the king, every man with his
weapons in his hand: and whosoever goeth into the house shall be put to
death; and ye shall be with the king, when he goeth in and when he cometh
8 out. And the Levites and all Judah did according to all that Jehoiada the
priest commanded, and took every one his men that went in on the sabbath
with those that came out on the sabbath: for Jehoiada the priest had not dis-
9 missed the courses. And Jehoiada the priest gave to the captains of hundreds
spears and shields and arms, that had been King David's, which were in the
10 house of God. And he set all the people, every man with his weapon in his
hand, from the right to the left side of the house, by the altar and by the
11 house, round about the king. And they brought out the king's son, and gave
unto him the crown and the testimony, and made him king: and Jehoiada
and his sons anointed him, and said, Long live the king.
12 And Athaliah heard the cry of the people running and praising the
13 king, and she came to the people to the house of the LORD. And she
looked, and, behold, the king stood at his place in the entrance, and the
princes and the trumpets by the king; and all the people of the land were
glad, and blew on the trumpets; and the singers with instruments of song,
and the leaders of praise: and Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Conspiracy,
14 conspiracy! And Jehoiada the priest brought out [8] the captains of hundreds,
the officers of the host, and said unto them, Bring her out from within the
ranges, and whoso followeth her shall be slain with the sword: for the priest
15 had said, Slay her not in the house of the LORD. And they gave her space,

and she went to the entrance of the horse gate[9] by the king's house, and they
slew her there.
16 And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself, and between all the
17 people, and between the king, that they should be the LORD's people. And
all the people went to the house of Baal, and pulled it down, and brake its
altars and its images; and Matthan the priest of Baal they slew before the
18 altars. And Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the LORD by the
hand of the priests, the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of
the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as it is written in the law
19 of Moses, with gladness and with song, in the manner of David. And he set
the porters at the gates of the house of the LORD, that the unclean might not
20 enter. And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles, and the rulers
of the people, and all people of the land, and brought down the king from
the house of the LORD: and they went through the high gate into the king's
21 house, and set the king on the royal throne. And all the people of the land
were glad; and the city was quiet, and they had put Athaliah to death by
the sword.

[1] For בְּהָרֵי, "on the mountains," the Sept. and Vulg. read בְּעָרֵי, "in the cities."

[2] בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה the Sept. translates *οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ*; but the Vulg.: *non recte* (*ambulavitque non recte*). So Luther: "and walked as was not right."

[3] Instead of forty-two, not only the parallel 2 Kings viii. 26, but also the Syr. and Arab. versions (as well as some later MSS. and the Ald. edit. of the Sept.), give "twenty-two years"; but the Vulg., as the Masoretic text and Sept. (Al. and Vat.): *εἴκοσι ἐτῶν*.

[4] For כִּי הַמַּכִּים is to be read, with various better MSS., also with the Sept. and 2 Kings viii. 29: מִן הַמַּכִּים. Peculiar is the decision of Neteler (p 325): כִּי is to be retained and rendered by "puncture" (puncture of the wounds).

[5] This is certainly to be read instead of וַעֲזַרְיָהוּ, which seems to be simply an error of the pen.

[6] Instead of "sons of the brethren," בְּנֵי אֲחֵי, the Sept., in accordance with 2 Kings x. 12: *ἀδελφούς*. But see the Exeg. Expl.

[7] וַתְּדַבֵּר is without doubt, according to 2 Kings xi. 1, to be changed into וַתְּאַבֵּד. (Sept.: *ἀπώλεσεν*; Vulg.: *interfecit*.)

[8] וַיּוֹצֵא is possibly a mistake for וַיְצַו (2 Kings xi. 15), which latter the Syr. and Arab. also read in our passage.

[9] שַׁעַר, besides being superfluous after מְבוֹא, is wanting as well in 2 Kings xi. 16 as in all old versions of our passage, and should be erased.

### EXEGETICAL.

Irrespective of the letter of the prophet Elijah (and its accompanying notices concerning the punishment of Joram therein predicted, xxi. 12–19), we are here presented with parallel texts to the accounts of the book of Kings, but certainly parallels to which the special Levitical standpoint of the narrator has often, especially in the description of the fall of Athaliah by the conspiracy conducted by the high priest Jehoiada, imparted a characteristic colouring, involving many deviations from the older text.

1. Joram: *a.* His Beginnings, and his Misgovernment: ch. xxi. 1–11.—*And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers.* This report of Jehoshaphat's death and burial is carried, according to the usual division of chapters, to the history of Joram, because the first deed of Joram, the general murder of his kindred, is closely connected with the decease of his father, and serves to soil with blood the solemn rites of his funeral (his being "buried with his fathers"), a mode of division corresponding well with the pragmatical turn of the Chronist.—Vers. 2–4. Joram's Sixfold Fratricide.—*Azariah and Jehiel*, etc. It is against the identity, asserted by Jewish expositors, of Jehiel with the Hiel mentioned in 1 Kings xvi. 34, that the latter, who is called a Bethelite (an inhabitant of Bethel), was neither a king's son nor a member of the southern kingdom.—*All these were sons of Jehoshaphat, king of Israel.* On the designation of the southern kingdom by the name of Israel, comp. xii. 1, 6, also ver. 4, xxviii. 19, 27, etc.—Ver. 3. *And their father gave them many gifts.* Comp. what Rehoboam did to his sons, xi. 22 f.—Ver. 4. *And Joram went up;* comp. Ex. i. 8, and on the following phrase, "strengthened himself," ch. i. 1. That the chief motive for the murder of his brothers was their non-concurrence with Joram's and his mother's idolatry, is clear from ver. 13, where they are said to be better than he: this must have applied also to the "princes of Israel" who fell with them as victims in the massacre. Moreover, oriental rulers are wont still in modern times to inaugurate the beginning of their reign with such general murder of their kindred; and Abimelech had already acted the tyrant by the practice of a similar but still more wicked slaughter, Judg. ix. 5.—Vers. 5–11 agree in all essentials with 2 Kings viii. 17–22.—Ver. 6. *For he had a daughter of Ahab to wife.* This quite definite statement excludes the hypothesis of

Hitzig, based upon 2 Kings viii. 26 and 2 Chron. xxii. 2, that Athaliah was rather the sister of Ahab. She is there called Omri's daughter, because the spirit of Omri, the founder of the dynasty, displayed itself most characteristically and powerfully in this his grand-daughter. Grandsons and grand-daughters are not seldom called children of their grandfather, especially if he was celebrated and influential; comp. for example, xi. 20, Maachah the daughter (grand-daughter) of Absalom.—Ver. 7. *And the Lord would not destroy the house of David.* Somewhat different, but coinciding in sense with the present passage, is 2 Kings viii. 19 (see Bähr). In particular, "To give him a light for his sons" (or "in his sons") stands there, for which here: "to give a light to him and his sons." The ו of our author, inserted before לְבָנָיו, appears, moreover, to be neither superfluous nor unsuitable, if it be taken explicatively = "and certainly" (so correctly Keil, against Berth.).—Ver. 8. *In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah,* changed the condition of vassalage to Judah, in which it was held from David to Jehoshaphat (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 48 and above on ch. xx. 35), into that of a fully independent state.—Ver. 9. *And Joram went over with his princes.* עִם שָׂרָיו is possibly corrupted from שֵׂעִירָה, "to Seir" (as should be read 2 Kings viii. 21, instead of צָעִירָה). At the end of the verse are wanting the words there forming the close: "and the people fled to their tents," from which it is evident that the battle was not particularly fortunate for the Jewish king, but simply consisted in cutting his way through the surrounding force.—Ver. 10. *Unto this day,* that is, merely unto the time of the older narrator, used as a source by the Chronist (comp. Introd. § 5, II. p. 19). But this is to be regarded as a writer belonging to the period immediately before the captivity; and therefore it is to be presumed that the re-conquest of the Edomites by Amaziah, xxv. 14 f., was only transient.—*Then Libnah revolted at that time,* probably the present Tell es Safieh (not far from Eleutheropolis, Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 622). The neighbouring Philistines took an essential part in rending it from Joram, in which they were aided also by the Phœnicians (according to Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 201); comp. Joel iv. 4 f.; Amos i. 9.—*Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers,*—a pragmatic reflection of the Chronist, which is wanting in 2 Kings.—Ver. 11. *He also made high places,* which Asa and Jehoshaphat had removed, xiv. 2 ff., xvii. 6. The following phrase: "debauched," is to be understood of the spiritual whoredom of the worship of Baal; comp. ver. 13. On וַיַּדַּח, "and perverted," comp. Deut. xiii. 6, 11, 14, and Prov. vii. 21.

2. *b.* The Letter of the Prophet Elijah, and the Fulfilment of its Evil Forebodings: vers. 12-19.—*And there came to him a writing from Elijah the prophet, saying* (or "containing," לֵאמֹר). מִכְתָּב is not properly a letter, but a writing, a threatening prophecy in a written form; whether written or at least dictated by Elijah is, from the indefiniteness of the phrase מֵאֵלִיָּהוּ, doubtful; a merely indirect origin from Elijah is obviously reconcilable with this phrase; and as, according to 2 Kings ii. 1 ff., iii. 11, Elijah appears to have been no longer in the land of the living in the reign of Joram (for the inquiry of Jehoshaphat after a prophet during the campaign against Mesha, 2 Kings iii. 11, is answered by pointing, not to Elijah, but only to Elisha, who poured water on the hands of Elijah), it is most natural to suppose the oracle to have been spoken by Elijah against Joram, or rather against Athaliah and her idolatrous house, but first noted down and reduced to its present form by a scholar of Elijah. Comp. Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 2.—Ver. 13. *After the whoredom of the house of Ahab;* comp. on ver. 11.—*And hast also slain thy brethren;* comp. on ver. 4. Even this reference to the murderous deed practised on his not idolatrously disposed brothers, may Elijah have uttered by virtue of his divinely-illuminated prophetic sagacity, at a time when Joram was not yet king, in connection with the other thoughts of the present prediction.—Ver. 14. *Behold, the Lord will bring a great plague,* the devastating invasion of the Philistines and the Arabs, ver. 16 f.—Ver. 15. *Until thy bowels fall out from the sickness in a year and a day,* literally, "days upon days," that is, during many days; comp. שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה, Isa. xxix. 1 and Ps. lxi. 7; Judg. xvii. 10. The present determination of time is popular and proverbial, but indefinite. The duration of the malady is given more exactly, ver. 19, in the account of the fulfilment of the oracle.—Ver. 16. *And the Lord stirred up,* in conformity with the prediction communicated. On הָעִיר אֶת רוּחַ, comp. 1 Chron. v. 26. The Arabs that were near the Ethiopians are naturally tribes of Southern Arabia (as the Sabæans, Job i. 15; see on this passage). We know nothing of the causes which lay at the ground of the combination of these tribes with the Philistines to lay waste Judea. Moreover, the Arabs mentioned xxii. 1 are the same as those here designated.—Ver. 17. *And brake into it,* literally, "cleft it," "forced their way into it"; comp. xxxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 16; 2 Kings xxv. 4.—*And took away all the substance that was found in the king's house.* According to this, Jerusalem must have been conquered by these plundering hordes; yet לְבֵית־הַמֶּלֶךְ may also be rendered "belonging to the king's house" (royal domains), as נִמְצָא לְ certainly signifies something else than נִמְצָא בְ, namely, "possessed by" (comp. Deut. xxi. 17; Josh. xvii. 16), and, besides, the absence of any mention of plundering the temple or its treasures must seem strange, if Jerusalem had been actually taken. We learn, moreover, from the later reference to the occurrence here mentioned, xxii. 1, that only the royal camp was surprised and plundered, not the royal palace in Jerusalem. Comp. Kuhlmey, *Alttestamentl. Studien* (*Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie und Kirche,* 1844, iii. 82 ff.), as well as Keil on this passage.—*And not a son was left him but Jehoahaz.* Not merely capture, but also slaughter, of all the older sons is recorded xxii. 1. The only remaining one is here called Jehoahaz, but there Ahaziah, a name perhaps assumed on ascending the throne;

see on this passage.—Ver. 18. *Smote him* (נְגָפוֹ, corresponding to the נֹגֵף מַגֵּפָה, ver. 14) *in his bowels with an incurable disease*, literally, a disease with no healing; comp. xx. 21, 25, xxxvi. 16.—Ver. 19. *And it came to pass after many days*, literally, "to days from days," for which is usual the briefer "from days" (מִיָּמִים), Judg. xi. 4, xiv. 8. The next words: "namely, about the time of the end of two years," fix more exactly this somewhat indefinite date. יָמִים stands here, as in ver. 15, in the sense of "year"; the indefinite phrase, denoting properly, "times, periods," receives through the context the same meaning as the Chald. עִדָּן, עִדָּנִין, often in Daniel; for example, Dan. iv. 13, 20, 22, vii. 25; comp. also Vulg. and Syr., which render it directly: "years." Unnecessary and yielding too harsh a sense is Keil's proposal, to take the words צֵאת הַקֵּץ by themselves, and render: "about the time of the end (of his life), about two days (before death)."—*His bowels fell out with his sickness.* עִם, during his painful malady (see the close: "and he died with sore pains"). The disease consisted probably in a very violent dysentery or chronic diarrhœa, whereby the nerve-cuticle of the whole great gut was inflamed, and parts of the mucous tunicle occasionally came off in the form of gut or pipe (resembling a falling out of the bowels); comp. Trusen, *Sitten, Gebräuche und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer*, p. 212, and Friedreich, *Zur Bibel*, p. 270 (where also other literature).—*And his people made no burning for him*, gave him not the honour of a magnificent funeral; comp. xvi. 14. The same is indicated by that which is related in the following verse, that "he departed without regret," בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה (*sine desiderio, a nemine desideratus*), and that he was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings; comp. xxiv. 25, xxvi. 23. On Luther's and the Vulgate's conception of וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה, see Crit. Note.

3. Ahaziah's Reign: ch. xxii. 1-9; comp. 2 Kings viii. 26-29, and with regard to the downfall of Ahaziah, ix., x., a copious narrative of the revolution effected by Jehu, of which only a brief abstract (vers. 6-9) is given here, omitting all that refers to the extirpation of the Israelitish branch of the house of Ahab.—*And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah his youngest son king*, the same who was called, xxi. 17, Jehoahaz (in the Sept. *cod. Al.* even as here: Ὀχοζίας). That he was made king by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, indicates that the succession to the throne was disputed, and therefore that a party (the Levites and priests under Jehoiada) was opposed to him, but without prevailing at first against the adherents of Athaliah.—*Had slain all the eldest.* Comp. the remarks on xxi. 17; for this refers to no other fact than that there described.—Ver. 2. *Forty and two years old was Ahaziah;* obviously an erroneous statement, apparently arising from the exchange of the numeral letters ב and מ; twenty-two must certainly be read for forty-two, for Joram was thirty-two years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned in all only eight years: he could not have a son forty-two years old: indeed, as the youngest son of Joram, Ahaziah could not well be over twenty-two years of age, as his father must have begotten him in his eighteenth year, and his elder brothers at a still earlier age, against which assumption no serious objection arises, as it was the well-known custom of the East to marry in early youth, and as a king's son, he will have had no small number of concubines. Only we need not fix the number of his elder brothers at forty-two, to which 2 Kings x. 13 rightly understood does not bind us; see on ver. 8. For the last words: "Athaliah daughter of Omri," comp. on xxi. 6.—Ver. 3. *For his mother was his counsellor to do wickedly*, in her devotion to the idolatry of the house of Ahab; comp. xx. 35, xxi. 6 ff.—Ver. 4. *Like the house of Ahab; for they*, the members of this house. At the close: "to his destruction," as in xx. 23.—Ver. 5. *Walked in their counsel, and went with Joram*, Ps. i. 1; these words are wanting in 2 Kings viii. 28. On Hazael, Benhadad's former general, and then successor, see Bähr on 2 Kings viii. 8 ff.—*And the Syrians smote Joram;* הָרַמִּים, contracted for הָאֲרַמִּים, 2 Kings viii. 28 (as הַסּוּרִים, Eccles. iv. 14, from הָאֲסוּרִים; comp. also Ezek. xx. 30).—Ver. 6. *And he returned to be healed . . . of the wounds.* So it is to be read instead of: "for the wounds," which is unmeaning, and only to be cured by explanatory additions; see Crit. Note.—*And Ahaziah . . .* (see Crit. Note) *went down to see Joram . . . in Jezreel.* This going down was probably from Ramoth, not from Jerusalem; comp. 2 Kings ix. 14 f. (from which, however, nothing very certain on this point is to be inferred).—Ver. 7. *And the downfall of Ahaziah was from God;* "the down-treading" (תְּבוּסַת, occurring only here; comp. מְבוּסָה, Isa. xxii. 5). Instead of "against Jehu," the text has properly: "to Jehu" (אֶל), 2 Kings ix. 21, more definitely "to meet Jehu" (לִקְרַאת); and for "son of Nimshi," Jehu is there (2 Kings ix. 2) more precisely called "son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi." With the history of Jehu's call and anointment by Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings xix. 16; 2 Kings ix. 2 ff.) our author here proves himself to be acquainted, but does not enter into particulars, because the fate of the Jewish royal house was his immediate concern.—Ver. 8. *When Jehu executed judgment;* נִשְׁפַּט, execute judgment,—otherwise with אֵת (Ezek. xvii. 20, xxxviii. 22) or with ל (Jer. xxv. 31), here with עִם; comp. Joel iv. 2.—*Sons of the brethren of Ahaziah.* As the brethren of Ahaziah named in 2 Kings x. 12 ff. from their great number (42) could only be his brethren in the wider sense (kinsmen, cousins), so the Sept. is wrong in making "brethren" out of these brethren's sons; and it is not less wrong in Bertheau to affirm two different traditions concerning the fact, according to one of which the Jewish princes put to death between Jezreel and Samaria, at Jehu's command, were brothers; according to the other, brothers' sons of Ahaziah; see, on the contrary, Mov. p. 258, Ew. in *Der Isr. Gesch.;* also Bähr, and especially Keil, who sees

no difficulty in the partly very youthful age (between five and eight or nine years) of these princes. — *That ministered to Ahaziah,* were invested with offices in his court, the youngest as pages, as, for example, Daniel and his friends in the court of the Babylonish king, Dan. i. 4 ff. —Ver. 6. ***And he sought Ahaziah.*** The fuller accounts of the death of Ahaziah in 2 Kings ix. 27, 28 deviate in several respects, in which Ahaziah is mortally wounded, not in Samaria, but in fleeing from Jezreel to Megiddo, and dies at Megiddo. See Bähr on the passage, who rightly rejects Keil's attempt to make up the difference of the two accounts as too artificial.— ***And the house of Ahaziah had none to retain strength for the kingdom,*** לַעְצֹר כֹּחַ, as in xiii. 20: "to be fit for the kingdom." On the whole sentence, comp. Dan. ix. 26 (וְאֵין לוֹ).

4. Athaliah's Reign of Six Years; Deliverance of Joash: vers. 10-12; comp. 2 Kings xi. 1-3.— ***And Athaliah . . . destroyed all the seed.*** On the emendation necessary here, according to 2 Kings, see Crit. Note. The "seed of the kingdom of the house of Judah" (the royal seed) embraces naturally the cousins and other remote kinsmen of Ahaziah, the male descendants of Jehoshaphat yet surviving after the catastrophes already mentioned (xxi. 17, xxii. 8).—Ver. 11. ***Jehoshabath daughter of the king;*** in 2 Kings with name slightly changed: Jehosheba; according to the close of our verse, a sister of Ahaziah, a daughter of Joram, perhaps, by another wife than Athaliah. That Jehoiada the husband of Jehoshabath was perhaps only a priest, not the high priest, see on xxiii. 8.—*That were slain,* or that should have been slain (הַמּוּמָתִים).—Ver. 12. ***And he was with them in the house of God hidden.*** Thither was he brought from his first hiding-place, the bed-chamber of the royal palace, as soon as the first favourable opportunity presented itself. "With them," with Jehoshabath, her priestly spouse and his nurse (ver. 11). For אִתָּם is, moreover, in 2 Kings xi. 3, the simpler אִתָּהּ. "with her." Comp. for the rest, Bähr on the parallel passage.

5. Athaliah's Fall through the Revolution effected by Jehoiada: ch. xxiii.—According to the parallel in 2 Kings xi. 4-20, Jehoiada employed in his enterprise the royal "runners" or guards, according to our passage, the Levites and priests, without, however, excluding the former (for in ver. 1, five captains of hundreds, that is, of the life-guards, are expressly named), or betraying any design to transform the narrative of the author of Kings into his Levitical sense in an unhistorical way. He stands much more (as is immediately evident from ver. 1) on independent older reports, which he takes in the main from the same sources from which 2 Kings xi. 4-20 is derived; only that he finds these sources richer, and by the addition of still other reports, produces a more complete account of the fact, filling up the parallel in various ways, and even deviating from it in some respects. Here and there his statements are less clear than those of the older texts, and show plainly enough the peculiar colouring of his Levitical standpoint, but without warranting the charge of biassed invention, which de Wette, Thenius, Bertheau, Hitzig (p. 204 ff.), and nearly Movers (p. 307 ff.), here bring against the Chronist. Comp. Bähr on Kings, p. 343, and Keil, pp. 305-310; also Neteler, p. 236 ff. —*In the seventh year Jehoiada . . . took the captains of hundreds,* the centur ons of the royal life-guards, as appears from 2 Kings xi. 4 ff. Five of these captains are then named, a guarantee of the well-grounded accuracy of the present narrative. Before the first three of these names stands the introductory לְ (as xvii. 7; 1 Chron. v. 26), and before the last two וְאֶת.—Ver. 2. ***And they went about in Judah,*** וַיָּסֹבּוּ, as xvii. 9; comp. Song iii. 3; on the following רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת, "tribe-chiefs," "heads of families," for ר' בֵּית א', comp. 1 Chron. viii. 6.—Ver. 3. ***And all the congregation made a covenant.*** כָּל־הַקָּהָל means, not the whole Israelitish community (Berth.), but according to the context, the congregation of Levites and heads of families appointed by Jehoiada at Jerusalem in the temple. What is related of "the covenant made with the king," the young Joash, is merely completive of the report in 2 Kings xi. 4, not contradictory (against Berth., etc., comp. Bähr on this passage).—*As the Lord hath spoken of the sons of David,* in the oracle of Nathan, 2 Sam. vii. (comp. xxi. 7).— Ver. 4. *A third of you* (properly, "the third part of you," 2 Chron. xxvii. 1) *who enter on the Sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites.* According to this, the first of the three posts is to be occupied by persons "who enter on the Sabbath" (בָּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת), who are expressly described as belonging to the priests and Levites. In 2 Kings xi. 5 also the first third is so designated, which seems to indicate that there also priests and Levites are regarded as standing under the command of the five captains of hundreds; comp. moreover, the corresponding "coming out on the Sabbath," vers. 7, 9. Keil justly observes (*Apol. Vers.* p. 362 ff., and *Comm.* p. 309 f.), "that the priests and Levites in courses performed the temple service from one Sabbath to another" is known from Luke i. 5; comp. with 1 Chron. xxiv.; whereas nothing is said of such an arrangement on the part of the prætorians, so that by the phrases: entering on the Sabbath (resuming service), and coming out on the Sabbath (retiring from it), we must understand the Levites. If the prætorians (life-guards) were thus intended in 2 Kings xi., this should have been clearly affirmed. From the words spoken of the centurions of the life-guards: "the third part of you," this no more follows than from the fact that in 2 Kings xi. 11 the appointed posts are called הָרָצִים, "the runners, guards." If we assume that for this extraordinary occasion the Levitical attendants were placed under the command of some centurions of the royal guards who were in concert with the high priest, the designation of the men whom they commanded as רָצִים, guards, is fully explained, after these men (on account of the priestly and Levitical elements assigned to them) were described as those "entering and coming out on the Sabbath." Accordingly, if 2 Kings and Chronicles agree in this,

that they presuppose the troops employed by Jehoiada to be composed of Levites, life-guards, and other Jews, they do not essentially differ with regard to the localities which the three divisions of the troops had to occupy. For, according to 2 Kings xi. 5, 6, the first third was to take "the watch of the king's house," the second that at "the gate of Sur," the third that at "the gate behind the runners;" besides, those coming out on the Sabbath were to occupy the temple in two divisions, and so protect the young king (vers. 7, 8). According to our verses, on the contrary, the first third was to be porters at the thresholds, and so (1 Chron. ix. 19, 22) guard the entrance to the temple, the second was to stand (ver. 5) in the house of the king, the third at the gate Jesod, while "all the people" were to fill the court of the house of God. Two of these statements appear quite reconcilable; for the occupying of the king's house is by both texts assigned to a third, and the gate Jesod (foundation-gate) should be the same as the gate סוּר (the latter is probably miswritten for the former, or it denotes "a gate of retreat," a side gate [?]; comp. Bähr). But with regard to the third, an incurable contradiction appears to exist between the two texts; the "gate behind the runners" must apparently, according to 2 Kings xi. 19, be sought not in the temple but in the royal palace, whereas our author assigns to the corresponding division its post, not here, at one of the palace gates, but at the thresholds of the temple gate. The only possible arrangement would be that proposed as a hint by Keil, that the runners' gate was placed where the passage, mentioned 1 Kings x. 5, 2 Kings xvi. 18, from the palace to the temple was situated, and therefore the division in question was conceived to be guarding at the same time the palace and the temple. It is easier to reconcile that which is said in both passages concerning the employment of the rest of the armed men (in our text, ver. 5: "all the people") to occupy the temple (or in particular its court). Yet here also in the two reporters somewhat diverse conceptions of the event seem to have existed, and in such a way that the author of 2 Kings conceived and represented the whole as a military, the Chronist as a Levitical, measure. Comp. especially in this respect, vers. 6–8.—Ver. 6. *And all the people shall keep the ward of the Lord*, behave in a legal manner, and beware of entering the inner temple chambers, the proper sanctuary. For the phrase, comp. xiii. 11.—Ver. 7. *And the Levites shall surround the king*, not form a dense and close circle around him, but occupy all the entrances to the temple around the chamber of the king.—Ver. 8. *And the Levites and all Judah.* For this 2 Kings has: "and the captains of hundreds." But this is not a real contradiction; in 2 Kings the commanders are named, in our passage the commanded, as the executors of Jehoiada's directions.—*All that Jehoiada the priest commanded.* Neither here nor xxii. 11, nor generally in the accounts of the Chronist, does Jehoiada bear the title of high priest; but even in the book of Kings he is not so called, but either simply Jehoiada, without addition, or "Jehoiada the priest" (2 Kings xi. 15, xii. 3, 8, 10); that he is identical with the הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל named 2 Kings xii. 11 is as improbable as that in the parallel 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, 11 (see on the passage) the designation כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ refers to him as high priest. Contrary, therefore, to the usual view, which makes Jehoiada high priest, Neteler appears justly to assume that he was the leading chief of the priesthood (הָרֹאשׁ), but not the high priest proper, but that one of his sons was invested with this dignity; with which assumption the absence of Jehoiada's name in the list of the high priests, 1 Chron. v. 30 ff., admirably agrees. That the Azariah named 1 Chron. v. 36, the son of Johanan, who ministered as priest in the house built by Solomon, was the son of our Jehoiada, and thus the high priest acting in his time and under his paternal guidance (2 Kings xii. 11), is a wholly arbitrary conjecture of this learned man, which fails on this account, that, 1 Chron. v. 37, an Amariah is named as son of this Azariah, who can scarcely be different from the high priest Amariah named, ch. xix. 11, as the contemporary of Jehoshaphat.—*For Jehoiada the priest had not dismissed the courses.* הַמַּחְלְקוֹת, the priestly divisions for performing the temple service according to the order made by David, 1 Chron. xxiv.–xxvi. The dismissal (פָּטַר) of these divisions as well as their summoning was the business of the high priest, 1 Chron. xxiv. 6, 19; but Jehoiada may have acted for his son (possibly a minor), just as if he had been high priest himself; comp. as a New Testament parallel, the relation of Annas to his son-in-law Caiaphas, Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 12 ff.—Ver. 9. *And Jehoiada the priest gave . . . spears, and shields, and arms.* שְׁלָטִים, here probably in the more general sense of weapons, arms, as in Song iv. 4, where, likewise, מָגֵן precedes; yet it might also signify targets (along with shields of another kind); comp. 2 Kings xi. 10 and 2 Sam. viii. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 11. On the captured arms deposited by David as a dedicated gift in the house of God, comp. 1 Chron. xviii. 7 ff. and 2 Chron. ix. 24, xii. 10.—Ver. 10. *Every man with his weapon in his hand.* שִׁלְחוֹ, properly, his missile; comp. xxxii. 5; Job xxxiii. 18. The "setting round about the king" is to be understood as the surrounding (ver. 7).—Ver. 11. *And they brought out the king's son.* This account of the crowning of Joash agrees in substance with 2 Kings xi. 12, only that the clapping of the hands as the outward expression of the people's joy is here omitted as unessential.—Ver. 12 ff. Athaliah's Execution, the Renewal of the Covenant, and the Solemn Procession of the King to his Palace,—all this related essentially as in 2 Kings xi. 13–20.—Ver. 13. *And the singers with instruments of song.* This more copious description, corresponding with the favourite manner of the Chronist of the musical demonstrations of the joyful multitude (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 16, xvi. 42) is wanting in 2 Kings.—Ver. 14. *Brought out;* comp. the Crit. Note.—Ver. 15. *And she went to the entrance of the horse gate.* For this is in 2 Kings: "And she went the way in which the horses entered the king's house." The redundant שַׁעַר of our passage, beside מְבוֹא, which the old versions do not express, came into the text perhaps by an unsuit-

able reference to Neh. iii. 28. The horse gate there mentioned, which was a city gate, is not to be thought of here, although Josephus here confuses them.—Ver. 16. *And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself and between all the people.* Instead of "between himself" (בֵּינוֹ) stands in 2 Kings: "between Jehovah," an unimportant difference, for the priest causing the covenant to be made represented Jehovah. That he was the high priest in particular follows no more from this than from ver. 8; comp. on xxiv. 11.—Ver. 17. *And all the people went to the house of Baal.* On the conjectural site of this temple of Baal, comp. Bähr on 2 Kings xi. 18.—Vers. 18, 19 form an enlargement peculiar to our author of the brief statement in 2 Kings: "And the priest appointed officers (offices) over the house of the Lord," wherein, again, the singers and the porters are specially mentioned.—*Whom David had distributed*, had determined to minister before God in certain regularly succeeding divisions; comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 6, and for the following, Ezra iii. 2, 10.—*And he set the porters at the gates*, properly, "over the gates"; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 23.—*That the unclean might not enter*, literally, "one unclean in respect of anything"; comp. Lev. v. 2, 3; Isa. xxxv. 8.—Ver. 20. *And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles* (הָאַדִּירִים, Jer. xiv. 3, Ps. xvi. 3), *and the rulers of the people* (literally, "those ruling among the people"; comp. Isa. xxviii. 14). Instead of this, in 2 Kings: "the captains of hundreds, and the life-guards, and the runners." In the following part also, our author with singular constancy avoids the mention of the runners; for instead of: "and came by the way of the gate of the runners to the king's house" (2 Kings xi. 19), he puts: "and went through the high gate," etc. This high gate appears from xxvii. 3 (comp. also 2 Kings xv. 35) to have been a gate in the temple, not, as probably the runners' gate, in the king's house; but as it might have been situated over against the royal palace (perhaps over the bridge leading from Moriah to Zion), its name involves neither a topographical impossibility nor a contradiction of 2 Kings (comp. Keil on 2 Kings, p. 271).

### EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS AND APOLOGETIC REMARKS, ON CH. XXI.–XXIII.

1. The bad seed sown by Jehoshaphat through the unfortunate affinity with the house of Ahab springs up only too soon, and bears corrupt fruit to the royal house and people of Judah. With the malignity of a fury or a demon, Athaliah the daughter of Jezebel proceeds, during the two reigns of her husband Joram and her son Ahaziah that were guided by her, and during the six years of her sole sovereignty, to gloat over the blood of every member of the unfortunate house of David from which the least resistance to her idolatrous course might be apprehended. The all too close connection, no longer, as with Solomon and Hiram, amounting to mere friendship, with the Tyrian princely family, into which Judah, also following the bad example of the house of Omri, had thoughtlessly entered, fearfully avenges itself. The worst Sultanism is transplanted thence into the royal castle on Zion.[1] And as the severe punishment inflicted by Jehu on the house of Omri took place in Jezreel, and swept away at the same time the Jewish king Ahaziah and his male kinsmen in the northern kingdom (884 according to the usual reckoning, 880 according to Hitzig; according to Schrader and Neteler, certainly after 850, as follows from the synchronism of the Assyrian history; see under), the cruel scourge is not yet taken from Judah's back, but continues to lacerate it full six years more. And to all this is added for this kingdom the humiliating and disgraceful circumstance that it is a woman, and even a foreign woman, who usurps the sole sovereignty, and maintains it for those years by the forcible setting aside of the male heir of the house of David. So much the more beneficent appears the manner in which the reform, rendered necessary by this temporary degeneracy of the Jewish royal house and state, was finally executed. No blood-dripping Jehu, spreading terror and amazement around, no tempestuous desolating form of the fanatical zealots in Roman or Herodian times, proves necessary to effect the return from the worship of Baal to that of Jehovah, and the restoration of the theocratic character of the community. The mild, not terrible, but venerable form of a pious priest, closely related by family ties to the royal house of David, accomplishes almost without blood the necessary revolution. The single sacrifice that is needed for this end is the tyrannical and idolatrous stranger who has been the origin of the evil that has broken over the land for the last twenty years. With the slaying, or rather execution, for nothing is said of wild revenge or tumultuary massacre, of her and her Baal-priest Matthan, the judgment on the disturbers of the theocratic order seems to be executed, and peace restored. That our author, by his peculiar mode of elevating the Levitical and priestly element into the factors of the revolution, places in a peculiarly clear light this eminently peaceful course of the same; that he, in harmony, again, with his often otherwise manifested historical tendency, represents the whole in some measure as a revolution carried on with music and song, as a transference, accomplished with ringing notes and flying banners, of the whole people into the camp of the legitimate party (comp. ch. xxiii. 13, 18),—this lends to his representation a peculiar charm, in contrast with the more concise and jejune description, only relating that which is of political or military importance, in the book of Kings. In this narrative, also, the circumstance that the whole people of Judah and Benjamin rises up as one man to shake off the long enough borne and already sufficiently hated foreign yoke by one powerful movement of its neck, stands forth conspicuous in the light of day. It is shown more clearly than in the parallel account of the older history, how slightly the foreign and idolatrous lust had struck its roots into the consciousness and life of the people, and with what comparative rapidity and ease it could be set aside again. A conjecture, to which we must have

[1] Compare the remark of J. H. Michaelis: "Tyrian. Israelitish, Jewish history here coincide. Tyre brought by marriage her then prevalent spirit and misfortune into the Israelitish history. Contemporary with Joram is Pygmalion king of Tyre, who murdered the husband of his sister Dido merely to possess himself of his treasure. Joram likewise after Jehoshaphat's death (2 Chron. xxi.) murdered all his brothers, as it appears, for no other cause (?) but to possess himself of the treasures which their father had bequeathed to them (?)," etc. This latter assumption, though one-sided and exegetically unfounded (comp. on xxi. 4), is yet on the whole very striking.

come on receiving exclusively the narrative of the book of Kings, that a prominent part in the revolution effected by Jehoiada must have been due to the numerically strong Levitical element in the population of the Jewish state,—this conjecture is strikingly confirmed by the Chronist's narrative, with its emphatic marking of the priestly and Levitical character of the catastrophe, and its almost unseemly depreciation of the share of the runners in it (comp. especially on ch. xxiii. 20 f.), without being under the necessity of charging the narrator with any bias in moulding the narrative after his Levitical standpoint. For it would be strange if an event such as this shrewd and bold political stroke of the priest Jehoiada were conducted in so exclusively political and military a way, and with so little participation of the clergy, as appears in 2 Kings.

2. In an apologetic respect, with regard to the account of the fall of Athaliah by means of Jehoiada, we have to refer partly to what has been just observed, and partly to the detail of the exposition. On the contrary, the ill-foreboding writing of Elijah to Joram (ch. xxi. 12–15) needs a more special elucidation in the evangelical and apologetic interest. This remarkable document, the only definite proof of the acquaintance of our author with the existence of the greatest and most powerful prophet of the time of the divided kingdom, presents to the expositor the not unimportant chronological difficulty, that, if actually composed by Elijah, and addressed to Joram as already reigning king of Judah, it necessitates the assumption of an extension of the activity of Elijah far into the twelve years of the reign of the Israelitish Joram (896-884 in the usual reckoning, 857–846 in that of Schrader and Neteler), whereas, according to 2 Kings ii., the taking up of the prophet into heaven seems to have occurred at the latest in the beginning of this reign, thus all events under Jehoshaphat († 890 or 889 in the usual chronology, 850 or 849 in the modern Assyriologic chronology). Various ways have been taken of removing this difficulty. Older Jewish and Roman Catholic expositors (of the latter, for example, Estius, Malvenda, Tirinus, Calmet), and some evangelical moderns (especially Menken, and Dächsel in his *Bibelw.*), make Elijah write after his ascent into paradise, and send it by an angel to Elisha, or a still surviving disciple of the prophet, to forward to Joram. This overstrained supra-naturalistic solution of the problem is equally void of exegetical warrant[1] with the superficial purely natural assumption, that the writer of the letter was not Elijah the Tishbite, but another prophet of the same name (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Luke i. 17), or with the no less arbitrary and text-defying attempt to change the name Elijah (ch. xxi. 12) into that of Elisha (Cleric., Saurin, *Disc.* tom. ii. p. 344). But even the chronological proof of the possibility, that Elijah may have survived the death of Jehoshaphat and the beginning of the reign of the Jewish Joram (890 or 889-884), that he might thus have directed the writing shortly before his departure to the latter king as his contemporary (Seb. Schmid, Lightf. *Op.* t. i. p. 85; Usher, Mai, Burmann, etc., and recently Keil, p. 298, at least tentatively), could only be maintained with difficulty, and only by the assumption of an inaccurate statement on the part of the author of the book of Kings, as the position of that which is related, 2 Kings ii. 1 ff., of the ascension of Elijah is such that it appears to have happened either under the reign of Ahaziah of Israel, the predecessor of Joram, or immediately after his death (896, or eventually 857). There remains after all this only the twofold possibility, that either—1. Elijah wrote the letter some time before his ascension, and left it behind him to one of his disciples, with the charge to hand it to the later King Joram of Judah (Starke, Buddeus, Rambach, etc., and recently Keil, as well as Hengstenberg, *Gesch.* ii. 2, 243), or that, 2. Elijah merely made over by word of mouth the contents of the letter some time before his ascension to one of his disciples, perhaps to Elisha, with the charge to make it known to Joram by a writing composed in his name (Witsius, Gürtler, Hackspan, *Not. philol.* on 2 Chron. xxi.; S. Schmid, *De literis Eliæ ad Joramum*, Argentor. 1717; Wilisch, etc.). The latter assumption, or that of an only ideal authorship of Elijah in relation to the writing, a composition of it ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἠλίου (Luke i. 17), but certainly on the ground of an actual prediction of Elijah, has most in its favour. It avoids the inherently improbable supposition, that Elijah wrote with his own hand a letter, which he knew could only be delivered in the course of at least five or six years after his ascension to God (for the writing appears directed to the king, not to the crown prince). On the other hand, it is reconcilable with the indefinite designation of the writing as coming from Elijah (see on ch. xxi. 12), and excludes the suspicion of pseudepigraphic fiction after the manner of so many apocryphal writings of later times, bearing the names of celebrated sages or men of God.[1] It recognises the genuine prophetic content and character of the writing; for it discerns actual prediction, true action of prophetic foresight in it, without overlooking the difference between the author of this prophetic kernel, and the later composer or redactor. Comp. on the possibility or even probability of a divine disclosure being made to Elijah of the future destiny of Joram, the husband of the daughter of Jezebel, as well as of a charge to Elisha to announce afterwards the contents of such a revelation to Joram, on the one hand, Hengstenberg as quoted: "Elijah had (1 Kings xix.) foreseen the elevation of Jehu to the throne of Israel, and the extirpation of the family of Ahab by him; also the accession of

[1] And theological warrant: for as A. Calov. aptly says: *Non triumphantium in cœlis est exaudire aut ad pœnitentiam revocare mortales in terra. Habent Mosen et prophetas; si illos non audiant, neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit, nedum si quis ex cœlis literas perscripserit, credent* (Luke xvi. 31). Likewise J. J. Rambach on our passage, who declares it inconceivable: *Deum in gratiam impii regis ejusmodi quid fecisse, cujus nullum aliud exemplum extat, immo quod nec necessarium erat, quum plures aliæ essent rationes, quibus Deus voluntatem suam ei manifestare poterat* (Luke xvi. 27, 29). Comp. also the remarks of Keil, p. 298, against Menken.

[1] The Apocrypha of Jewish-Hellenistic literature bearing the name of Elijah belong to a pretty late period, as the *Apocalypsis Eliæ*, from which, according to Origen and the Church-fathers, the quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9 is to be taken; comp. Fabr. *Cod. pseudepigr. V. T.* vol. i. p. 1072. Concerning the Elias of the Jewish-Christian fables or legends, comp. the reports of Epiphanius, Dorotheus of Tyre, Isidore of Seville, and in the Talmud. There are still Mahommedan or Christian (at least half-Christian) nations in the East, for example in the Caucasus, who worship in Elias (on account of 1 Kings xvii. 1 f.) a kind of rain-god or *Jupiter pluvius* (see *Ausland*, 1872, No. 29, p. 679). What a contrast between this Elijah of the fable and that of Old Testament history, as well, according to 1 and 2 Kings, as our documents preserved in Chronicles!

Hazael, and the heavy misfortune brought by him on the kingdom of Israel. If the future was in this respect disclosed to him, the greatest of all the prophets of the Old Testament, why might not this also have been revealed to him, that Joram, who had already before his decease connected himself with the abominable Athaliah, will, by his grievous sins, bring upon himself the judgment of the Lord?" on the other hand, Keil, p. 299: "To whom God revealed the elevation of Jehu to the throne of Israel, the accession of Hazael, etc., events which took place after the death of Joram of Judah, to whom God already, under Ahab, committed the anointing of Jehu to be king of Israel (1 Kings xix. 16), which, fourteen years after the death of Ahab, Elisha performed by a scholar of the prophet's (2 Kings ix. 1 ff.)—to him the Lord might also in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel, when he announced to this king his death, about seven years before Jehoshaphat's death, reveal the wickedness of his successor Joram, and commit the announcement of the divine punishment. But if Elijah made over the anointing as well of Hazael as of Jehu to his servant Elisha, why might he not also have entrusted to him the handing of the written prediction of woe to Joram?" We find this statement so far completely suitable and convincing, but cannot agree with the two learned men from whom it proceeds in this, that they hold Elijah to be the writer (composer) of the letter in its extant form. We find it much more satisfactory for the establishment of the essential authenticity of the document, if the mediate origin of it from Elijah (the powerful "prophet of deed," who was no man of the pen, and of whose action as a writer nothing is said) is maintained. With this also agree the generally acknowledged contents and tone of the writing, quite irrespective of the personal position of the prophet, which, however, is not on this account to be held (with Berth. and other recent critics) to be an idealizing composition of a later historian; for in that case it would be different only in degree (as a pseudepigraphon within the canon) from the products of the post-canonical literature, above which it seems exalted by its genuine prophetic contents.

### *h.* Joash: the Prophet Zechariah Son of Jehoiada.—Ch. xxiv.

#### α. *Reign of Joash under the Guidance of Jehoiada: Repair of the Temple:* vers. 1–14.

Ch. xxiv. 1. Joash was seven years old when he became king; and he reigned forty
2 years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And
Joash did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord all the days of
3 Jehoiada the priest. And Jehoiada chose for him two wives; and he begat
sons and daughters.
4 And it came to pass after this that it was in the heart of Joash to renew
5 the house of the Lord. And he gathered the priests and the Levites, and
said to them, Go out into the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel money
to repair the house of your God from year to year, and hasten ye the matter:
6 but the Levites hastened it not. And the king called for Jehoiada the chief,
and said unto him, Why hast thou not required of the Levites to bring in out
of Judah and Jerusalem the tax of Moses the servant of the Lord, and of the
7 congregation of Israel, for the tent of witness? For Athaliah the wicked
doer [and] her sons[1] have broken up the house of God, and bestowed all the
8 consecrated things of the house of the Lord upon Baalim. And the king
commanded, and they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the
9 house of the Lord. And they proclaimed in Judah and Jerusalem, to bring
in to the Lord the tax of Moses the servant of God upon Israel in the wil-
10 derness. And all the princes and all the people were glad, and they brought
11 and cast into the chest, till it was full. And at the time when the chest was
brought to the survey of the king by the Levites, and when they saw that
there was much money, then went the king's scribe and the officer of the
head priest and emptied the chest, and took it, and carried it to its place
12 again: thus they did day by day, and gathered money in abundance. And
the king and Jehoiada gave it to the work-master of the service of the house
of the Lord, and they hired masons and carpenters to renew the house of the
Lord, and also smiths in iron and brass to repair the house of the Lord.
13 And the workmen wrought, and furtherance was given to the work by their
14 hand: and they set the house of God in its form, and strengthened it. And
when they had finished, they brought before the king and Jehoiada the rest
of the money, and they made of it vessels for the house of the Lord, vessels
for ministering and offering, and cups, and vessels of gold and silver: and
they offered burnt-offerings in the house of the Lord continually all the days
of Jehoiada.

*β. Death of Jehoiada: Stoning of his Son, the Prophet Zechariah:* vers. 15–22.

15 And Jehoiada was old and full of days, and he died; he was a hundred
16 and thirty years old when he died. And they buried him in the city of
David with the kings; for he had done good in Israel, and for God and His
17 house. And after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah, and
18 bowed down before the king: then the king hearkened unto them. And
they left the house of the LORD God of their fathers, and served the Asherim
and the idols: and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their
19 trespass. And he sent prophets among them, to bring them back to the
20 LORD; and they testified against them, and they did not give ear. And the
Spirit of God clothed Zechariah son of Jehoiada the priest[2]; and he stood up
before the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye
the commandments of the LORD, and do not prosper? for ye have forsaken
21 the LORD, and He has forsaken you. And they conspired against him, and
stoned him by command of the king in the court of the house of the LORD.
22 And Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada had done
to him, and slew his son: and when he died, he said, The LORD shall see and
require.

*γ. Distress of Joash by the Syrians, and his End:* vers. 23–27

23 And it came to pass in the course of a year, that the host of Syria came
up against him; and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all
the princes of the people out of the people,[3] and sent all the spoil of them
24 unto the king to Damascus.[4] For the host of Syria came with few men; and
the LORD gave into their hand a very great host, because they had forsaken
the LORD God of their fathers: and they executed judgments upon Joash.
25 And when they went from him, for they left him with many wounds, his
servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons[5] of Jehoiada the
priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the
26 city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings. And
these were the conspirators against him: Zabad son of Shimath the Am-
27 monitess, and Jehozabad son of Shimrith the Moabitess. And his sons, and
the greatness[6] of the burden upon him, and the building of the house of God,
behold, they are written in the commentary of the book of the Kings: and
Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

### i. AMAZIAH.—CH. XXV.

*α. Duration of his Reign, and its Spirit:* vers. 1–4

CH. XXV. 1. Amaziah became king when twenty and five years old; and he reigned
twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jehoaddan
2 of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, but
3 not with undivided heart. And it came to pass, when the kingdom was
established to him, that he slew his servants who smote the king his father.
4 But he put not their sons to death, but as it is written in the law in the book
of Moses, as the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not die for the
sons, nor shall the sons die for the fathers; but every one shall die for his
own sin.

*β. The Conquest of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt:* vers. 5–13

5 And Amaziah gathered Judah, and arranged them by father-houses, by
captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, for all Judah and Benjamin:
and he mustered them from twenty years old and upwards, and found them
three hundred thousand choice men, going out to war, holding spear and

6 shield. And he hired out of Israel a hundred thousand mighty men of valour
7 for a hundred talents of silver. And a man of God came to him, saying, O
king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the LORD is not with
8 Israel, with all the sons of Ephraim. But go thou; do, be strong for the
battle; [otherwise[7]] God shall make thee fall before the enemy; for with
9 God is power to help and to cast down. And Amaziah said to the man of
God, But what shall we do for the hundred[8] talents which I have given to
the host of Israel? And the man of God said, It rests with the LORD to give
10 thee much more than this. And Amaziah separated them, to wit, the host
that was come to him from Ephraim, to go to their place: and their anger
was greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned to their place in hot
11 anger. And Amaziah took courage, and led forth his people, and went to
12 the valley of Salt, and smote of the sons of Seir ten thousand. And the
sons of Judah took ten thousand alive, and brought them to the top of
the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, and all of them
13 were broken in pieces. And the men of the host which Amaziah sent
back from going with him to battle, fell upon the cities of Judah, from
Samaria even to Beth-horon, and smote of them three thousand, and took
much spoil.

*γ. Amaziah's Idolatry, War with Joash of Israel, and End:* vers. 14–28.

14 And it came to pass, after Amaziah was come from smiting the Edomites,
that he brought the gods of the sons of Seir, and set them up for him as gods,
15 and bowed down before them, and burnt incense to them. And the anger of
the LORD was kindled against Amaziah, and He sent unto him a prophet,
who said to him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, who did
16 not deliver their own people out of thy hand? And it came to pass as he
talked with him, that he said unto him, Have we made thee councillor to the
king? Forbear; why should they smite thee? And the prophet forbare,
and said, I know that God hath resolved to destroy thee, because thou hast
17 done this, and hast not hearkened to my counsel. And Amaziah king of
Judah took counsel, and sent to Joash son of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu king of
18 Israel, saying, Come,[9] let us look one another in the face. And Joash king
of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thorn that was in
Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to
my son to wife; and a beast of the field that was in Lebanon passed by and
19 trampled on the thorn. Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten Edom; and thy
heart hath lifted thee up to boast: now abide at home; why provokest thou
evil, that thou mayest fall, and Judah with thee?
20 And Amaziah hearkened not; for it was of God that they might be given
21 up, because they sought after the gods of Edom. And Joash king of Israel
went up, and they looked one another in the face, he and Amaziah king of
22 Judah, at Beth-shemesh, which is of Judah. And Judah was smitten before
23 Israel; and they fled every man to his tent. And Joash king of Israel took
Amaziah king of Judah, son of Joash, son of Jehoahaz, at Beth-shemesh, and
brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the
24 gate of Ephraim to the corner gate,[10] four hundred cubits. And all the gold
and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with
Obed-edom, and the treasures of the king's house, and the hostages; and he
25 returned to Samaria. And Amaziah son of Joash king of Judah lived after
26 the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years. And the
rest of the acts of Amaziah, first and last, behold, are they not written in the
27 book of the kings of Judah and Israel? And from the time that Amaziah
turned away from the LORD, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: and they sent after him to Lachish, and there
28 put him to death. And they brought him upon horses, and buried him with
his fathers in the city of Judah.[11]

### *k.* Uzziah.—Ch. xxvi

*α. His early Theocratic Inclination and Prosperous Reign:* vers. 1–15.

Chap. xxvi. 1. And all the people of Judah took Uzziah, when sixteen years old,
2 and made him king instead of his father Amaziah. He built Eloth, and re-
3 stored it to Judah, after the king had slept with his fathers. Sixteen years
old was Uzziah when he became king; and he reigned fifty and two years in
4 Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jechiliah[12] of Jerusalem. And he
did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that
5 Amaziah his father had done. And he continued to seek God in the days of
Zechariah, who understood the visions[13] of God: and so long as he sought
the Lord, God made him prosper.
6 And he went out and fought with the Philistines, and brake down the
wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and built
7 cities about Ashdod and among the Philistines. And God helped him against
the Philistines, and against the Arabs that dwelt in Gur-baal,[14] and against
8 the Meunites. And the Ammonites[15] gave gifts to Uzziah: and his name
9 went even to Egypt; for he became very mighty. And Uzziah built towers
in Jerusalem, at the corner gate and at the valley-gate, and at the corner, and
10 fortified them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and dug many wells;
for he had much cattle in the lowland and in the plain; husbandmen and
vine-dressers in the mountains and in Carmel; for he was a lover of land.
11 And Uzziah had a host of fighting men, that went out to war in troops, by
the number of their muster at the hand of Jeuel[16] the scribe, and Maaseiah
12 the officer, at the hand of Hananiah, one of the captains of the king. The
whole number of the chiefs of the fathers for the mighty men of valour
13 was two thousand and six hundred. And at their hand was an army of three
hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred fighting men in full
14 strength, to help the king against the foe. And Uzziah prepared for them,
for the whole army, shields and spears, and helmets and coats of mail, and
15 bows and sling-stones. And at Jerusalem he made engines, the invention of
craftsmen, to be on the towers and battlements, to shoot arrows and great
stones: and his name went forth far abroad; for he was marvellously helped
till he was strong.

*β. His Boasting, and Divine Chastisement by Leprosy: his End:* vers. 16–23.

16 And when he became strong, his heart was lifted up to do corruptly, and
he transgressed against the Lord his God; and he went into the temple of
17 the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the priest
went in after him, and with him eighty priests of the Lord, men of valour.
18 And they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It pertaineth not
unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons
of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for
thou hast transgressed; and it shall not be for thine honour from the Lord
19 God. And Uzziah was wroth, and had a censer in his hand to burn incense:
and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy burst forth on his fore-
head before the priests in the house of the Lord from beside the incense-
20 altar. And Azariah the head priest and all the priests looked upon him, and,
behold, he was leprous in his forehead, and they drove him out thence; and
21 even he himself hasted to go out, because the Lord had smitten him. And
Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a sick-
house as a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the Lord: and Jotham
his son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land.
22 And the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, Isaiah son of Amos the
23 prophet wrote. And Uzziah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with
his fathers in the burial field of the kings; for they said, He is a leper: and
Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

### l. Jotham.—Ch. xxvii.

Chap. xxvii. 1. Jotham was twenty and five years old when he became king; and
he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jerushah
2 daughter of Zadok. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the
Lord, according to all that his father Uzziah did; only he entered not into
3 the temple of the Lord: and the people did yet corruptly. He built the
high gate of the house of the Lord; and on the wall of Ophel he built
4 much. And he built cities in the mountains of Judah, and in the forests he
5 built castles and towers. And he fought with the king of the sons of Ammon,
and prevailed over them: and the sons of Ammon gave him in that year a
hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand cors of wheat, and ten thousand
of barley: this the sons of Ammon paid him also in the second and third
6 year. And Jotham strengthened himself; for he established his ways before
the Lord his God.
7 And the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars and his ways, lo,
8 they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah. He was
twenty and five years old when he became king; and he reigned sixteen years
9 in Jerusalem. And Jotham slept with his fathers; and they buried him in
the city of David: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

### m. Ahaz: The Prophet Oded.—Ch. xxviii.

*α. Idolatry of Ahaz: his Defeat by the Syrians and Ephraimites:* vers. 1–8.

Chap. xxviii. 1. Ahaz was twenty[17] years old when he became king; and he
reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not that which was right in
2 the eyes of the Lord, like David his father. And he walked in the ways of
3 the kings of Israel, and made also molten images for Baalim. And he
burnt incense in the valley of Ben-hinnom, and burnt his sons in the fire,
after the abominations of the nations, whom the Lord had cast out before
4 the sons of Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places,
5 and on the hills, and under every green tree. And the Lord his God gave
him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and took from
him a great many captives, and brought them to Damascus:[18] and he was also
given into the hand of the king of Israel, and he inflicted on him a great
6 blow. And Pekah son of Remaliah slew in Judah a hundred and twenty
thousand in one day, all sons of valour, because they had forsaken the Lord
7 God of their fathers. And Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah
the king's son, and Azrikam, the governor of the house, and Elkanah the
8 vicegerent of the king. And the sons of Israel took captive of their brethren
two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and stripped them of great
spoil, and brought the spoil to Samaria.

*β. Oded the Prophet procures the Release of the Captives:* vers. 9–15.

9 And a prophet of the Lord was there, of the name of Oded; and he
went out before the host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold,
in the wrath of the Lord God of your fathers against Judah He hath given
them into your hand; and ye slew of them with a rage that reacheth unto
10 heaven. And now ye purpose to subject the sons of Judah and Jerusalem
for bondsmen and bondsmaids to you: are there not even with you yourselves
11 trespasses against the Lord your God? And now hear me, and release the
captives which ye have taken of your brethren; for the hot anger of the Lord
12 is upon you. Then arose men of the chiefs of the sons of Ephraim, Azariah
son of Johanan, Berechiah son of Meshillemoth, and Hezekiah son of Shallum,
13 and Amasa son of Hadlai, against those who came from the war. And said
unto them, Ye shall not bring the captives hither; for with the trespass of

the LORD upon us ye intend to add to our sins and to our trespass: for great
14 is our trespass, and there is hot anger against Israel. And the armed host
left the captives and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation.
15 Then there rose up the men who were expressed by name, and took the
captives, and clothed all that were naked of them from the spoil, and gave
them clothes, and shoes, and food, and drink, and anointed them, and carried
them on asses, all the weary, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palms,
beside their brethren: and they returned to Samaria.

*γ. Further Visitations of Ahaz on account of his Idolatry: his End:* vers. 16–27.

16 At that time King Ahaz sent unto the kings of Assyria to help him.
17, 18 And again the Edomites came and smote Judah, and took captives. And the
Philistines invaded the cities of the lowland and of the south of Judah, and
took Beth-shemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Socho with her daughters,
and Timnah with her daughters, and Gimzo with her daughters: and they
19 dwelt there. For the LORD humbled Judah on account of Ahaz king of
Israel, because he had revolted in Judah, and transgressed greatly against the
20 LORD. And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came against him, and distressed
21 him, and strengthened him not. For Ahaz had plundered the house of the
LORD, and the house of the king and the princes, and given it to the king of
22 Assyria; and it was not a help to him. And in the time of his distress he
23 transgressed yet more against the LORD, this king Ahaz. And sacrificed to
the gods of Damascus that smote him, and said, Because the gods of the kings
of Syria, they help them, I will sacrifice to them, that they may help me: and
24 they were the downfall of him and of all Israel. And Ahaz gathered the
vessels of the house of God, and cut up the vessels of the house of God, and
shut the doors of the house of the LORD; and he made him altars in every
25 corner of Jerusalem. And in every single city of Judah he made high
places to burn incense to other gods, and provoked to anger the LORD God
of his fathers.
26 And the rest of his acts and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are
27 written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. And Ahaz slept with
his fathers, and they buried him in the city in Jerusalem: for they brought
him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel: and Hezekiah his son
reigned in his stead.

[1] The absent copula before בניה is supplied in the Sept., Vulg., and Luth., and rightly.

[2] The Sept. and Vulg. take הַכֹּהֵן rather as the accus. belonging to Zechariah (τὸν ἱερέα, *sacerdotem*).

[3] The Vulg. and Syr. do not translate מֵעָם; the Sept. (ἐν τῷ λαῷ) appears to have read בָּעָם.

[4] Hebr. דַּרְמֶשֶׂק, as always in Chronicles; comp. 1 Chron. xviii. 5.

[5] For בני יהוידע the Sept. and Vulg. probably read aright בן י׳. The plur. seems a slip of the pen.

[6] So according to the *Kethib* וְרֹב. On the *Keri* יִרֶב, "be multiplied" (the sentence upon him), see Exeg. Expl.

[7] Before יַכְשִׁילְךָ is וְלֹא to be supplied, with almost all recent expositors. See Exeg. Expl.

[8] For לְמֵאוֹת we should certainly read, with the *Keri* (and a considerable number of mss.): לְמְאַת.

[9] לְךָ, *Kethib*; the *Keri* is לְכָה. Comp. Exeg. Expl.

[10] שַׁעַר הַפּוֹנֶה, "gate of turning," is undoubtedly an error for שׁ׳ הַפִּנָּה, "corner gate"; comp. xxvi 9, and especially the parallel 2 Kings xiv. 13.

[11] For בְּעִיר יְהוּדָה the old versions (Sept., Vulg., Syr.) have: "in the city of David."

[12] The *Keri* amends יְכִילְיָה, after 2 Kings xv. 2, into יְכָלְיָה, which is scarcely right.

[13] Instead of בִּרְאוֹת should rather be read, with the Sept. (ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου), Syr., Targ., Raschi, Kimchi, and some Hebrew mss. of de Rossi: בְּיִרְאַת.

[14] Sept.: ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας (perhaps thinking of Petra, the capital of Edom).

[15] Sept.: οἱ Μιναῖοι, by mistake (from the preceding τοὺς Μιναίους).

[16] So the *Kethib* (יְעוּאֵל); the *Keri* has יְעִיאֵל (as Ezra viii. 13).

[17] The Sept., Syr., and Arab. have twenty-five, a reading which Houbigant, Dathe, Ewald, Berth., and most moderns prefer. Comp. also J. A. Bengel, in the passage quoted, Introd. § 6, Rem. (p. 28).

[18] Properly "Damascus"; comp. 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 6; 2 Chron. xvi. 2, xxiv. 23.

EXEGETICAL.

We take together the reports, contained in ch. xxiv.-xxviii., of the five reigns from Joash to Ahaz, partly on account of their general similarity, partly because in 2 Kings xii., xiv.-xvi., we have pretty full and nearly literal parallels to them.

1. Reign of Joash under the Guidance of Jehoiada: Repair of the Temple: ch. xxiv. 1-14.—The parallel account in 2 Kings xii. 1-17 is more detailed in the statement of several circumstances, especially with regard to the repair of the temple, but yet receives many important supplements from the present narrative, which is derived from the same sources, but constructed on different views and principles.—Ver. 2. *All the days of Jehoiada the priest.* Somewhat different in 2 Kings: "during all his days, while Jehoiada instructed him."—Ver. 3. *And Jehoiada chose for him two wives.* וַיִּשָּׂא־לוֹ here obviously expresses this sense, not as in xiii. 21: "took to himself"; for it refers to this, that the young king soon married and begat an heir to the throne.—Vers. 4-14. The Repair of the Temple; comp. Bähr's exposition of 2 Kings xii. 5-17.—*To renew the house of the Lord;* comp. xv. 8, and the synonym "to repair" (properly, "strengthen, make strong again") in ver. 5; 2 Kings xii. 6.—*And hasten ye the matter,* properly, "with respect to the matter." On the relation of the following statement, according to which the Levites hastened not, to the apparently different narrative in 2 Kings, comp. Bähr.—Ver. 6. *And the king called for Jehoiada the chief,* namely, of the priesthood, by which, however, is not necessarily meant the high priest; the phrase כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, "head-priest, supreme priest," may (as, for example, above xix. 11 of Amariah, or beneath xxvi. 20 of Azariah, under King Uzziah) denote the legal high priest, but has not necessarily this meaning; comp. on xxiii. 8.—*Why hast thou not required of the Levites to bring in,* literally, "asked of the Levites," etc. (comp. Job v. 8; Ps. cxlii. 3)? The "tax" or assessment of Moses (מַשְׂאַת, as ver. 9; comp. Ezek. xx. 40) is that of the sanctuary (heave-offering) imposed, Ex. xxx. 12-16, xxxviii. 25, by Moses, and willingly paid by the community of Israel, of half a shekel a head.—Ver. 7. *For Athaliah . . . (and) her sons.* By these "sons" of Athaliah are scarcely meant the priests of Baal (Jerome) or certain bastard sons of the queen (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 1, 290), but probably Ahaziah with his brothers and brothers' sons (comp. xxi. 17, xxii. 3 f.), that might have shown their zeal for idolatry at a very early age (comp. Berth., also Hitz. *Gesch.* p. 203).—*Broken up the house of God;* פָּרַץ as 1 Chron. xiii. 11; Job xxx. 14; Eccles. x. 8.—*All the consecrated things of the house of the Lord;* all the gold and silver vessels, weapons, etc., preserved there as gifts. Of such profanation of the temple treasures by the idolatrous sons of Athaliah, moreover, the Chronist only reports, who here supplements the statements of 2 Kings.—Ver. 10. *Cast into the chest till it was full.* עַד לְכַלֵּה, as xxi. 1 (comp. also עַד כַּלֵּה, 2 Kings xiii. 17, 19); literally, "even to making full," whereby may be meant either the fulness of the number of givers, or even the fulness of the chest that received the gifts. The latter sense, which the Sept and Vulg. express, commends itself most, as ver. 11 shows, and should not therefore have been questioned by Berth., Kamph., etc.—Ver. 11. *And at the time,* etc., literally, "and it came to pass at the time when one brought the chest to the survey of the king," that is, for the royal surveillance or keeping (פְּקֻדָּה, as in xxiii. 18).—*And when they saw that there was much money,* properly, "and on their seeing," etc.—*Thus they did day by day,* literally, "to day by day" (comp. 1 Chron. xii. 22), that is, every day when it was necessary, every time that the chest was full.—Ver. 12. *And the king . . . gave it to the work-master of the service of the house of the Lord.* עֲבֹדַת בֵּית־יְהוָה here, not "service in the house of the Lord," as 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, but labour, repair of the house of the Lord.—*And they hired,* literally, "and they were hiring," continually from day to day; comp. Matt. xx. 1 ff. "Masons and carpenters"; so in 1 Chron. xxii. 14; comp. Ezra iii. 7.—Ver. 13. *And furtherance was given to the work by their hand,* literally, "there went up (was laid, Jer. viii. 22) binding on the work"; on אֲרוּכָה, "binding, healing," comp. Neh. iv. 1; Jer. xxx. 17.—*And they set the house of God in its form;* literally, "on its measure" (Ex. xxx. 32), that is, in the original proportions.—Ver. 14. *And they made of it vessels,* literally, "made it vessels" (into vessels); comp. Ezra i. 7.—*Vessels for ministering and offering,* altar vessels (comp. Num. iv. 12), from which cups (Ex. xxv. 29) and other gold and silver vessels are there distinguished.—*And they offered burnt-offerings . . . all the days of Jehoiada:* as long as he had the direction of the temple worship, it was conducted in a regular and legal way; that it had quite ceased after Jehoiada's death, neither the present phrase nor the subsequent narrative affirms.

2. Death of Jehoiada: Stoning of his Son: the Prophet Zechariah: vers. 15-22. There is no parallel to this section in 2 Kings xii.; but it is of no less importance for the pragmatic understanding of that which is related underneath, ver. 23 ff., concerning the last events in the life of Joash.—*And Jehoiada was old and full of days.* שְׂבַע יָמִים, as otherwise only of the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac, of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 1; comp. xxix. 28), and of Job (xlii. 17), so in general is it used only of five men of God in the Old Testament; comp. Achelis, *Das Zeitalter der Patriarchen,* a contribution to the understanding

of Scripture (Barm. 1871), p. 46. From the following statement of his age as 130 years at his death, it follows that he must have been about 100 years old when he helped his nephew by a successful revolution to the throne (877 B.C. by the common chronology); for the repair of the temple carried on by Joash and him (which he survived for a time, according to ver. 14 of our chapter), fell, according to 2 Kings xii. 7, in the twenty-third year of that king.—Ver. 16. *And they buried him . . . with the kings.* With this honourable distinction bestowed upon him at his death, the directly following record of the slaughter of his like-minded son stands in the same contrast as that presented by Christ, Matt. xxiii. 29 ff., over against the Pharisees.—Ver. 17. *Bowed down before the king*, earnestly entreating; for what? The following words show that it was for permission to worship strange gods along with the Lord. That Joash himself forthwith took part in this worship of idols is not affirmed, but that he bore the full responsibility of it, and afterwards took a direct part in the impiety, is plain from ver. 21 f.; comp. ver. 25.—Ver. 18. *Served the Asherim*, etc.; comp. on ch. xiv. 2. For the flame of wrath (קֶצֶף) which this enkindled, comp. xix. 2, 10, xxix. 8.—Ver. 19. *Testified against them*, by way of warning, pointing to the inevitable consequences of their apostasy; comp. 2 Kings xvii. 13; Ps. l. 7; Neh. ix. 26, 29. Was Joel also among these prophetic monitors? As we may conjecture from his book that his age nearly coincided with the reign of Joash, it is not improbable; comp. Wünsche, *Die Weissagung des Proph. Joel*, Introd. p. 13 ff.; also Keil, *Introd. to the O. T.* p. 322 f.—Ver. 20. *And the Spirit of God clothed Zechariah son of Jehoiada the priest.* On לָבַשׁ, "clothe," comp. 1 Chron. xii. 18. The identity with the Zechariah mentioned by Christ, Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, as slain between the temple and the altar, who is called in the former passage "the son of Barachias," is to be assumed the more certainly, as—1. The place of his death quite agrees there and here (the θυσιαστήριον is the altar of burnt-offering, which stood in the court; comp. ver. 21); 2. An allusion is made in the speech of Christ to our passage before mentioning the martyrdom of Zechariah; see above on ver. 16; and 3. The Barachias named in Matt. xxiii. 35 as the father of Zechariah may have been the son of Jehoiada, and Zechariah his grandson, which is highly probable, from the great age to which Jehoiada attained.—*Stood up before the people*, properly, "above the people" (מֵעַל לְ, as in xiii. 4); the inner court, from which he spoke, and where he was afterwards slain, was higher than the outer, where the people stood.—*And do not prosper*, or: and will be unfortunate, will have no success. The two things are, in a theocratico-prophetical point of view, inseparably connected: the forsaking of the Lord (comp. xii. 5, xv. 2, etc.), and becoming unfortunate; comp. xxvi. 5 (Uzziah).—Ver. 21. *And they conspired against him;* comp. ver. 25; 1 Kings xv. 27, and also ch. xxiii. 13. The true witness of God is slain by stoning, the very penalty which is in the law (Lev. xx. 2, xxiv. 23) imposed on idolaters, to which therefore his murderers were doomed.—Ver. 22. *And Joash . . . remembered not the kindness;* חֶסֶד, as in Mic. vi. 8. Joash appears here designated as the murderer of the son (or grandson) of Jehoiada, certainly not for mere silent connivance at the wicked deed, but for positive and direct participation in it; comp. ver. 21.—*The Lord shall see and require*, or "will see (comp. Ps. lxxxiv. 10) and require" (דרש, here "seek revenge, punish;" comp. Ps. ix. 13; 1 Sam. xx. 16).

3. Distress of Joash by the Syrians, and his End: vers. 23–27. Here again 2 Kings xii. 18–22 affords a parallel, where that which relates to the invasion of the Syrians is narrated more particularly, and their king, Hazael (Haza-ilu of the Assyrian inscriptions), is named as executor of this judgment on Joash.—*And it came to pass in the course of a year*, "in the circuit of a year," the year beginning with the death of the prophet Zechariah.—*That the host of Syria*, as in ver. 24. —*And destroyed all the princes of the people out of the people*, out of the mass of the people (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 20), so that these were spared, but their chiefs, who were the authors of the religious and moral evil (ver. 17 f.), were overtaken by the doom of extermination. On the variants in the old versions with respect to "out of the people," see Crit. Note.—*With few men*, literally, "with smallness of men"; comp. Job viii. 7.—*And they executed judgments upon Joash.* עָשָׂה שְׁפָטִים, as in Ex. xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 4; Ezek. v. 10, 15; elsewhere with בְּ, here with אֶת (comp. עָשָׂה טוֹב אֶת, 1 Sam. xxiv. 19). The judgment upon Joash refers especially to the mortal wound which he received.—Ver. 25. *For they left him with many wounds.* מַחֲלוּיִים, less suitably translated "diseases" by Luther, occurs only here; but comp. the similar תַּחֲלֻאִים, xxi. 19. With respect to the somewhat surprising "sons of Jehoiada" (instead of son), see Crit. Note.—*And slew him on his bed;* narrated more particularly 2 Kings xii. 21. The burial was not in the tombs of the kings, but in another place, as in the case of Joram; see xxi. 20.—Ver. 26. On the names of the conspirators, of which one is different in 2 Kings xii. (Jozachar for Zabad), see Bähr on this passage.—Ver. 27. *And his sons, and the greatness of the burden upon him*, the greatness of the treasure which he had to send as tribute to Hazael in Syria; comp. 2 Kings xii. 19. So it is perhaps to be explained (with Then. and Kamph.) on the basis of the *Kethib* וְרֹב הַמַּשָּׂא עָלָיו. Possible also is the interpretation adopted by Cleric., Keil, and others: "and the multitude of prophetic oracles concerning him" (comp. ver. 19), though in this case the singular הַמַּשָּׂא is somewhat strange. On the contrary, the reference, attempted by the Vulg., Luther, and others, of the רב המשא to the temple tribute (vers. 6, 9) imposed by Joash would require a change into מַשְׂאַת, and the עָלָיו would not suit this view (for which we should rather expect עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל). The *Keri* יִרֶב gives rise to the sense: "and with

regard to his sons the oracle (that of the dying Zechariah, ver. 22*b*) multiplied itself in them," which is obviously much too obscure, and could scarcely be intended by the Masoretes themselves. The Sept. alters the text quite arbitrarily, καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ πέντε (חֲמִשָּׁה for הַמַּשָּׂא), and so the Syriac.—*Behold, they are written in the commentary of the book of Kings*, the elaboration of this book; comp. on xiii. 12, and Introd. § 5, ii.

4. Amaziah: *a*. Duration of his Reign, and its Spirit: ch. xxv. 1-4; comp. the essentially parallel verses, 2 Kings xiv. 1-6.—Ver. 2. *And he did . . . but not with undivided heart.* For this is in 2 Kings: "yet not like David his father, he did according to all that his father Joash did." This more particular statement our author avoided, perhaps, on account of the less favourable light in which he had exhibited Joash. The following also: "only the high places were not removed," etc., he omits; perhaps he intended sufficiently to indicate this partial continuance of idolatry by his "not with undivided heart" (comp. xvi. 9).—Ver. 4. *Put not their sons to death,* according to the law, Deut. xxiv. 16; comp. Bähr on 2 Kings xiv. 6.

5. Continuation: *b*. The Conquest of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt: vers. 5-13. Again a section peculiar to the Chronist, for which nothing is found in 2 Kings xiv. 7 but the brief notice that Amaziah smote the Edomites in the valley of Salt, took their city Sela, and gave it the name Joktheel.—*And he mustered them* (comp. Num. i. 3) *and found them* 300,000 *choice men;* thus almost a million less than the force of Judah and Benjamin under Jehoshaphat, ch. xvii., and, if the numbers there are to be considered incorrect, even much less than the sum total of the troops of the south kingdom given in xiv. 7 for the time of Asa. But it is obvious that the number of troops must be shown to be much diminished by defeats sustained during the last reigns and other calamities, and therefore in need of being strengthened by foreign mercenary soldiers, as the following verse clearly proves.—*Going out to war* (comp. 1 Chron. v. 18), *holding spear and shield;* comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 9; Jer. xlvi. 9.—Ver. 7. *With all the sons of Ephraim.* This is a more definite addition to "Israel" (comp. Isa. xvii. 3, xxviii. 1) that appears not unnecessary, because the author often designates the kingdom or people of Judah also as Israel (comp. on xii. 1).—Ver. 8. *But go thou* alone, *do,* or "execute it"; comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 16; Ezra x. 4.—*Be strong for the battle,* (otherwise) *God shall make thee fall before the enemy.* The sense is obvious; "be strong, then will God not let thee fall." Before יַכְשִׁילְךָ is to be supplied לֹא, with Ew., Berth., Keil, Kamph., etc.; for the כִּי אִם can neither be taken (with Cleric.)=*sin minus*, nor (with Seb. Schmidt, Ramb., etc.)=*alioquin*. That the text certainly needs emendation is manifest from the arbitrary and diverse interpretations presented by the old translators; for example, the Sept. ὅτι ἐὰν ὑπολάβῃς κατισχῦσαι ἐν τούτοις; Vulg. *quod si vultis in robore exercitus bella consistere;* Luther, "For so thou comest as to show a boldness in fight, God will let thee fall before thy enemies."—*For with God is power to help and to cast down,* literally "present is might in God," etc. For the sentence, comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 12; 2 Chron. xx. 6; also the well-known verse of G. Neumark, "He is the only wonder-man, who now lift up, now cast down can."—Ver. 9. *What shall we do for the* 100 *talents?* In the mouth of a prudent ruler, who counts the cost in all his steps, certainly a very pardonable question, even as the answer given to it is highly worthy of a trustful man of God. גְּדוּד, "troop," that is, a body of mercenaries; comp. xxii. 1; 2 Kings xiii. 20 f.—Ver. 10. *To wit, the host,* etc. לְ before הַגְּדוּד is the defining לְ=namely (comp. ver. 5*a*); the whole is in apposition to the suffix in וַיַּבְדִּילֵם.—*And they returned to their place in hot anger,* literally, "in the glow of anger" (comp. Ex. xi. 8), enraged at the bad usage they had received, and at the prospect of booty being first held out to them and then withdrawn (comp. Acts xvi. 19).—Ver. 11. *And Amaziah took courage.* הִתְחַזֵּק, as in xv. 8; comp. also the חֲזַק of the prophet in ver. 8. On the situation of the valley of Salt (south-east of the Dead Sea), see Bähr on 2 Kings xiv. 7.—Ver. 12. *And brought them to the top of the rock* (לְרֹאשׁ הַסֶּלַע), probably the rock on or at which the Edomite capital Sela lay, so that the rendering "on the top of Sela" (Kamph., etc.) is admissible. The passage in 2 Kings xiv. 7, where the taking of Sela after the victory in the valley of Salt is recorded, and the present one thus complete one another. That the present report of the Chronist is merely derived from a misunderstanding of the text of the old source, somehow become illegible (Then. on 2 Kings xiv. 7), appears an inadmissible assumption on this account, that our writer would not have imputed so frightful and barbarous a proceeding as the throwing of thousands of captive Edomites down a precipice (comp. for the matter of fact, Ps. cxxxvii. 9; Luke iv. 29), on light grounds or on a mere misunderstanding, to a king like Amaziah (comp. on 1 Chron. xviii. 2, xx. 3). Besides, the number 10,000 here, as in the previous verse, is a round number, and not to be pressed in its literal sense.—Ver. 13. *And the men of the host* (literally, "sons of the host," that is, the troops belonging to it) *fell upon the cities of Judah;* comp. for construction, Gen. xxii. 24. This pillaging raid of the mercenaries is to be regarded as simultaneous with the absence of Amaziah in Idumea, and favoured thereby; comp. the similar events in the thirty years' and the seven years' wars; also the invasion of Switzerland by the Armagnacs, and of Elsass under the Emperor Frederic III. (1444), etc.—*From Samaria even to Beth-horon,* that is, with Samaria as starting-point, and Beth-horon (see for its site on 1 Chron. vii. 24) as the termination of their raid, so that all the towns between these two, so far as they belonged to Judah, were exposed to pillage.

6. Close: *c*. Amaziah's Idolatry, War with Joash of Israel, and End: vers. 14-28. The second book of Kings presents no parallel to the statements regarding the desertion of Amaziah to the gods of the conquered Edomites, vers. 14-16. On the contrary, the report of the war with Joash of Israel (vers. 17-24) agrees almost literally with 2 Kings xiv. 8-14, as also the following vers.

25–28 with the closing remarks there, vers. 17–20 —*After Amaziah was come from smiting the Edomites;* comp. 2 Sam. i. 1. The "gods" of the children of Seir are naturally their idols (otherwise פְּסִילִים or עֲצַבִּים); and the conquered Edomites are here called children of Seir, not because they were identical with the tribe of Seirites or Meunites (xx. 1, 10, 22) who dwelt with them, but because here, where the peculiarity of their gods as hill-gods came into view (comp. 1 Kings xx. 23), it was very natural to designate them according to the hill-country in which they dwelt.—Ver. 16. *Have we made thee counsellor to the king?* properly, "given"; the plural נְתַנּוּךָ is of communicative import, spoken from the position of the king and his council. With the question: "Why should they smite thee?" comp. the similar one: "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?" (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.)—*I know* (have now observed) *that God hath resolved to destroy thee;* comp. 1 Sam. ii. 25 (Eli); and Ex. vi. 1, x. 1, xi. 1, etc. (Pharaoh).—*Because thou hast done this* (worshipped the gods of Edom), *and hast not hearkened to my counsel.* Thus the prophet declares himself authorized to give counsel to the king, however scornfully the latter may have deprecated this as an assumption on his part.—Ver. 17 ff.; comp. Bähr on 2 Kings xiv. 8 ff.—*Took counsel,* namely, with his counsellors and courtiers; comp. x. 6; 1 Chron. xiii. 1. Luther's rendering is also possible: resolved, came to the decision after counsel taken.—*Come* (לְכָה=לֵךְ, "come on"; comp. Num. xxiii. 13; Judg. xix. 13), *let us look one another in the face,* measure, have a passage at arms with one another.—Ver. 19. *Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten Edom,* or if thou hast smitten. It is, moreover, of the same import if we render (with Luther, Kamph., etc.) "I have smitten."—*And thy heart hath lifted thee up* (or "carried, urged thee;" comp. Ex. xxxv. 21, 26) *to boast,* properly, "to make heavy"; comp. Isa. viii. 23. It is considerably different in 2 Kings xiv. 10; see Bähr on the passage.—Ver. 20. *For it was of God that they should be given up,* literally, "that they might be given into the hand (of the enemy)"; comp. Deut. i. 27; 1 Kings xx. 42, etc.—Ver. 22. *And they fled every man to his tent,* to his house; comp. x. 16; 1 Kings viii. 66.—Ver. 23. *From the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate;* so according to the emendation שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה for שׁ׳ הַפּוֹנֶה, which latter reading gives no rational sense, as the direction in which the gate in question turns itself must have been stated if שׁ׳ הַפּוֹנֶה meant the gate turning itself (comp. Ezek. viii. 3).—Ver. 24. *And all the gold,* namely, "he took," a verb (לָקַח) which is to be supplied from 2 Kings xiv. 14.—Vers. 25–28. Comp. Bähr on the parallel 2 Kings xiv. 17–20; and with regard to "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (ver. 26), Introd. § 5, ii.—Ver. 28. *In the city of Judah* appears to be an error in copying for "in the city of David," occasioned by the following כָּל־עַם יְהוּדָה (xxvi. 1); comp. Crit. Note. If the Masoretic reading is to be retained, we might be tempted to think of the designation πόλιν Ἰούδα, occurring Luke i. 39, which, however, can scarcely be supposed to refer to Jerusalem (see Van Oosterzee on this passage).

7. Uzziah: *a.* His early Theocratic Inclination and Prosperous Reign: ch. xxvi. 1–15; comp. the very brief parallel, 2 Kings xiv. 21, 22, xv. 1, 2, where the present (vers. 6–15) report of the successful wars of Uzziah, his buildings, and his strong military force, is wanting. There, moreover, this king, along with the present name (עֻזִּיָּהוּ, "might of Jehovah"), bears also the name Azariah (עֲזַרְיָה or עֲזַרְיָהוּ, "whom Jehovah helps"). Comp. 2 Kings xiv. 21, xv. 1, 6, 8, 23, 27, where the latter form is used, with 2 Kings xv. 13, 30, 32, 34, where "Uzziah" stands, the form which the Chronist, irrespective of 1 Chron. iii. 12, always uses, and which is also found in the superscriptions of the prophets Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah, as in Isa. vi. 1, vii. 1. The Assyrian cuneate inscriptions (the tablets of Tiglath-pileser; see Schrader, p. 114) present exclusively the form Azariah (Az-ri-ya-hu), whereby the opinion of those who regard this form as the later, or as the result of a mere error of writing, is refuted (so, for example, Gesen.-Dietrich in *Lexicon*). But Hitzig's hypothesis also (*Gesch.* p. 209), that the name Azariah was transformed from that of the high priest contemporary with him (ver. 17) to the king, is refuted by this evidence of Assyrian inscriptions. Much rather the only assumption that remains warranted is: "that the similar names of almost equal import were used simultaneously" (Berth.); as was the case, for example, with Uzziel and Azarel, a descendant of Heman (1 Chron. xxv. 4, 18). Not even the conjecture expressed by Bähr on 2 Kings xiv. 21: "that the name Uzziah appears to have come into more general use after he ascended the throne," will harmonize with the fact that the Assyrian kings know only the name Azariah.—Ver. 2. *He built Eloth.* On the emphatic prefixing of this notice, even before the chronological dates of the following verse, see Bähr on the passage.—Ver. 3. *Reigned fifty-two years in Jerusalem,* 810–759 B.C., according to the usual chronology, though, according to the Assyrian monuments, considerably later (according to Neteler, p. 225 ff., 786–735). On the name of the queen-mother Jechiliah (in 2 Kings Jecholiah, not Jechaliah, as Luther writes), see the Crit. Note.—Ver. 5. *And he continued to seek God,* literally, "and he was to seek God, was out to seek Him"; comp. xxxi. 21; Ezra iii. 12.—*In the days of Zechariah, who understood the visions of God.* Accordingly this Zechariah, who is otherwise unknown (for he cannot be identified with the Zechariah son of Jeberechiah mentioned Isa. viii. 2, as he was at least a generation older), must be considered a prophet, and הַמֵּבִין בִּרְאוֹת הָאֱלֹהִים must be regarded as a chosen periphrasis for הָרֹאֶה, the seer (comp. Dan. i. 17). But as the vision of God cannot be taken as a work of human activity, the reading of the Sept. and other old witnesses (see Crit. Note) commends itself more, which gives the sense "expert in the fear of God," or even "teacher of the fear of God" (comp. Neh. viii. 9). Zechariah remains a prophetic teacher and counsellor of King Uzziah even with this

reading (for his possible priestly character would have been marked by a הַכֹּהֵן); but that he was a "master in divine visions" is not to be read from it; and still less is it to be inferred that he and no other was the author of the oracles of Balaam (as is asserted in an arbitrary way by Fürst, *Gesch. der bibl. Literatur.* ii. pp. 231, 359).—Vers. 6–15. Uzziah's Successful Wars, Building of Cities, etc. (without parallel in 2 Kings).—*And he . . .* fought with the Philistines, to punish their pillaging inroad under Joram (xxi. 16 f.). This punishment must have been inflicted by him in very full measure, probably by the subjection of their whole territory; for the cities said to have been destroyed by him, Gath (see on xi. 8), Jabneh (=Jabneel, Josh. xv. 11, later=Jamnia in the Maccab. and in Josephus), and Ashdod (now Esdud, comp. on Josh. xiii. 3), were at that time the chief places of the Philistines.—Ver. 7. *And God helped him . . . against the Arabs*, who are named also, xvii. 11, with the Philistines. Where Gurbaal was is uncertain; it is by no means to be identified (after the Sept., see Crit. Note) with the Edomite Petra; rather with Gerar (Gen. xx. 1), of which the Targ. thinks. Concerning the Meunites, see on 1 Chron. iv. 41; 2 Chron. xx. 1.—Ver. 8. *And his name went even to Egypt*, literally, "even to the entrance of Egypt." But by the name of Uzziah is scarcely meant merely his fame (Luther), but also his active influence, his power.—*For he became very mighty*, literally, "showed himself mighty (Dan. xi. 7) unto the height" (comp. 1 Chron. xiv. 2, xxix. 25).—Ver. 9. *And Uzziah built towers . . . at the corner gate.* The corner gate (comp. xxv. 23) lay at the north-west end of the city; the valley gate on the west side, where the Jaffa gate is now. On the east, over against these two points belonging to the west side where defence was most needed, is הַמִּקְצוֹעַ, the corner, to be sought—namely, a bend of the eastern wall near the horse gate; comp. Neh. iii. 19, 20, 24, 25.—Ver. 10. *And he built towers in the wilderness*, in the wilderness of Judah, to protect the herds grazing there; comp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 25; Mic. iv. 8; Isa. v. 2; in which latter place mention is made of the digging of a well along with the tower building.—*For he had much cattle in the lowland*, etc., properly, "and in the lowland and in the plain," etc. It appears, therefore, as if three regions were here distinguished—1. The wilderness (of Judah) west of the Dead Sea; 2. The lowlands at the Mediterranean (comp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28); 3. The plain (הַמִּישׁוֹר), perhaps the plain beyond the Jordan, the territory of the Reubenites, a region specially adapted for grazing, which Uzziah was under the necessity of taking from the Ammonites (ver. 8).—*Husbandmen and vinedressers in the mountains.* Kamph. connects against the accents, "in the plain, husbandmen." He will also explain וּבַכַּרְמֶל neither of the Mount Carmel (Josh. xix. 26; Song vii. 6), nor of Carmel in the south of Judah (1 Sam. xv. 12), but renders "in the fruitful field" (comp. Isa. xxix. 17), for which there is no constraining necessity.—Ver. 11. *And Uzziah had a host of fighting men*, literally, "a host (comp. xiv. 7) maker of war" (comp. ver. 13, xi. 1), that went out to war (comp. 1 Chron. v. 8) in troops (in a marshalled host).—*By the number of their muster at the hand of Jeuel.* בְּיַד, as afterwards, "under the guidance of Hananiah," is expressed by "at the hand" (עַל יַד, as 1 Chron. xxv. 6). The captain Hananiah appears therefore as superintendent, Jeuel and Maaseiah as subordinate executive officers in the business of the muster.—Ver. 13. *And at their hand* (עַל יָדָם, as in the previous verse) *an army of* 307,500 *fighting men.* Thus each of the 2600 father-houses constituted a corps under the command of the bravest among them. The total number of 307,500 warriors agrees in the main with the above statement of the strength of the army under Amaziah, xxv. 5, and presupposes the more certainly an actual numeration for its basis, as it is not a round number.—Ver. 14. *And Uzziah prepared for them*; comp. 1 Chron. xv. 1, xxii. 5.—Ver. 15. *He made engines, the invention of craftsmen*, literally, "devices (חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת, *excogitata*), the device of the deviser" (מַחֲשֶׁבֶת חוֹשֵׁב), skilfully contrived engines of war, as the following words show—a kind of catapults or balisters, for assaulting besieging troops from the walls and towers of defence.—*And his name went forth*, etc.; comp. above, ver. 8.

8. Uzziah: *b.* His Boasting and Divine Punishment by Leprosy; his End: vers. 16–23. Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5–7, where, however, the mere fact of the king's becoming leprous is mentioned, without particularizing the cause, so that in fact the three verses correspond only to our vers. 21–23.—*And when he became strong.* וּכְחֶזְקָתוֹ, as in xii. 1. For the following: "to do corruptly" (הַשְׁחִית), comp. xxvii. 2.—*Went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense*, which, according to Ex. xxx. 7, 27, Num. xviii. 1–7, only priests were to do. Uzziah wished to exercise regal and sacerdotal functions at the same time (as the Egyptian kings, and afterwards the Roman emperors). He fell into the same sin as Saul before him (1 Sam. xiii. 9 f.). It was not the restitution of a formerly legitimate union of regal and sacerdotal power, as it was nominally possessed by David and Solomon (Thenius, Ewald), which was his aim; for only occasionally, and in certain religious solemnities of an extraordinary kind, had those kings exercised several priestly functions, with the permission of the lawful priests (so correctly Bertheau, Keil, etc.).—Ver. 17. *And Azariah the priest.* Whether he was actually high priest is not determined with perfect certainty from his subsequent designation as כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ (as in the case of Jehoiada; see on xxiii. 8); yet it is most probable that the "head priest," who was accompanied with eighty priests, was the actual legitimate holder of high-priestly office. But very improbable is the identity asserted by Keil of this Azariah with the Azariah named in the list of high priests, 1 Chron. v. 36, 37, as the father of Amariah, who belongs certainly to a considerably earlier time (see on this passage). On the predicate "men of valour," בְּנֵי חַיִל, comp. 1 Chron. v. 18.—Ver. 18. *And they withstood Uzziah*, "stood against" him; comp. Dan. xi. 14.—*And it shall not be for thine honour from the Lord God*, that is, thy offering incense serves not, as thou fanciest, to increase

thy honour and glory before God, but rather brings thee shame, because thou thereby showest thyself to be disobedient and apostate.—Ver. 19. *And while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy burst forth on his forehead*, in punishment of his impious attempt. The punishment is the same that Miriam endured on account of her rebellion against Moses (Num. xii. 10), and with which Elisha's servant Gehazi was visited for his covetousness (2 Kings v. 27). In a physical and pathological sense, also, the malady may have been brought on in all these cases in essentially the same way,—"by a strong physical excitement, which brought the leprosy, already existing as a tendency in the system, suddenly to a visible eruption" (Friedreich, *Zur Bibel*, etc., pp. 223, 230). Wedel (*Exercitationes medico-philologicæ*, ii. 4. 9) quite arbitrarily asserts that Uzziah's malady was not leprosy, but syphilis. Not less arbitrary and contrary to the text is the attempt of K. Ad. Menzel to reduce the whole malady to a bold and sly mystification of the high priest Azariah, who suddenly cried out that he saw the sign of leprosy on the forehead of the king, and by this application of his medical authority so far robbed him of his self-command that he allowed himself to be arrested and put in a place of confinement (*Religion und Staatsidee*, p. 89; comp. on xvi. 13). A special contrast to this crude attempt at a natural explanation by a miracle-rejecting rationalism is presented by the Jewish legend in Josephus, *Antiq.* ix. 10. 4, which makes Uzziah be punished not merely by becoming leprous (supposed to be produced by a sunstroke which fell through the split roof of the temple on his face), but also by a simultaneous violent earthquake, the same which is mentioned Amos i. 1, by which that splitting of the temple roof was effected.—Ver. 21. *And dwelt in a sick-house*, properly, "a house of separation"; see Bähr on 2 Kings xv. 5, where also all that is necessary is remarked on the probable (amounting only to a few years) duration of Uzziah's illness and of Jotham's regency.—Ver. 23. *And they buried him with his fathers in the burial-field of the kings; for they said, He is a leper.* They wished not to defile the proper tombs of the kings by burying his body in them, and therefore buried it in the field adjoining these tombs. In the parallel 2 Kings xv. 7 f. this important detail is wanting.

9. Jotham: ch. xxvii.; comp. 2 Kings xv. 32–38, and Bähr on this passage.—Ver. 2. *Only he entered not into the temple of the Lord;* he abstained from such an impious undertaking as that of his father, xxvi. 16 ff. This remark is wanting in 2 Kings. On the contrary, instead of the rather indefinite: "and the people did yet corruptly" (comp. on xxvi. 16 ff.), we find there the more special statement: "the people still sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places."—Ver. 3. *And on the wall of Ophel he built much;* fortified thus the southern slope of the temple mountain, which is called Ophel (הָעֹפֶל; comp. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27), and therein continued the fortifications of his father Uzziah, which had applied more to the west and east sides of the city wall. In 2 Kings this is wanting, as also the notice in the following verse of the towns and castles built by Jotham (for בִּירָנִיּוֹת. "castles, forts," see on xvii. 12), while the previous notice regarding the building (anew) of the upper temple gate, the north gate in the inner court of the temple, is also found there.—Ver. 5 *And he fought with the king of the sons of Ammon.* Of this victorious war with the Ammonites, also, nothing is found in 2 Kings. This war, like the buildings, appears to be a continuation of that waged by Uzziah; for, according to xxvi. 8, the Ammonites had also to pay tribute to that king. It was therefore an attempt at revolt, for which they were now punished by Jotham with the imposition of a new and heavier tribute (100 talents of silver, with 10,000 cors of barley and wheat yearly, is pretty well for a not very numerous people).—*This the sons of Ammon paid him also in the second and the third year*, but no longer than during these three years; perhaps on account of the war of Syria and Ephraim with Judah, which took its rise under Jotham, 2 Kings xv. 37, and procured for the Ammonites their former independence.—Ver. 6. *And Jotham strengthened himself*, namely, "in his kingdom"; comp. xiii. 21, and the following: "he established his ways," Prov. xxi. 29.—Ver. 7. *And all his wars.* That these wars of Jotham, of which only one is here mentioned, were uniformly successful is not stated in the text; and therefore the war commenced with Syria and Ephraim, in which Jotham suffered some very severe defeats, may be here included (against Keil). In other respects the closing notices, vers. 7–9, agree essentially with 2 Kings xv. 36, 38.

10. Ahaz: *a.* His Idolatry, and Defeat by the Syrians and Ephraimites: ch. xxviii. 1–8; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 1 ff., where the first four verses, relating to the idolatry of Ahaz, agree tolerably well with vers. 1–4 of our text; while the report of the war given in vers. 5–18 presents considerable deviations from the narrative in our ch., vers. 5 ff., 9, and 16 ff. Comp. on these differences, as well as on the whole report of the war, C. P. Caspari, *Der syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg unter Jotham und Ahas*, Christiania 1849.—*Ahaz was twenty years old.* Thus also 2 Kings xvi. 2; but on account of the age of his son and successor,—Hezekiah being already twenty-five at the death of Ahaz,—it is more probable that the reading of the Sept., Syr., and Arab. is to be preferred, and the age of Ahaz at his accession set down at twenty-five (not, however, at thirty, as Hitzig, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 214, will have it). Moreover, the name Ahaz (אָחָז) is on the Assyrian monuments *Ja-hu-kha-zi*, which is elsewhere = the Hebr. Jehoahaz (יְהוֹאָחָז); see Schrader, pp. 25, 147, 151 ff. This difference "is either to be referred to this, that the later Jews in the Old Testament changed the actual name of the king, namely Jehoahaz, in consequence of his idolatrous propensity, into Ahaz, by the omission of the divine name, or to this, that the Assyrians falsely transferred to Ahaz the like-sounding name of an earlier king (Jehoahaz), as they made Jehu a son instead of a successor of Omri" (Schrader, p. 152). If the first of these two conjectures, according to which Ahaz is a curtailed name, be correct, we may compare the change of such names as Jerubbaal (into Jerubbesheth) or Mephibaal (into Mephibosheth), and also the legend of the mediæval sects, as the Euchites, Bogomiles, etc., that Satan was originally called Satanael, and after

his fall his name was deprived of the last syllable. Comp., moreover, on ver. 21.—Ver. 2 f. *And made also molten images for Baalim;* comp. Ps. cvi. 19; Judg. xvii. 3, etc. Both these words and the following: "and he burnt incense in the valley of Ben-hinnom," are wanting in 2 Kings; but they have there fallen out by an oversight (occasioned by a twofold וגם); comp. Bähr on the passage.—*And burned his sons in the fire,* or "made his sons pass through the fire." According to 2 Kings, he performed this barbarous human sacrifice only in the case of one son, which is intrinsically the more probable (comp. 2 Kings iii. 27, xxi. 6); the plur. אֶת־בָּנָיו of our passage is thus, as in xxxiii. 6, merely a rhetorical generalization (Casp., Keil, Bähr, etc.). On vers. 3*b* and 4, comp. Bähr's exposition of the parallel text.—Ver. 5. *The Lord his God gave him into the hand of the king of Syria.* These introductory words of the following report of the war, compared with 2 Kings xvi. 6 ff., demonstrate that our writer proposes to give rather a rhetorically conceived than a strictly historical description of the chastisements inflicted on Ahaz by the Syrians and Ephraimites. Comp. Caspari as quoted, p. 42 ff., and Keil, p. 325 f.: "The facts, which show how Ahaz, notwithstanding the grievous blows which fell on him and Judah, sinned yet more grievously against the Lord his God, are brought out of the historical material into relief, and oratorically represented, so that they display not only the increasing obstinacy of Ahaz, but also, by adducing the conduct of the citizens and warriors of the kingdom of Israel, the depth to which Judah had fallen."—*And they smote him,* literally, "on him," that is, they inflicted a defeat on his army.—*And took from him a great many captives,* "led captive from him a great leading of captives" (שִׁבְיָה, as in ver. 11; Neh. iii. 36).—Ver. 6. *And Pekah, son of Remaliah, slew in Judah* 120,000 *in one day,* that is, in a great battle, with the pursuit and plundering that followed. Against the suspicion cast on this number by de Wette, Gesenius, Winer, and others, as exaggerated, see Caspari, p. 37 ff., who points with justice—1. to the fanaticism of the Israelites and Syrians, who aimed directly at the annihilation of the Jewish power (Isa. vii. 6; 2 Kings xv. 16; comp. also ver. 9); 2. to the military strength of the Jews (307,500), stated shortly before under Uzziah, xxvi. 13, which shows that it was about a third of their force that was put to the sword; 3. to the round number 120,000 (as also the subsequent number of 200,000 captives), showing itself to be the product of a rough estimate, and not an exact enumeration.—Ver. 7. *And Zichri . . . slew Maaseiah the king's son,* probably a royal prince of an older generation, uncle, cousin, or brother of Ahaz, for he himself at this time had scarcely a son of military age. Azrikam also is perhaps to be regarded as a relative of the king, for a "governor of the house" can scarcely designate a president of the temple (according to 1 Chron. ix. 11; 2 Chron. xxxi. 13); rather might it be the title of a higher officer of the royal house or palace.—*And Elkanah the vicegerent of the king,* literally, "the second after the king," his minister (chancellor, vizier).—Ver. 8. *And the sons of Israel took captive of their brethren.* Observe the importance of this reference to the character of the war, as a barbarous strife between brother tribes.

11. Continuation: *b.* Oded the Prophet effects the Release of the Captives: vers. 9–15 (without a parallel in 2 Kings).—*And a prophet of the Lord was there of the name of Oded,* in Samaria, the capital of the northern kingdom. Here, as well as in other places of this kingdom, prophets of the true God appear active till its complete fall (722 B.C.), as in particular the ministry of Hosea teaches, which was likewise exercised on this soil.—*And he went out;* comp. the report, xv. 2, of Azariah son of Oded under Asa.—*In the wrath . . . against Judah.* Not so much your bravery as the judicial sentence of God for the punishment of idolatrous Israel is the cause of the great victory over your adversaries—a victory which you have abused by a frantic slaughter and carnage. On "that reacheth unto heaven," comp. Gen. xviii. 21; Ezra ix. 6.—Ver. 10. *And now ye purpose to subject;* comp. Gen. i. 28; Lev. xxv. 42 ff.—*Are there not even with you yourselves trespasses against the Lord?* look for once at yourselves, whether ye do not perceive there enough of that which inculpates you before God. To this exhortation to repentance is suitably added the warning in ver. 11, to beware of the further abuse of the power given them to execute the divine judgment, and therefore of the unmerciful treatment or even the longer retention of the captives.—Ver. 12 f. Four of the chiefs of Ephraim declare their concurrence with this exhortation and warning of Oded. Their names occur only here, but they present, at all events, a weighty testimony for the concrete historical character and credibility of the present account.—*For with the trespass of the Lord upon us,* that the effect of our heavy guilt with God (ver. 10) may fall upon us, that the heavy punishment of sin may overtake us. אַשְׁמַת יהוה is here the effect, the punishment of guilt contracted before God.—Ver. 14. *And the armed host left,* the armed escort who conducted the captives to Samaria. הֶחָלוּץ, as in 1 Chron. xii. 23.—Ver. 15. *The men who were expressed by name,* the notable men mentioned by name in the old records, who specially distinguished themselves at that time by a noble emulation of love and compassion for the poor captives; comp. 1 Chron. xii. 31, xvi. 41; 2 Chron. xxxi. 19. The analogy of these passages forbids us to think only of the four named in ver. 12.—*And clothed all that were naked of them,* literally, "all the nakedness" (*abstr. pro concr.*).—*And anointed them,* because they should return home happy and cheerful.—*And carried them on asses;* to which is appended a limiting and more exactly defining phrase, *all the weary* (or "stumbling," לְכָל־כּוֹשֵׁל). Observe the pictorial reality and epic breadth of the whole description, which exhibits itself even in designating Jericho as the city of palms (comp. Judg iii. 13), and by the mention of it (as the border town of Judah, whither the captives were first brought; comp. Josh. xviii. 21) accords with the story of the good Samaritan. For, in fact, there is here a grand archetype of the deed of compassion described in this didactic narrative of the Lord, as sure as they were inhabitants of the city and later

country of Samaria, who took so loving an interest in the helpless Jews. The thought that Christ drew directly from this episode of the present war several points of His noble lesson should by no means be absolutely rejected. Comp. Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.

12. Close: *c*. Further Visitations of Ahaz on account of his Idolatry; his End: vers. 16-27. Only the part of this section that refers to the relations of Ahaz to the Assyrian world-power (his seeking aid from Tiglath-pileser, his payment of tribute to the same, and his fall occasioned by this slavish submission to the idolatry of Syria and Damascus, vers. 16, 20-25) is reported in 2 Kings xvi. (vers. 7-18), and there, indeed, much more fully than here. On the contrary, there is wanting there a statement of the contemporaneous humiliations of Ahaz by the Edomites and Philistines, as they are here reported, vers. 17-19.—*At that time King Ahaz sent unto the kings of Assyria.* The rather indefinite בָּעֵת הַהִיא admits the assumption that this embassy to Assyria took place immediately after the invasion of Rezin and Pekah (Berth.), as well as that several months or years elapsed between these events (Keil). But according to 2 Kings xvi. 6 ff., the consequence of that first heavy defeat by the Syrians and Ephraimites, the taking of Elath by Rezin (and that which was connected with it, the invasion of the Edomites and Philistines), seems to have been the motive of Ahaz to apply to the Assyrians for aid. The plural "the kings of Assyria" is perhaps not rhetorical, as above, ver. 3, בָּנָיו (Keil), but, as it seems, originally written under the consciousness that the head of the Assyrian government was composed of several factors, namely, the king and the so-called eponymus or archon of the current year; see in particular xxx. 4, where this view seems undeniable; also xxx. 6; and comp. Schrader, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1871, part iv.; *Die Keilschriften*, etc., p. 308 ff.—Ver. 17. *And again the Edomites came*, perhaps made free again by Rezin's expedition against Elath, 2 Kings xvi. 6, from the Jewish yoke, which lay upon them from the time of Amaziah and Uzziah (xxv. 11, xxvi. 2). The tense is to be taken as the pluperfect: "and moreover (וְעוֹד, *et præterea, et insuper*; comp. Isa. i. 5) the Edomites had come"; and so in the two following verses, for they also report something that preceded the fatal treaty with Tiglath-pileser, and served to bring it about.—Ver. 18. *And the Philistines invaded.* Of the places conquered by them, Beth-shemesh (1 Chron. vi. 44), Ajalon (1 Chron. vi. 54), and Socho (2 Chron. xi. 7) have occurred already in our book. For Gederoth (in the Shephelah), comp. Josh. xv. 41; for Timnah, now Tibneh, Josh. xv. 10; for Gimzo, now Jimsu, a large village between Lydda and Beth-horon, Robins. *Palest.* iii. 271 The mention of daughter cities (literally, "daughters") along with the chief places, as in xiii. 9.—Ver. 19. *For the Lord humbled Judah on account of Ahaz king of Israel.* Ahaz is perhaps ironically so named; for the title "King of Israel" can scarcely be an honourable designation in him, as in Rehoboam (xii. 6) or Jehoshaphat (xxi. 2), or as in his forefathers in general, ver. 27. It contains, perhaps, an allusion to the contrast between his idolatrous reign and the mind and walk of the true "Israel of God" (comp. Gal. vi. 16, Caspari, Keil, etc.).—*Because he had revolted in Judah.* So is כִּי הִפְרִיעַ with בְּ following certainly to be taken, not as Kamph. and others think: "because he made Judah refractory"; comp. rather Ex. v. 4, which speaks also against the rendering of the Vulg.: *eo quod nudasset eum auxilio*, and of Luther (that he made Judah naked).—Ver. 20. *And Tiglath-pilneser.* Concerning this form, as corresponding not so well to the Assyrian as the Tiglath-pileser of the other Old Testament sources, see on 1 Chron. v. 6; for the conjectural identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser, see on 1 Chron. v. 26.—*And distressed him, and strengthened him not.* This is the only rendering agreeable to the context, according to which, חִזֵּק here, contrary to its usual intransitive meaning, expresses the active sense of strengthening (*confortare, roborare*). See for justification of this rendering against Luther, Then., Bertheau, etc. (who take חזק according to xxvii. 5, Jer. xx. 7, etc. = "overcome"): "he oppressed and besieged him, but subdued him not," in particular Keil on this passage; rightly also Neteler and Kamph.—Ver. 21. *For Ahaz had plundered the house of the Lord.* This was at the time that he sent the embassy with its cry for help to the mighty Assyrian king (ver. 16), for with empty hands he need not approach him (comp. also 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8). חלק here is not "divide" (Luther), but "plunder, *spoliare*" (Vulg.); comp. חֵלֶק, booty, share of spoil (Num. xxxi. 36; Job xvii. 5). The strong expression corresponds to the rhetorical tone of the narrator; thereby the certainly historical statement shows that the treasures of the king's house, as well as those of the "princes" (the high officers of the palace, or perhaps also the princes of the royal house; comp. on ver. 7), must have contributed, that the gift (שֹׁחַד, see 2 Kings xvi. 8) sent with the ambassadors might be worthy of acceptance. That Ahaz paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser is attested, besides our passage and the report in 2 Kings xvi. 7-9 (comp. also Isa. xxxvi 5, where Rabshakeh charges Hezekiah with revolt from Assyria), also by the Assyrian monuments. In line 61 of an inscription composed in the last year of Tiglath-pileser's reign (ii. R. 67), it is said that this king received tribute (*madatu*) from "Mittini of Askalon, Ahaz (Jehoahaz—Ja-hu-kha-zi) of Judah, Kozmalak of Edom." That here Ahaz is spoken of as a tributary of the great king, and not Uzziah (as H. Rawlinson thought on account of the surprising form of the name), is shown by the naming of the rulers of Philistia and Edom, who in Uzziah's time would scarcely have been co-ordinated with the Jewish king, the naming of whom along with Ahaz is quite consistent with the contents of the verses of our chapter. Comp. Schrader, p. 151 ff.—Ver. 22. *And in the time of his distress*, a date of like indefiniteness and pliability with בָּעֵת הַהִיא in ver. 16. That the revolt of Ahaz to the gods of the Syrians thus took place after the distresses which the Edomites, Philistines, and Syrians prepared for him, cannot be definitely concluded from this passage; rather it seems to follow from

ver. 23 that he had already, during the war with Rezin, begun to testify his respect for the gods of his foe and his country. There is therefore no proper contradiction between our passage and 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.; only that there is given a more concrete and definite report concerning this turning of Ahaz to the Syrian gods than in our section, which also, again, bears an eminently rhetorical and pathetic character, as indeed all that is related from ver. 5 onwards.—Ver. 24. *And Ahaz . . . cut up the vessels of the house of God*, that is, as is stated more precisely in 2 Kings xvi. 17, he broke out the sides of the bases, removed the lavers from them, transferred the sea from the brazen oxen to a stone pavement, etc.—*And shut the doors of the house of the Lord*, that is, according to xxix. 3, 7, the doors not of the court, but of the temple itself, or the porch before the holy and most holy places. Accordingly, the shutting of these doors signified that he suspended the worship of God in the holy and in the most holy place, while he left the altar of burnt-offering in the court; with which 2 Kings xvi. 15 f. agrees, although there the erection of a separate altar of burnt-offering, built after the model of Damascus of Syria, beside the brazen altar of Solomon, is reported (see Bähr on the passage).—*And made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem.* Among these altars is included the new altar of burnt-offering in the court, 2 Kings xvi. 10-16, built at the command of Ahaz by the priest Uriah after the pattern of the idol-altar at Damascus. The כָּל in בְּכָל־פִּנָּה is not to be pressed, nor, for example: "under every tree," in ver. 4, nor the phrase: "in every single city of Judah," in the following verse.—Ver. 25. *And provoked to anger the Lord* (כעס, *hiph.*, as in Deut. xxxii. 16; 1 Kings xiv. 9).—Vers. 26, 27; comp. the briefer closing notice in 2 Kings xvi. 19, 20.—*And they buried him in the city in Jerusalem*; thus not: "in the city of David," as is usually said, and further not: "in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel" (see on ver. 19), but apart from the proper tombs of the kings—perhaps in the field mentioned in xxvi. 23, where the leprous Uzziah was buried. 2 Kings xvi. 20 reports nothing of such an exception that was made with respect to the grave of Ahaz.

### EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS AND HOMILETIC HINTS ON CH. XXIV.-XXVIII.

1. A period of fully a century and a half (877-727 in the usual chronology) is occupied by the five reigns here combined, comprising a reign of forty, of nearly thirty, and of fifty-two years. But none of them yields any permanent gain for the development of Judah into the normal form of a truly theocratic condition, as the deep corruption exhibited under the last, an instance of decided misrule, shows. When the Canaanitish idolatry, naturalized by Athaliah, after a short predominance, was again expelled, as an element utterly foreign to the Davidic house and the Jewish people, five reigns regularly following in legitimate succession, of which perhaps none was begun otherwise than under favourable auspices, and with joyful hopes on the side of the theocratic party, furnish before the end of 150 years the sad result of a decided relapse into that idolatry. For the less insidiously evil and murderous than merely weak policy of Ahaz in every instance must be regarded as such a relapse, though it might not be the Tyrian-Canaanitish idolatry of Athaliah to which he chiefly yielded, but the Damascene-Syrian superstition of his adversary Rezin, and though, further, the outward form and show of the legitimate worship was perhaps better observed under him than under the priest-opposing daughter of Omri. On the whole, it is manifest that under Ahaz the corruption of religion and morals had gnawed more deeply than at that time, and struck firmer roots into the consciousness and customs of the people. It is now, at least, quite contrary to the state of things then, directly a priest, perhaps the high priest (Uriah, 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.), who readily enters into the king's idolatrous intentions, and lends a hand to desecrate the sanctuary of Jehovah with foreign modes of worship, elaborated after heathen models; a characteristic which the Chronist perhaps only neglected expressly to mark, because it disgusted and annoyed him to report anything so unreasonable and abominable as this treason of a priest of the Lord. And as the priest, so the people does not now, at the beck of a true witness, as then of Jehoiada, rise up as one man to put an end to the foreign hateful thing at one blow, but presents so little resistance to the seductions to spiritual and corporeal adultery proceeding from the court, that it remains, during a reign of almost sixteen years, on the path of Baal-worship, and establishes not only idolatrous altars in every corner of Jerusalem, but also high places for burning incense to strange gods "in every single city of Judah" (comp. xxviii. 24, 25), without standing up in righteous indignation against such a course, or even earnestly seeking a return to theocratic obedience. That it could come to this a century and a half after the events under Athaliah, tells not of a gradual progress to a better state of things, but rather of a slow but irresistible sinking into worse and worse—of a constant ripening of the people for that fearful judgment of God which now fell on the kindred people of Ephraim immediately after the death of Ahaz at the end of these 150 years, and with respect to which for Judah, with all the energy of many attempts at reform (especially under Hezekiah and Josiah), nothing beyond a postponement, a delay of less than 150 years more was secured.

2. None of the four comparatively theocratic reigns before Ahaz had been able to check the descent of the people with uneasy certainty and constancy on this downward path to final corruption; for none possessed the reverence for God and law, untainted by heathenish abominations, which characterized the rule of an Asa or Jehoshaphat. For Joash maintained a decidedly theocratic demeanour only so long as his paternal friend, instructor, and counsellor Jehoiada governed him, or so long as those two symbols given him (xxiii. 11) at his accession—the crown as the sign of power, and the law as the sign of theocratic wisdom—exercised their united influence over him;[1] after whose death he permits, at

[1] Comp. Luther's marginal note on this passage: "Finely are both the crown and the book presented to the king that he might be not only mighty, but also wise, or (as we may say) know God's word and right. Thus, even now, we make kings with a sword and book."

the request of the worldly-minded "princes of Judah" (representatives of the higher nobility, to whom the "priestly power" might long since have well been an abomination), the entrance again of idolatry, and causes the faithful witness of the truth, warning them of the evil consequences of such a course, the son of his instructor Jehoiada (and therefore his near relative), to be slain in the court of the temple. Whereupon also the threatened judgment of God, accomplished by a desolating raid of the Syrian Hazael, suddenly enters, and in a very short time brings about the end—and that a terrible end—of the unfaithful king. This reign resembles in more than one respect the history of such rulers of the Middle Ages or of modern times as the German emperors Otto III. and Henry IV., or in many respects Louis XIV. of France, who enjoyed the guardianship of excellent regents of the spiritual order at the beginning of their career, but afterwards failed to beware of the evil consequences of their passing over to a false independence. Not much better or happier was the reign of Amaziah, whose early measures, as the sparing of the children of the murderers who conspired against Joash (xxv. 4; comp. Deut. xxiv. 16) shows, were entirely accordant with the precepts of the law; but who afterwards, in consequence of a successful war with Edom, which seems to have made the conqueror presumptuous, degenerated into heathenish practices, offered the tribute of worship to the gods of the conquered Edomites (naturally without meaning to abolish the legitimate worship of Jehovah, proceeding on some sort of theoretical and practical mingling of the two modes of worshipping God), and added to this the further folly of a supercilious provocation of the powerful Joash of Israel to war. A severe humiliation by this foe, as a reward for this haughty bearing (conjoined with which are here, again, scornful neglect and rough treatment of one of the prophets of Jehovah, ver. 16), here also failed to delay the issue; and the end of the king, effected by a band of traitors and conspirators, ver. 27, was as violent as that of his father. With respect to external politics as well as military and economic (financial) consolidation of their power, the two following reigns appear to have been more fortunate. The vigorous Uzziah, reigning more than a half century, restores in many respects once more the glorious days of a Jehoshaphat, especially with regard to the maintenance of his sway over the southern tribes, and the great advance of the defensive power and financial capability of the country. But when the true spiritual adviser whom he long followed, the prophet Zechariah, was separated from him, he also exhibited haughtiness, daring arrogance, and false independence in spiritual things. And if his people were not involved in the judgment incurred by this guilt, yet his transgression brought on himself a heavy and shameful fall, for which there was no recovery on this side the grave. He dies as one "smitten of God" (Isa. liii. 4; comp. Job ii. 7, vi. 4 f., xvi. 12 ff.) in a sick-house, and does not even in death partake of the honour due to a king of the line of David, and also a powerful and celebrated prince (xxvi. 28). To his son Jotham, reigning a much shorter time, but in a like spirit and with like external fortune, a humiliation of the same kind is certainly spared; for "he entered not into the temple of the Lord," ventured on no such daring stretch of his authority as Uzziah in his attempt to burn incense. And how far he was thereby from being without guilt, or free from inward participation in such offences, is shown by the reckless audacity with which his son and successor, during his whole reign (of equal length with that of his father), ventured to addict himself to the demoralizing idolatry of the neighbouring nations, and to procure for it unlimited entrance among his people. Of the father of such a son we can form no very favourable opinion, even if the scanty notices of our author announce little or nothing positively unfavourable concerning him.

3. The penal judgment of God for such continued yielding to the seducing and corrupting influence of heathenism, as it was decreed against Judah, soon after the corruption had broken forth in all its grossness, in the so-called war with Syria and Ephraim, appears, according to the representation of the Chronist, to have been terribly great and severe. More than 100,000 fighting men fall as the sacrifice of a single battle-field, and almost double that number of women, children, and other prisoners of war are dragged away as slaves, and owe their instant unconditional release to the compassion of their kinsmen, the victorious Ephraimites, evoked by a bold and vehement prophetic admonition; so that in this case the Jews were put to shame by the more righteous and pious conduct of the citizens of the neighbouring kingdom (which, however, took place on the very eve of their religious and political ruin). But the spiritual blessing which should have sprung from so heavy and deeply humiliating a visitation was gone. No trace of the return of the heart to the true God and to His law comes to light in the subsequent accounts concerning the acts and events of the reign of Ahaz. And the calamities added to that great defeat, the invasions of the Edomites and Philistines, as well as the distress from the Assyrian king, whose alliance naturally soon proved to be an oppressive sovereignty, produce, instead of repentance toward God, only increasing submission to the idols. As slave children with venal servility kiss the rod with which they are chastised, so Ahaz thinks he must present more demonstrations of respect to the gods of his victorious foes, in proportion as they prepare for him heavier humiliations. And no one among the people brings him back from such folly; the voice of no prophet, though they press as strongly and closely upon his ear as that of an Isaiah (Isa. vii.-x.), is able to check the criminal course into which he has gone with his princes, his counsellors, and his strong party among the people. First under his son Hezekiah, repentance and amendment, the path to which was already prepared in many hearts by the previous afflictions, come to light; and that unusually severe judgment of God finally proves to be a wholesome corrective measure, the effect of which is to save, create new life, and purify; comp. Hezekiah's own reflections on it, xxix. 9,—a passage which, at the same time, deserves to be taken into account as a supplementary testimony to the greatness of the loss suffered by the people from the defeats in question.

4. In the representation of the author of the

books of Kings, this pragmatic connection of the defeats of Ahaz, especially that inflicted on him by the Syrians and Ephraimites, with his sins and his sinking into ever worse impenitence and idolatry, is less sharply and clearly exhibited than in the strong, rhetorically-coloured, and generally animated and impassioned style adopted by our author. But its substantial credibility can suffer no damage from this, that it here and there presents other points of view, and in part connects the events otherwise. As the reports of the Chronist, giving great prominence to the Levitical element in the revolution conducted by Jehoiada, as well as in the contributions for the temple and its repair under Joash, in contrast with those of the books of Kings, do not deserve to be cast in the shade and disparaged; or as that which our author more specially relates concerning Uzziah's transgression and punishment from his Levitical point of view is not to be suspected in comparison with the allusive brevity of the older parallel account; even so we have no right to hesitate with regard to that which is peculiar to him in the description of the Syro-Ephraimitish war. The roundness, resting rather on an estimate than an exact enumeration, of the high numbers in xxviii. 6–8 is the only thing that is to be conceded to the judgment of the opponent calling in question the strict historical accuracy of his narrative (see above on this passage). All other details of this description clearly rest on good historical ground; neither the names of the persons that fell, ver. 7, in the great engagement with Pekah among the king's relatives and nearest circle, nor those of the nobles of Ephraim who supported by their vote the admonition of Oded to release the Jewish captives (ver. 12), look like mere invention. The invention of such names, in order to invest an account, legendary in itself, with the appearance of historical truth, would, in fact, be an inconceivable monstrosity, a *unicum* in the history of literary fictions. But they both hold and support each other, the undeniable historical reality of these names, and the credibility of the facts with which they are connected and environed. The entrance also of the prophet Oded, and the words spoken by him, are accredited by the reacting power of these concrete names. What is done to the Jewish captives by those four chiefs of Ephraim seems purely inconceivable without a vehement admonition, such as that spoken by Oded according to vers. 9–11. Caspari therefore declares it to be the "highest levity" (against Gesenius, in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, p. 269, and other impugners of the historical truth of this prophetic utterance) to hold the report in vers. 9–11 to be unworthy of credit, and yet to regard the contents of ver. 12 ff. as historical. And in the same relation of supplement and of correspondence to 2 Kings stands in general all that our author reports different from the statements there concerning Ahaz and the steps taken by him for the furtherance of idolatry. As the remarks made by him, vers. 17–19, concerning the invasions of the Edomites and Philistines, agree excellently with 2 Kings xvi. 6, so between that which he relates, vers. 23–25, regarding the idolatrous profanation of the temple and its vessels and 2 Kings xvi. 10–16 there is no contradiction whatever, but merely a relation of supplement and confirmation. On the whole, it would seem superfluous, indeed almost paltry, after Caspari's emphatic and pertinent argument in favour of the essential harmony of the two reports of the war, to enter further into subtle critical disquisitions or wide apologetic investigations regarding their apparent or even real points of difference.

### n. HEZEKIAH: THE PROPHET ISAIAH.—CH. XXIX.–XXXII.

#### α. *Hezekiah's Beginnings; the Cleansing and Consecration of the Temple:* ch. xxix.

CHAP. XXIX. 1. Hezekiah became king when he was twenty and five years old, and
he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was
2 Abijah, daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was right in the eyes
of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.
3 He, in the first year of his reign, in the first month, opened the doors of
4 the house of the LORD, and renewed them. And he brought in the priests
5 and Levites, and assembled them in the broad way of the east, And said
unto them, Hear me, ye Levites; now sanctify yourselves and sanctify the
house of the LORD God of your fathers, and remove the filthiness out of the
6 holy place. For our fathers have transgressed and done that which was evil
in the eyes of the LORD our God, and have forsaken Him, and have turned
7 their face from the dwelling of the LORD, and shown the back. They have
also shut the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and have not burned
incense nor offered burnt-offering in the holy place unto the God of Israel.
8 And the displeasure of the LORD was against Judah and Jerusalem, and He
delivered them to horror,[1] to astonishment, and to hissing, as ye see with
9 your eyes. And lo, our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons and
10 our daughters and our wives are in captivity for this. Now it is in my
heart to make a covenant with the LORD God of Israel, that the hotness of
11 His anger may turn away from us. My sons, now delay not; for the LORD
hath chosen you to stand before Him to serve Him, and to be His ministers
and incense-burners.

12 Then the Levites arose, Mahath son of Amasai, and Joel son of Azariah,
of the sons of the Kohathites; and of the sons of Merari, Kish son of Abdi,
and Azariah son of Jehalelel;[2] and of the Gershonites, Joah son of Zimmah,
13 and Eden son of Joah. And of the sons of Elizaphan, Shimri and Jeuel;[3]
14 and of the sons of Asaph, Zechariah and Mattaniah. And of the sons of
Heman, Jehuel[4] and Shimi; and of the sons of Jeduthun, Shemaiah and
15 Uzziel. And they gathered their brethren, and sanctified themselves, and
came at the command of the king, by the words of the LORD, to cleanse the
16 house of the LORD. And the priests went into the interior of the house of
the LORD to cleanse, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in
the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of the LORD; and the
17 Levites took it to carry it out abroad into the brook Kidron. And they
began on the first of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the
month they came to the porch of the LORD; and they sanctified the house of
the LORD eight days, and in the sixteenth day of the first month they made
18 an end. And they went in to Hezekiah the king, and said, We have cleansed
all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt-offering and all its vessels,
19 and the table of shew-bread and all its vessels. And all the vessels which
King Ahaz in his reign cast away in his infidelity we have prepared and
sanctified, and behold, they are before the altar of the LORD.
20 And Hezekiah the king rose early and gathered the rulers of the city,
21 and went up to the house of the LORD. And they brought seven bullocks,
and seven rams, and seven lambs, and seven he-goats for a sin-offering for the
kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah, and he bade the sons of
22 Aaron the priests to offer them on the altar of the LORD. And they killed
the cattle, and the priests received the blood and sprinkled it on the altar;
and they killed the rams, and they sprinkled the blood upon the altar; and
23 they killed the lambs, and they sprinkled the blood upon the altar. And
they brought the he-goats of the sin-offering before the king and the congre-
24 gation, and they laid their hands upon them. And the priests killed them,
and offered their blood for sin upon the altar, to atone for all Israel; for the
25 king had ordered the burnt-offering and the sin-offering for all Israel. And
he set the Levites in the house of the LORD, with cymbals, with psalteries,
and with harps, by the command of David, and Gad the king's seer, and
Nathan the prophet; for by the LORD was the commandment by His pro-
26 phets. And the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests
27 with the trumpets. And Hezekiah said to offer the burnt-offering on the
altar; and when the burnt-offering began, the song of the LORD began also
28 with the trumpets,[5] and after the instruments of David king of Israel. And
all the congregation worshipped, and the song was sung, and the trumpets
29 sounded;[6] the whole until the burnt-offering was ended. And when they
made an end of offering, the king and all that were with him bowed down
30 and worshipped. And Hezekiah the king and the princes said to the Levites
to praise the LORD with the words of David and Asaph the seer; and they
praised with gladness, and bowed down and worshipped.
31 And Hezekiah answered and said, Now ye have filled your hand unto the
LORD, draw nigh and bring sacrifices and thank-offerings into the house of
the LORD: and the congregation brought sacrifices and thank-offerings, and
32 every one that was willing of heart, burnt-offerings. And the number of the
burnt-offerings, which the congregation brought, was seventy bullocks, a
hundred rams, two hundred lambs; all these for a burnt-offering to the
33 LORD. And the consecrated things were six hundred oxen and three thou-
34 sand sheep. Only the priests were too few, and they could not flay all the
burnt-offerings, and their brethren the Levites assisted them till the work
was ended, and till the priests had sanctified themselves; for the Levites
35 were more upright of heart to sanctify themselves than the priests. And
also the burnt-offering was in abundance, with the fat of the peace-offerings,
and the libations for the burnt-offering: and the service of the house of the

36 LORD was established. And Hezekiah and all the people were glad that
God had prepared the people; for the thing was done suddenly.

*β. The Passover:* ch. xxx.

CH. XXX. 1. And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to
Ephraim and Manasseh, to come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to
2 keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel. And the king took counsel
with his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the passover
3 in the second month. For they could not keep it at that time, because the
priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently, nor had the people gathered
4, 5 to Jerusalem. And the thing pleased the king and all the people. And they
settled the thing, to issue a proclamation in all Israel, from Beer-sheba even
to Dan, to come to keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel at Jeru-
6 salem; for they had not kept it with a multitude as it was written. And the
posts went with the letters from the hand of the king and his princes through
all Israel and Judah, and at the command of the king, saying, Ye sons of
Israel, return unto the LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and He will
return to the escaped remaining to you from the hand of the kings of Assyria.
7 And be not ye like your fathers and your brethren, who revolted against the
LORD God of their fathers, and He gave them up to desolation, as ye see.
8 Now be not stiff-necked like your fathers; yield yourselves to the LORD, and
go into His sanctuary, which He hath sanctified for ever, and serve the LORD
9 your God, that the hotness of His anger may turn from you. For if ye return
to the LORD, your brethren and your children shall find compassion before
their captors, and they shall return to this land; for the LORD your God is
gracious and merciful, and He will not turn His face from you if ye return
to Him.

10 And the posts passed from city to city in the land of Ephraim and Ma-
11 nasseh and unto Zebulun; and they scoffed at them and mocked them. But
some men of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun humbled themselves, and
12 came to Jerusalem. Also the hand of God was upon Judah to give them
one heart to do the command of the king and the princes, by the word of the
LORD.

13 And much people assembled at Jerusalem to keep the feast of unleavened
14 bread in the second month, a very great congregation. And they arose and
took away the altars that were in Jerusalem; and all the altars for incense
15 they took away, and cast into the brook Kidron. And they killed the pass-
over on the fourteenth of the second month: and the priests and the Levites
were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought burnt-offerings into the
16 house of the LORD. And they stood in their place after their rule, according
to the law of Moses the man of God, the priests sprinkling the blood from
17 the hand of the Levites. For there were many in the congregation that were
not sanctified; and the Levites took charge of the killing of the passovers for
18 all that were unclean, to sanctify them unto the LORD. For a multitude of
the people, many from Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, had
not cleansed themselves, yet they ate the passover not as it was written: for
19 Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, The good LORD pardon[7] every one That
hath prepared his heart to seek God, the LORD God of his fathers, though
20 not in the cleanness of the sanctuary. And the LORD heard Hezekiah, and
21 healed the people. And the sons of Israel that were in Jerusalem kept the
feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness; and the Levites
and the priests were praising the LORD day by day, with instruments of
22 might to the LORD. And Hezekiah spake to the heart of all the Levites who
had good understanding of the LORD: and they ate[8] the feast seven days,
offering sacrifices of peace, and confessing to the LORD God of their fathers.

23 And the whole congregation resolved to keep other seven days with glad-
24 ness. For Hezekiah king of Judah gave to the congregation a thousand
bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation

a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great many priests sanc-
25 tified themselves. And all the congregation of Judah, and the priests and
Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers
26 that came from the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah, were glad. And
there was great gladness in Jerusalem; for since the days of Solomon son of
27 David king of Israel was not the like in Jerusalem. And the priests [and] the
Levites[9] arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their
prayer came up to His holy dwelling, to heaven.[10]

*γ. Further Religious Reforms of Hezekiah:* ch. xxxi.

CH. XXXI. 1. And when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out
to the cities of Judah, and brake the statues, and cut down the asherim, and
pulled down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin,
and in Ephraim and Manasseh, completely: and all the sons of Israel returned,
every man to his possession, unto their cities.
2 And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after
their courses, every man according to his service, of the priests and the
Levites for burnt-offering and peace-offering, to minister, and to thank, and to
3 praise in the gates of the camp of the LORD. And the king's portion of his
property for burnt-offerings, for the burnt-offerings of the morning and of the
evening, and the burnt-offerings for the sabbaths, and the new moons, and
4 the set feasts, as it is written in the law of the LORD. And he said to the
people, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to give the portion of the priests and
5 the Levites, that they might be stedfast in the law of the LORD. And when
the word came forth, the sons of Israel brought abundantly the first-fruits of
corn, must, and oil, and honey, and all the increase of the field; and the tithe
6 of all they brought in abundance. And the sons of Israel and Judah that
dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought the tithe of oxen and sheep,
and the tithe of holy things[11] consecrated unto the LORD their God, and laid
7 them in heaps. In the third month they began to lay down the heaps, and
8 in the seventh month they finished them. And Hezekiah and the princes
came and saw the heaps, and they blessed the LORD and His people Israel.
9, 10 And Hezekiah inquired of the priests and Levites concerning the heaps. And
Azariah the chief priest, of the house of Zadok, answered him and said, Since
they began to bring the offerings into the house of the LORD, we have eaten
and been satisfied, and left in abundance; for the LORD hath blessed His
11 people, and this great store is left. And Hezekiah said to prepare chambers
12 in the house of the LORD, and they prepared them. And they brought in
the offerings and the tithe and the consecrated things faithfully; and over
13 them Conaniah[12] the Levite was ruler, and Shimi was second. And Jehiel,
and Azaziah, and Nahath, and Asahel, and Jerimoth, and Jozabad, and Eliel,
and Ismachiah, and Mahath, and Benaiah were overseers under Conaniah[12]
and his brother Shimi, by the appointment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah
14 the ruler of the house of God. And Kore, son of Jimnah the Levite, the
porter toward the east, was over the freewill-offerings of God, to distribute
15 the offering of the LORD, and the most holy things. And by him stood Eden,
and Minjamin, and Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shechaniah in the
cities of the priests, with truth to give to their brethren, in the courses, to the
16 great as to the small. Beside their register of males from three years old
and upward, to every one that entereth into the house of the LORD, for the
17 rate of each day, for their service in their charges by their courses. And the
register of the priests by their father-houses; and the Levites from twenty
18 years old and upward, in their charges by their courses. And to the register
of all their little ones, their wives, sons, and daughters, for all the congrega-
tion; for in their faithfulness they sanctified themselves in the holy thing.
19 And for the sons of Aaron the priests, in the fields of the suburbs of their
cities, in every city [were appointed] men who were expressed by name, to give
portions to every male among the priests, and to all the register of the Levites.

20 And Hezekiah did thus in all Judah, and did that which was good and right
21 and true before the LORD his God. And in every work which he began in
the service of the house of God, and in the law and the commandment to seek
his God, with all his heart he did, and prospered.

*λ. Expedition of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, and averting of the threatened Danger by Divine Help:* ch. xxxii. 1–23.

CH. XXXII. 1. After these events, and this faithfulness, Sennacherib king of Assyria
came and entered into Judah, and besieged the fenced cities, and thought
2 to break into them for himself. And Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was
3 come, and his face was for war against Jerusalem. And he took counsel with
his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains, which
4 were without the city; and they helped him. And much people was gathered,
and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the
land,[13] saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?
5 And he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and
raised it to the towers,[14] and another wall without, and strengthened Millo in
6 the city of David, and made weapons in abundance, and shields. And he set
captains of war over the people, and gathered them to him in the broad
7 way at the gate of the city, and spake to their heart, saying, Be brave and
strong, fear not nor be dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the
8 multitude that is with him; for with us is more than with him. With him
is an arm of flesh; and with us is the LORD our God, to help us, and to fight
our battles: and the people relied upon the words of Hezekiah king of
Judah.
9 After this Sennacherib king of Assyria sent his servants to Jerusalem, and
he himself stood against Lachish, and all his power with him, against
Hezekiah king of Judah, and against all Judah that was at Jerusalem, saying,
10 Thus saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust, and why sit
11 ye in restraint in Jerusalem? Doth not Hezekiah mislead you to deliver you
to die by hunger and thirst, saying, The LORD our God shall deliver us from
12 the hand of the king of Assyria? Hath not this Hezekiah removed his high
places and his altars, and said to Judah and to Jerusalem, saying, Before one
13 altar shall ye worship, and burn incense upon it? Know ye not what I and
my fathers have done to all the peoples of the lands? Have the gods of the
nations of the lands been at all able to deliver their lands from my hand?
14 Who was there among all the gods of these nations, that my fathers extirpated,
that could deliver his people out of my hand, that your God should be able to
15 deliver you from my hand? And now let not Hezekiah deceive you nor
seduce you in this way, neither believe him; for no god of any nation or
kingdom was able to deliver his people from my hand, nor the hand of my
16 fathers; much more your God shall not deliver you from my hand. And his
servants spake yet more against the LORD, and against Hezekiah His servant.
17 And he wrote a letter to rail on the LORD God of Israel, and to speak against
Him, saying, Like the gods of the nations of the lands who have not delivered
their people from my hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver His
18 people from my hand. And they cried with a loud voice, in the Jewish
tongue, to the people of Jerusalem that were on the wall, to affright them
19 and trouble them, that they might take the city. And they spake to the
God of Jerusalem as against the gods of the peoples of the earth, the work of
men's hands.
20 And for this Hezekiah the king, and Isaiah son of Amoz the prophet,
21 prayed and cried to heaven. And the LORD sent an angel, and cut off every
valiant hero and leader and captain in the camp of the king of Assyria: and
he returned with shame of face to his own land; and he came into the house
of his god, and they that came out of his own bowels[15] there slew him with
22 the sword. And the LORD saved Hezekiah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

from the hand of Sennacherib king of Assyria, and from the hand of all,[16] and
23 defended them around. And many brought a gift to the LORD at Jerusalem,
and jewels to Hezekiah king of Judah; and he was exalted in the eyes of all
nations thereafter.

*ε. Sickness, Remaining Years, and End of Hezekiah:* vers. 24–33.

24 In those days Hezekiah was sick unto death, and he prayed unto the
25 LORD: and He spake unto him, and gave him a sign. And Hezekiah repaid
not according to the benefit done to him; for his heart became proud, and
26 there was indignation against him, and against Judah and Jerusalem. And
Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of his heart, he and the inhabitants
of Jerusalem; and the indignation of the LORD came not upon them in the
days of Hezekiah.
27 And Hezekiah had very much riches and glory; and he made himself
treasuries for silver, and gold, and precious stones, and spices, and shields, and
28 all articles of desire. And storehouses for the increase of corn, and must, and
29 oil; and stalls for all kinds of cattle, and flocks for the folds.[17] And he
made him cities, and possession of flocks and herds in abundance; for God
30 had given him very much substance. And this Hezekiah stopped the upper
outflow of the water of Gihon, and led it[18] straight down to the west of the
31 city of David: and Hezekiah prospered in all his work. And so in the case
of the ambassadors of the princes of Babel, who sent to him to inquire of the
wonder that was done in the land, God left him, to try him, to know all that
was in his heart.
32 And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his kindness, behold, they are
written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, son of Amoz, in the book of the
33 kings of Judah and Israel. And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they
buried him in the height of the sepulchres of the sons of David; and all
Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem gave him glory in his death: and
Manasseh his son became king in his stead.

[1] *Kethib:* וְזַעֲוָה (as in Jer. xv. 4, etc.); *Keri:* וְזַעֲוָה (as, for example, in Deut. xxviii. 25).

[2] For the name יְהַלֶּלְאֵל the Sept., *c. Al.*, gives Ἰαλλήλ; *c. Vat.*, Ἰλαλεήλ: Vulg., *Jalaleel.*

[3] *Kethib:* "Jeuel"; *Keri:* "Jeiel"; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 35, and elsewhere.

[4] *Kethib:* "Jehuel"; *Keri:* "Jehiel." The latter form in xxxi. 13 is the *Kethib.*

[5] The Sept. does not express the וְ before עַל־יְדֵי. The Vulg. and Syr. appear to have read it, but render very freely.

[6] *Kethib:* מחצצרים; *Keri:* מחצרים; as in 1 Chron. xv. 24; 2 Chron. v. 12, vii. 6, xiii. 14.

[7] The Sept., Vulg., and apparently the Syr., though it translates rather freely, give up here the Masoretic division of the verse, and join יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד immediately with the following verse. So also R Kimchi, and after him most of the moderns.

[8] For וַיֹּאכְלוּ, "and they ate," the Sept. appears to have read וַיְכַלּוּ (*καὶ συνετέλεσαν*).

[9] The וְ before הַלְוִיִּם in some mss., and in the old versions (Sept., Vulg., Syr.), seems a gloss from ver. 25. Comp. for the asyndeton: "the priests, the Levites," for example, xxiii. 18.

[10] For לַשָּׁמַיִם some mss. and old prints have הַשָּׁמַיִם (accus. of direction).

[11] For מַעְשַׂר קָדָשִׁים the Sept. (*ἐπιδέκατα αἰγῶν καὶ ἡγίασαν*) seems to have read עִזִּים וְהִקְדִּישׁוּ, and so named "goats" also along with oxen and sheep.

[12] For כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ the *Kethib* has twice (vers. 12, 13) כָּנַנְיָהוּ (so also Luther).

[13] Instead of בְּתוֹךְ־הָאָרֶץ the Sept. has read בְּתוֹךְ־הָעִיר; but the Masoretic reading is to be preferred on real grounds; comp. ver. 30; 2 Kings xx. 20; Sir. xlviii. 17.

[14] For וַיַּעַל עַל־מִגְדָּלוֹת (words which the Sept. leaves untranslated), from the *et exstruxit turres desuper* of the Vulg., וַיַּעַל עָלֶיהָ מִגְדָּלוֹת seems to have originally stood in the text (Ew., Keil, Kamph., etc.).

[15] The *Kethib* מיציאו is miswritten for מִיֹּצְאֵי (contracted from מִן and יֹצְאֵי, constr. pl. of יֹצֵא), a form like מִילִדֵי, 1 Chron. xx. 4

[16] Some mss. place אֹיְבָיו after מִיַּד־כָּל, a supplement which, unnecessary in itself, is not confirmed by the Sept. or Vulg.

[17] The Sept. (*καὶ μάνδρας εἰς τὰ ποίμνια*) appears to have had another reading; perhaps also the Vulg. (*caulasque pecorum*); comp. Luther's translation: "and folds for the sheep."

[18] *Kethib:* וַיְיַשְּׁרֵם (Pi.); *Keri:* וַיַּשְּׁרֵם (Pi. contracted).

## EXEGETICAL.

Preliminary Remark.—While the military and political side of the reign of Hezekiah, its relation to the Assyrian monarchy, its threatened annihilation by the invasion of Sennacherib, with the divine deliverance from this catastrophe, the later sickness and recovery of the king, and his proceedings with the ambassadors of Babylon,—while all this is much more fully narrated in the books of Kings (2 Kings xviii. 8–xx. 9), and in the parallel records of the book of Isaiah, than here, our author, on the contrary, treats much more fully and clearly of the reformation of worship by Hezekiah at the beginning of his reign, his cleansing and reconsecration of the temple, his grand and general celebration of the passover, in which many north Israelites participated, and his other measures for the order and purification of religious life. To the sections concerning this inner religious and theocratic side of the reign of Hezekiah, ch. xxix.–xxxi., correspond in 2 Kings merely the seven introductory verses of ch. xviii., so that almost the whole contents of those three chapters are peculiar to the Chronist.

1. Hezekiah's Beginnings: the Cleansing and Consecration of the Temple: ch. xxix.—*Hezekiah became king.* יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, the fullest form of this name, signifies "whom Jehovah strengthens," as the somewhat shortened חִזְקִיָּהוּ, Isa. xxxvii. 1 ff., or חִזְקִיָּה, 2 Kings xviii. 1 ff., means "strength of Jehovah." The Assyrian monuments present the form *Ha-za-ki-ya-hu*, corresponding to that of Isaiah; see Schrader, p. 168 ff. Moreover, vers. 1, 2 agree almost throughout with 2 Kings xviii. 1–3. For the chronology see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—Vers. 3–19. The Cleansing of the Temple.—*He in the first year of his reign, in the first month,* that is, in Nisan, the first month of the ecclesiastical year, not (as Caspari thinks, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Jesaia*, p. 111) in the first month of the reign of Hezekiah. How long, that is, how many months, he had reigned when he in the first month of the new year began his measures of reform, remains uncertain; the assumption of Von Gumpach (*Die Zeitrechn. der Babylonier und Assyrer*, p. 99) and Bertheau, that Hezekiah's reign began with the first month (Tisri) of the previous year, appears a bare conjecture in face of the indefiniteness of the statement in our text.—*And renewed them,* repaired them—a renovating process which is more exactly described in 2 Kings xviii. 16 as an overlaying with gold plate.—Ver. 4 *And assembled them in the broad way of the east,* not, perhaps, in the inner court (Bertheau, Kamph.), but in an open area outside the whole temple building, on the south-east or east; comp. Ezra x. 9, Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16.—Ver. 5. *Now sanctify yourselves,* an indispensable prerequisite for a worthy and effectual performance of the business of cleansing the temple; comp. ver. 15 and Ex. xix. 10. On נִדָּה, filthiness, as a designation of idolatry, comp. Lam. i. 17; Ezra ix. 11; and the synonym טֻמְאָה in ver. 16.—Ver. 6. *For our fathers have transgressed*—Ahaz and his contemporaries, for the statement in ver. 7 suits these only. On "to turn the back" (properly "give"), comp. Neh. ix. 29.—Ver. 7. *They have also shut the doors of the porch,* and thus of the whole temple, for only through the porch was there access to the holy and most holy place; comp. xxviii. 24, where also the new altar of burnt-offering erected by Ahaz in the court after the heathenish model is mentioned, which the Chronist, according to our passage ("nor offered burnt-offering"), regarded by no means as a lawful place of worship.—Ver. 8. *And the displeasure of the Lord,* etc.; comp. xix. 2, 10, xxiv. 18, xxxii. 25; and for the following strong terms: "horror, astonishment, and hissing," Deut. xxviii. 25; Jer. xix. 8, xxiv. 9, xxv. 9; Lam. ii. 15; and also ch. xxx. 7. For ver. 9 comp. the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections on the verse before, No. 3.—Ver. 10. *Now it is in my heart;* comp. vi. 7, ix. 1; 1 Chron. xxii. 7, xxviii. 2.—Ver. 11. *My sons,* familiar, persuasive address, as in Prov. i. 8, etc.—*Now delay not,* literally, "withdraw yourselves not" (תִּשָּׁלוּ, Niph. of שָׁלָה; comp. Job xxvii. 8). On *b*, comp. xxvi 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 13; Deut. x. 8.—Ver. 12. *Then the Levites arose.* Of the following fourteen names, Joah son of Zimmah, and Kish son of Abdi, occur already in the Levitical genealogy, 1 Chron. vi. 5 f., 29; Mahath, Eden, and Jehiel recur in xxxi. 13–15.—Ver. 13. *And of the sons of Elizaphan, Shimri.* That of this family two Levites are expressly mentioned, is explained by the high repute which Elizaphan or Elzaphan, son of Uzziel, son of Kohath (Ex. vi. 18), enjoyed as prince of the house of Kohath in the time of Moses (Num. iii. 30). Hence their co-ordination here, on the one hand, with the three Levitical head families, and on the other with the three singing families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun.—Ver. 15. *And they gathered their brethren,* the remaining Levites present in Jerusalem.—*At the command of the king by the words of the Lord;* comp. xxx. 12; 1 Chron. xxv. 5. The king's command was founded on the divine prescription of the law.—Ver. 16. *And the priests . . . brought out all the uncleanness . . . into the court,* all the sacrificial vessels employed in idolatry, perhaps also the remains of the idolatrous offerings, and the like. For טֻמְאָה, see on ver. 5; for the brook Kidron, comp. xv. 16, xxx. 14.—Ver. 17. *They began on the first of the first month.* On the first eight days of the month they employed themselves in the cleansing of the court, the eight following in that of the temple itself, so that they had finished on the sixteenth.—Ver. 19. *And all the vessels which King Ahaz . . . cast away;* comp. xi. 14. These are the brazen altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea, and the lavers on the stands; see

2 Kings xvi. 14, 17. For הֵכִנּוּ, abbreviated form of הֲכִינוֹנוּ (1 Chron. xxix. 16), see Ew. § 196, b.—*And behold, they are before the altar of the Lord*, the altar of burnt-offering.—Vers. 20–30. The Sacrifices at the Reconsecration of the Temple.—Ver. 21. *And they brought seven bullocks.* The seven bullocks, rams, and lambs were, as the sequel shows, to serve as a burnt-offering, the seven he-goats, ver. 23, as a sin-offering; comp. Ezra viii. 35.—Ver. 22. *And the priests received the blood*, "took it," as in ver. 16.—Ver. 23. *Laid their hands upon them*, "leaned their hands upon them," comp. Lev. i. 4, from which it moreover follows that this laying on of hands took place also in the burnt-offerings. Perhaps it is specially mentioned only in the case of the sin-offering, because the circumstance that the king and the congregation (naturally its representatives, the princes) directly laid their hands on the sin-offering clearly exhibited the relation of the expiatory act to the whole of Israel; comp. the following verse.—Ver. 24. *And the priests . . . offered their blood for sin upon the altar*, literally, "made their blood to atone"; חִטֵּא, as in Lev. iv. 30, 34, ix. 15. The whole of Israel is not merely the southern kingdom (Judah and Benjamin), but, as xxx. 5 ff. shows, the whole of the twelve tribes; Hezekiah's great expiatory act was intended to affect even the Ephraimites.—Ver. 25. *And he set the Levites . . . with cymbals;* comp. 1 Chron. xv. 16, and with respect to the command of David, ch. viii. 14. For Gad and Nathan as counsellors and assistants of David in his arrangement of the temple service, comp. 1 Chron. xxi., xxix. 29.—*By His prophets*, "by the hand of His prophets," is an explanatory apposition to בְּיַד יְהוָה, and denotes that the divine commandment is accomplished by the instrumentality of the prophets.—Ver. 26. *With the instruments of David*, with the instruments introduced into the divine service by David; comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 5 and xv. 16.—Ver. 27. *And when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began*, that is, the praise of the Lord by singing with musical accompaniment; comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 42, xxv. 7.—*And after the instruments of David*, literally, at the hands of the instruments of David; comp. 1 Chron. vi. 16, xxv. 2, 3, 6; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18. The instruments of David appear, accordingly, as governing and leading the whole musical performance, according to a view of the relation between singing and music somewhat different from the modern.—Ver. 28. *And the song was sung*, properly, "was singing, sounded." The sense of the whole verse is obvious: during the whole time of the offering the praising musical performance continued. Accordingly ver. 30 also must be understood not as if the Levites had struck up a song of praise on the close of the offering at the command of the king, but in the sense of a supplementary notice of this, that they were Davidic and Asaphic songs, which the Levitical singers performed during the solemnity. Asaph is here called a seer (חֹזֶה), as elsewhere also Heman (1 Chron. xxv. 5) and Jeduthun (2 Chron. xxxv. 15).—*And they praised with gladness*, "even unto gladness," as in 1 Chron. xv. 16.—Vers. 31–36. The Presenting of Sacrifices, Thank-Offerings, and Free-Will Offerings, as the Closing Act of the Consecration.—*Now ye have filled your hand unto the Lord*, "have consecrated yourselves to His service"; comp. xiii. 9; Ex. xxviii. 41, xxxii. 29, etc. The words appear addressed only to the priests; but as the following sentence: "Draw nigh and bring sacrifices and thank-offerings," etc., according to ver. 32 ff., applies to the whole community, this is to be considered as included with the priests, and participating in their office. Our passage belongs, therefore, to the Old Testament testimonies for the universality of the priestly dignity in the kingdom of God, like Ex. xix. 6; Hos. iv. 6; Isa. lxi. 6.—*Sacrifices and thank-offerings*, that is, perhaps, "sacrifices even thank-offerings," or "sacrifices as thank-offerings"; for, according to Lev. vii. 11, 16, the thank-offerings (תּוֹדוֹת) appear as a special class of sacrifices (זְבָחִים or זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים), along with vows and free-will offerings.—Ver. 33. *And the consecrated things*, הַקֳּדָשִׁים, the holy things; here the animals presented as thank offerings. This is clear not only from ver. 32, but also from such passages as xxxv. 13; Neh. x. 34.—Ver. 34. *Only the priests were too few, and they could not flay all the burnt-offerings.* "In private burnt-offerings the flaying of the animal was the business of the worshipper, Lev. i. 6; but in those presented on festivals in the name of the community, it was the business of the priests, in which, because it had no specially priestly character, the Levites might help" (Keil).—On חִזֵּק, "strengthen," here "assist," comp. xxviii. 20; Ezra vi. 22.—*For the Levites were more upright of heart to sanctify themselves than the priests*, who, perhaps because they were nearer the court, were more deeply involved in the idolatrous movement under Ahaz. יִשְׁרֵי לֵב, properly, *rectiores animo*, better inclined, under a more righteous impulse.—Ver. 35. *And also the burnt-offering was in abundance*, the voluntary burnt-offerings, ver. 31 f. (70 oxen, 100 rams, 200 lambs in number), which were added to the proper sacrifice of consecration; and hence the burden of labour on the priests was very great. For the fat pieces next mentioned, comp. Lev. iii. 3–5; for the libations as an accompaniment of the burnt-offering, Num. xv. 1–16.—*And the service of the house of the Lord was established*, prepared, arranged; comp. ver. 36, xxxv. 10, 16. The "service" (עֲבֹדָה) is the regular sacrificial worship in the temple, not its cleansing and consecration, as Berth. thinks.—Ver. 36. *Were glad that God had*, etc.; עַל אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין = עַל הַהֵכִין; comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. This refers not, perhaps, to the willingness of the people, which God effected by His grace (Ramb., Berth.), but the cleansing of the temple and restoration of the true theocratic worship, which was accomplished by the willing part taken by the people.—*For the thing was done suddenly*, with unexpected readiness; comp. ver. 3.

2. The Passover: ch. xxx.—Vers. 1–12. Preparations for it.—*And wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh*, to those belonging to the northern

kingdom, who are here named by their chief tribes; comp. vers. 5, 10.—Ver. 2. *And the king took counsel* (comp. xxv. 17) . . . *to keep the passover in the second month.* Such an after-celebration of the passover is permitted by the law, Num. ix. 6-13, to those who, from Levitical defilement, or being on a journey, were prevented from celebrating it at the right time, on the 14th Nisan On this decision of the law Hezekiah here rests in transferring the whole celebration from the first to the second month, because, as is expressly stated, ver. 3, those two cases of hindrance (impurity of the priests, and distance of the greater part of the people from Jerusalem) were actually involved. Peculiar, yet destitute of sufficient ground, is the assumption of Hitzig (*Gesch.* p. 219), that the law in Num. ix. 6 ff. was first occasioned by Hezekiah's after-celebration of the passover, even as almost all the laws of the fourth book of Moses originated in the times of Hezekiah. —Ver. 3. *Because the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently.* לְמַדַּי, compounded of לְ, מָה, and דַּי, signifies properly, "to that which was enough," *ad sufficientiam*, and, in connection with לֹא, expresses here the thought that a sufficient number of sanctified Levitically clean priests could not be ready in the month of Nisan to celebrate the passover at that time (בָּעֵת הַהִיא); comp. xxix. 34. Observe, moreover, how clearly the contents of this verse, as well as the following, point to this, that the celebration of the passover, of which it treats, was to take place, and did take place, in the next month, after the consecration of the temple, and therefore in the first year of Hezekiah's reign. Comp. at the close of this chapter.—Ver. 5. *And they settled the thing,* resolved upon it; comp. xxxiii. 8; Neh. x. 33. For the proverbial form: "from Beer-sheba even to Dan," to designate the whole territory of Israel, comp. Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 10, etc.; see above on xix. 4.—*For they had not kept it with a multitude;* so is לֹא לָרֹב most probably to be taken. The celebration should take place with a numerous concourse of people; comp. ver. 13; Ezra iii. 4. The explanation followed by Kimchi, then by Luther, and recently by de Wette: "For not for a long time," is verbally inadmissible (comp. for לָרֹב, in the sense of "in multitude, numerous," also ver. 24). A statement also follows in ver. 26 of the length of time during which the passover had not been celebrated by great numbers.—Ver. 6. *And the posts went,* the royal couriers (whether belonging directly to the king's guards is, notwithstanding xxiii. 1 ff., uncertain); comp. Esth. iii. 13, 15, viii. 14.—*Remaining to you from the hand of the kings of Assyria,* of Tiglath-pileser and his viceroys (archons, eponyms); see on xxviii. 16. Pul (whether different from Tiglath-pileser, comp. on 1 Chron. v. 26) cannot be here intended, because he led no Israelites captive; see 2 Kings xv. 19. Neither can Shalmaneser be meant, as he came to the throne almost at the same time with Hezekiah, and his invasion took place in the sixth year of this king, while that which is here recorded belongs to the first year; see under ver. 27.—Ver. 8. *Now be not stiffnecked like your fathers,* since the time of Jeroboam. On "making the neck stiff" = being stiffnecked, comp. 2 Kings xvii. 14; Neh. ix. 16 f.; on "giving the hand," for yielding oneself, vowing allegiance to, 2 Kings x. 15; Ezra x. 19; Ezek. xvii. 18 (as also 1 Chron. xxix. 24, Lam. v. 6, "submit to"); for the close of the verse, xxix. 10.—*Your brethren and your children shall find compassion before,* literally, "shall be for compassion before your captors;" comp. Neh. i. 11.—Ver. 10. *And unto Zebulun;* thus not quite to the extreme north border (not literally even to Dan, ver. 5). Observe the concrete historical character of this notice, by no means favouring the suspicion of a pure fiction of these reports on the part of our author. The messengers also might very easily reach Zebulun (and the southern Asher, ver. 11) in the interval between the 16th Nisan (xxix. 17) and the 14th of the following month; they could scarcely have travelled to the more northern Naphtali, next to Dan (Laish), and North Asher. But these most northern parts of the country had been quite wasted and depopulated by Tiglath-pileser; see 2 Kings xv. 29. That which is here stated (vers. 10, 11) agrees still less with the hypothesis of Caspari and Keil, that all that is related in our chapter happened in the time after the fall of Samaria (see under ver. 27), as the artificial attempts at adaptation by Keil show.—Ver. 12. *Also the hand of God was upon Judah to give them one heart.* The phrase: יַד הָאֱלֹהִים הָיְתָה בְּ, here *sensu bono* of the blessed effect of the divine power (comp. Ezra viii. 22), otherwise usually in the sense of judicial punishment (Ex. ix. 3; Deut. ii. 15, etc.).—*By the word of the Lord;* comp. xxix. 15.—Vers. 13-22. The Festival itself.—*Took away the altars;* those erected by Ahaz for idolatrous burnt-offerings and incense; comp. xxviii. 24.—Ver. 15. *And the priests and the Levites were ashamed;* a clause referring to ver. 3, which points by way of supplement to this, that the present full participation of the Levitical spirituality, in contrast with the former deficiency (especially with regard to the priests, xxix. 34), was owing to the feeling of shame meanwhile awakened in the whole order on account of their former participation in idolatry.—Ver. 16. *And they stood in their place.* עֹמֶד, "place, stand," as xxxv. 10; Dan. viii. 17, 18.—*After their rule;* comp. 1 Chron. vi. 17.—*The priests sprinkling the blood from the hand of the Levites,* that is, the Levites handed them the blood to sprinkle on the altar. That the Levites here did this, whereas this handing of the blood was the part of the several worshipping householders (xxxv. 6; Ezra vi. 20), is explained, ver. 17, by pointing out that only the Levites were as yet all properly cleansed, and not the remaining multitude (רַבַּת here, and ver. 18, a neuter substantive before the preposition, and not an adverb, as in Ps. cxx. 6).—Ver. 18. *Many from Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun.* The Chronist reports this not from "an excess of national feeling," as if he wished to represent the whole northern kingdom as subjected to the Jewish king Hezekiah (H. Schultz, *Theologie des Alten T.* ii. 309), but simply because some of the tribes of the northern kingdom, then governed by Hosea, and already on the verge of total ruin, had sent repre-

sentatives to the passover of Hezekiah, to signify that the feeling of national guilt was awakened in them in all its strength. That in ver. 11 the tribes of Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun, but here Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, are named as "humbled" (returning penitent to the theocratic centre of worship), appears to rest on definite historical grounds, the nature of which we cannot now determine.—*Yet they ate the passover not as it was written*, as Levitically unclean, and thus contrary to the precept, Num. ix. 6; comp. Josephus, *de B. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, and under ver. 26.—*The good Lord pardon.* With these closing words of ver. 18 (יהוה הטוב יכפר בעד) are to be immediately connected, notwithstanding the Masoretic division of the verses, the initial words of ver. 19: "Every one that hath prepared his heart to seek God." בְּעַד stands thus before the relative sentence, ver. 19 [rather before כָּל־], without אֲשֶׁר (as אל, 1 Chron. xv. 12). On כִּפֵּר, in the sense of forgiving, comp. Ps. lxv. 4; Lev. xvi. 6, 11.—*Though not in the cleanness of the sanctuary*, though they did not strictly comply with the legal prescriptions concerning the purity to be observed in approaching the sanctuary. A remarkable mildness and almost evangelical freedom of view are expressed in these words.—Ver. 20. *And healed the people*, forgave their guilt, healed them in an ethical respect; comp. Ps. xli. 5; Hos. xiv. 5; Jer. iii. 22. The healing of disease or of death, that was to be apprehended as punishment for their guilt (Lev. xv. 31), is scarcely intended (against Berth. and Kamph.).—Ver. 21. *And the sons of Israel that were in Jerusalem*, "were found"; comp. xxix. 29, xxxi. 1.—*With instruments of might to the Lord*, instruments by which they ascribed might to the Lord, glorified His might (comp. Ps. xxix. 1), therefore with instruments for praising the might of the Lord. Interesting, but not quite certain, is the interpretation of Kamphausen, who takes בִּכְלֵי עֹז by itself in the sense: "with instruments of might," that is, with loud sound.—Ver. 22. *And Hezekiah spake to the heart of all the Levites*, spake hearty, loving, encouraging words to them.—*Who had good understanding of the Lord*, of the service of the Lord.—*And they ate the feast seven days.* We are scarcely to read with the Sept. (see Crit. Note): "And they completed the feast;" for the reading: "eat the feast," appears simply modelled after the known: "eat the passover," as the following: "offering sacrifices of peace," clearly shows (comp. also Ps. cxviii. 27). Moreover, the collective worshippers, not merely the Levites and priests, are the subject. —*And confessing to the Lord God of their fathers*, namely, with praise and thanksgiving—not, perhaps, with penitent confession of their guilt, as some of the ancients thought. הִתְוַדָּה is quite the ἐξομολογεῖσθαι of the Hellenistic Greek (and so of the Sept. in our passage).—Vers. 23–27. The Feast of Seven Days after the Passover.—*Resolved to keep* ("make") *other seven days with gladness*. שִׂמְחָה, adverbial accusative for בְּשִׂמְחָה.—Ver. 24. *For Hezekiah . . . gave to the congregation* (properly, heaved, gave as a heave-offering; comp. xxxv. 7) *a thousand bullocks*, etc.; that is, the king and princes had contributed victims so liberally for the passover, that they had not consumed the whole during the seven days of the feast, but had still provision for so long an after-feast.—*And a great many priests sanctified themselves;* the extraordinary abundance of offerings could thus be overtaken; comp. ver. 3, xxix. 34. —Ver. 25. *And the strangers that came from the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah.* These strangers (גֵּרִים) from Israel and Judah are here, as certainly as they were distinct from "the congregation that came out of Israel" (= Ephraim), that is, from the Ephraimites mentioned vers. 11, 18, actually "strangers," that is, proselytes. It is otherwise in xv. 9, where those dwelling as strangers among the Jews, from Ephraim and Manasseh and Simeon, are simply the Israelites that have migrated thence.—Ver. 26. *For since the days of Solomon . . . was not the like in Jerusalem*, no so fair and sublime a festival celebrated by so great a multitude. But the point of comparison is perhaps not any passover under Solomon, but rather the feast of the consecration of the temple under this king (vii. 1–10). This resembles the passover of Hezekiah in this respect, that, with the feast of tabernacles following, it lasted also fourteen days. Because this only is intended, and not any passover of Solomon, there is no contradiction between our passage, or in general between that which is depicted in our chapter and xxxv. 18, and 2 Kings xxiii. 22. If in the latter passage it is said of Josiah's passover: "There was not holden such a passover from the days of the Judges," this remark refers, in the first place, to the purity and legitimacy of the feast; and in this respect the present celebration by Hezekiah was defective, just as our author has expressly acknowledged.—Ver. 27. *And the priests* (and) *the Levites arose;* comp. Crit. Note. That the benediction of the priests was heard, and actually penetrated to His (God's) dwelling in the heaven, our historian might conclude with sufficient certainty, from the further gladness and elevation of heart which he had to recount in the two following chapters of Hezekiah's reign (in its inner as well as outer aspect).

On the date of Hezekiah's passover, first Keil (*Komment. zu den Büchern der Könige*, 1845, p. 515 f.), then Caspari (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Jesaia*, p. 109 ff.), and again Keil (*Komment. zur Chron.* p. 343 ff.), laid down the opinion that it was held not in the first year of his reign, in the next month after the cleansing of the temple, but considerably later, namely, after the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, in his sixth year. Against this assumption, and for the usual view, according to which the Chronist in our chapter means to report something immediately following the feast of the consecration described in ch. xxix., speak—1. The ו *consec.* in וַיִּשְׁלַח at the beginning of ver. 1; 2. The statement in ver. 3, that "the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently," which clearly refers to xxix. 34, and does not at all permit the interposition of a period of six years between the two chapters; 3. The naming of the second month in ver. 2, which is certainly to be understood from xxix. 3, 17 (the "first month," that is, Nisan, in the first year of his reign), and

therefore to be referred to the first year of Hezekiah. To these in themselves decisive grounds, which Keil vainly endeavours in a long discussion to invalidate, are to be added, as further cogent arguments—4. The circumstance that our author, if he had actually meant to represent the passover as instituted after the fall of Samaria and the destruction of the northern kingdom, and even with reference to the condition and necessity of the population occasioned by this catastrophe, must have expressly said so, as such an important motive for including the Ephraimites as partakers in the feast could not have been passed over in silence; 5. The circumstance that the manner in which these northern guests and their seats are mentioned in vers. 6, 10 f. and 18 suits only the time after the invasion of Tiglath-pileser, not that after the fall of Samaria (see on these passages, especially ver. 11); 6. The circumstance that the description given in vers. 10-12 of the preparations for the festival, compared with the opening of the description of the feast itself in ver. 13, makes only a short duration of these preparations probable; 7. And lastly, the circumstance that the appearance of a not inconsiderable number of communicants from the northern kingdom agrees very well with that which is attested in 2 Kings xvii. 2 of the comparatively pious and theocratic character of Hosea, the last king of Ephraim, and, on the contrary, can scarcely be reconciled with the report there, ver. 24 ff., given concerning the moral and religious condition of the population left in the northern kingdom after the defeat of Hosea and the fall of Samaria. The usual assumption, which makes the temple consecration and the passover to take place in immediate succession in the first year of Hezekiah, appears from all this to be most agreeable to the text, and alone truly corresponding with the historical relations that have to be taken into account.

3. Further Religious Reforms of Hezekiah: ch. xxxi.—On ver. 1, comp. 2 Kings xviii. 4, where, however, on the one hand, the destruction of the images and altars also in Ephraim and Manasseh is not mentioned; on the other hand, the breaking of the figure of the brazen serpent (Nehushtan) is narrated, which our report does not expressly mention.—*All Israel that were present;* comp. xxx. 21. For the statues (monuments) and asherim, comp. on xiv. 2.—*And in Ephraim and Manasseh completely.* With reference to Ephraim and Manasseh, that is, the northern kingdom (comp. xxx. 10), this "completely" (עַד לְכַלֵּה) is naturally to be understood *cum grano salis*, and not to be pressed as a strictly literal statement. The report that in Manasseh and Ephraim also the places of idolatrous worship were removed, could scarcely, on account of 2 Kings xvii. 24 ff., be brought into harmony with the assumption of Keil that these facts are to be placed after 722 B.C.—Ver. 2. *And Hezekiah appointed . . . after their courses*, according to the classification originating with David; comp. 1 Chron. xxiv.; 2 Chron. viii. 14.—*Every man according to his service*, properly, "at the mouth of his service"; comp. Num. vii. 5, 7.—*In the gates of the camp of the Lord*, in the temple as well as in the court of the priests; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 18 ff.—Ver. 3. *And the king's portion of his property for burnt-offerings*, that is, the king furnished what he had to contribute to the burnt-offering in victims out of his possession (which is described underneath, xxxii. 27 ff., as very great). Comp. the prescriptions of the law that here come into account, Num. xxviii. 3 ff., xxix. 1 ff.—Ver. 4. *And he said to the people . . . to give the portion of the priests and Levites*, namely, the firstlings and tithes of the increase of the cattle and the field; see Ex. xxiii. 19; Num. xviii. 12, 21 ff.; Lev. xxvii. 30-33. The motive, "that they might be stedfast in the law of the Lord," expresses the thought, that in order to fulfil their official duties they must be able to live free and untrammelled by earthly cares; comp. Neh. xiii. 10 ff.; 1 Cor. ix. 4 ff.; 2 Thess. iii. 9; 1 Tim. v. 17 f.—Ver. 5. *And when the word came forth*, properly, "spread forth"; comp. Job i. 10. The "sons of Israel" there mentioned are first only the inhabitants of Jerusalem, as ver. 6 shows, for there first is mention made of the remaining "sons of Israel" (immigrants from the northern kingdom) and "sons of Judah."—Ver. 6. *And the tithe of holy things consecrated unto the Lord their God.* If in Num. xviii. 8 ff. not tithe (מַעֲשֵׂר) but heave-offerings (תְּרוּמוֹת) of all consecrated things, that is, of all the consecrated gifts of the Israelites, are said to fall to the Levites, this difference from our statement is only apparent, not warranting any emendation of the text after the reading of the Sept. (*ἐπιδέκατα αἰγῶν, καὶ*, etc.; see Crit. Note). This is merely a diversity of the phrase; what is called, Num. xviii., "terumoth," is here designated tithe, because the terumoth were in like manner "a remnant of that which was consecrated to the Lord, as the tithe was a remnant of all the cattle and field produce" (rightly Keil. against Berth. and Kamph.).—Ver. 7. *In the third month they began to lay down*, or found; to form the heaps by gathering together the gifts in grain. The third month, in which Pentecost falls, is the time of the finished harvest, as the seventh month (with the feast of tabernacles) is that of the finished fruit and wine harvest. For the form לִיסּוֹד, with dag. in ס, see Ew. § 245 *a*.—Vers. 9-19. The Application and Preservation of the Collected Gifts.—*Inquired . . . concerning the heaps*, he inquired how it came that so great a quantity of gifts was accumulated. Only to this meaning of his question does the following answer of the high priest correspond, especially the closing sentence of it.—Ver. 10. *And Azariah the chief priest.* Whether this be the same as the Azariah occurring, xxvi. 17, in the history of Uzziah, forty years before, is at least very uncertain.—*And this great store is left*, literally, "and that which is left (forms) this great store." Perhaps וְנוֹתָר simply is to be read instead of וְהַנּוֹתָר (Kamph.).—Ver. 11. *And Hezekiah said to prepare in the house of the Lord*, perhaps not new store-rooms (לְשָׁכוֹת, as 1 Chron. ix. 26), but only a portion of those already built by Solomon (1 Kings vi. 5) for the reception of the stores (הָכִין, as 1 Kings vi. 19).—Ver. 12. *And they brought in the offerings*, the first-fruits, ver. 5. On the word "faithfully," conscientiously, comp. xix. 9.—*And over them*, over the first-

fruits, tithe, and consecrated things. For the name Conanjahu, comp. the Crit. Note; for the term "second" (next after him), מִשְׁנֶה, see 1 Chron. v. 12; 2 Kings xxv. 18.—Ver. 13. *And Jehiel, and Azaziah, and Nahath.* Two of these names, Jehiel and Nahath, occurred also in xxix. 12, 14; whether they refer to the same persons is doubtful.—*Overseers under Conaniah,* literally, "at the hand of Conaniah."—*By the appointment of Hezekiah,* or by his order. The Azariah, "ruler of the house of God," named along with the king is the high priest named ver. 10 (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 11).—Ver. 14. *And Kore . . . the porter toward the east;* comp. 1 Chron. ix. 18. It was his part to distribute "the offering of the Lord," the portion of the peace-offering belonging to the Lord, and by him transferred to the priests (Lev. vii. 14, 32, x. 14 f.), "and the most holy things," the part of the sin and trespass offerings to be eaten by the priests in the temple (Lev. vi. 10, 22, vii. 6).—Ver. 15. *And by him* (properly, "at his hand," ver. 13), under him, under his oversight.—*With truth* (comp. ver. 12). This the Vulg. perhaps rightly connects with the following words: "conscientiously to give," though against the accents. The object of this "giving" is that share of firstlings, tithes, and consecrated things which the Levites dwelling in the priestly cities were entitled by law to receive.—Ver. 16. *Beside the register of males,* with the exception of the registered males from three years old and upwards who have "entered into the house of the Lord," that is, are consecrated to the temple service in Jerusalem, and are therefore otherwise provided for (exempted from the provision in the priestly cities when they were at home); comp., for example, Samuel, etc.—*For the rate of each day;* לִדְבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, as viii. 13 f.; Neh. xi. 23.—Ver. 17 is, like ver. 16, a parenthesis, referring to the registers of the priests and Levites.—*And the register of the priests.* וְאֵת, according to Ew. § 277, *d;* comp. Neh. ix. 34. On the twentieth year of the Levites, at the beginning of their official functions, comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27.—Ver. 18 is connected with ver. 15, after the two parentheses vers. 16 and 17. With the dative there, לַאֲחֵיהֶם, corresponds the וּלְהִתְיַחֵשׂ, which likewise depends on לָתֵת, "to give to their brethren," *and to the register of all their little ones for all the congregation.* This לְכָל־קָהָל applies to the whole community of the Levites, including wives and children, not merely to the priestly order (as S. Schmidt, Ramb., Kamph. intend).—*For in their faithfulness they sanctified themselves in the holy thing.* בֶּאֱמוּנָתָם, as 1 Chron. ix. 22. The "sanctifying themselves" (הִתְקַדְּשׁ) refers to the disinterested and righteous distribution of the "holy thing," that is, the offerings which they were entitled to receive.—Ver. 19. *And for the sons of Aaron . . . in the fields of the suburbs of their cities;* comp. Deut. xxv. 34; Num. xxxv. 5.—*Were appointed men, who were expressed by name,* men of repute; comp. xxviii. 15; 1 Chron. xii. 31. These officers, according to what follows, had the charge of the Levitical and priestly families occupying the land around the priestly cities, as those mentioned in ver. 15 had the charge of the priests and Levites in these cities.—Vers. 20, 21. Close of the Report of Hezekiah's Reforms in Worship.—*And did that which was good and right* (comp. xiv. 1) *and true before the Lord;* הָאֱמֶת, as in xxxii. 1; Zech. viii. 19.—*And in every work which he began . . . to seek his God,* or also, "seeking his God," while he sought Him; comp. xxvi. 5; Ezra vi. 21.

4. Sennacherib's Expedition against Jerusalem, and End: ch. xxxii. 1-23. Comp. the full parallel account in 2 Kings xviii. 13-xix. 37, and in Isa. xxxvi., xxxvii., to which the present narrative, notwithstanding its parenetic, rhetorical brevity, makes some not unimportant additions. With the three parallel delineations is to be compared the full Assyriologic commentary of Schrader, pp. 168-212.—*After these events and this faithfulness, Sennacherib,* etc., properly, "Sancherib" (Sept.: Σενναχηρείμ in Chronicles, Σενναχηρίβ in 2 Kings and Isaiah), the *Sin-ahi-irib* or *Sin-ahi-ir-ba* ("Sin," the moon-god, "gives the brothers much") of the Assyrian inscriptions; according to the Assyrian canon of sovereigns, the son, reigning 705-681 B.C., and successor of Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser and conqueror of Samaria; comp. Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—*And thought to break into them for himself,* to take them; comp. xxi. 17.—Ver. 2. *And his face was for war against Jerusalem;* comp. xx. 3; Luke ix. 53.—Ver. 3. *Took counsel . . . to stop the waters of the fountains,* not to close them up wholly, but to cover them over (Luther, cover), and draw away their waters by subterranean channels.—Ver. 4. *And they stopped . . . and the brook that flowed through the land,* the Gihon, the brook of the valley of Ben-hinnom; comp. ver. 30; 2 Kings xx. 20.—*Why should the kings of Assyria . . . find much water?* On the phrase, comp. Isa. v. 4; for the plural "kings," above on xxviii. 16.—Ver. 5. *And he strengthened himself* (וַיִּתְחַזֵּק), as xv. 8, xxiii. 1.—*And built up all the wall that was broken;* comp. Neh. iv. 1; Prov. xxv. 28.—*And raised it to the towers,* or, raised its towers, according to the probably original reading; see Crit. Note. The Masoretic text gives the quite unsuitable meaning, "and rose upon the towers," or, "and brought to the towers" (the wall? or the war engines?).—*And another wall without,* he built or repaired. This refers to the wall enclosing the lower city, or Acra, which already existed, according to Isa. xxii. 11, the repair of which is here noticed. For Millo, comp. on 1 Chron. xi. 8; for the weapons made to defend these fortifications,—arrows, missiles, and shields,—comp. xxiii. 10, xxvi. 14.—Ver. 6. *And gathered them to him in the broad way at the gate of the city;* whether on the same open area at the gate as that mentioned xxix. 4, toward the east, must, from the indefiniteness of the expression, remain uncertain; comp. also Neh. viii. 1, 16.—*And spake to their heart;* comp. xxx. 22.—Ver. 7. *For with us is more than with him;* comp. 2 Kings vi. 16 and the following verse, which gives the particulars how there is "more" (רַב, not "a greater," as Luther translates) with Hezekiah and the Israelites than with the enemy. On "an arm of flesh" as a designation of human impotence and apparent power

comp. Isa. xxxi. 3, Jer. xvii. 5, Ps. lvi. 5; on "to fight our battles," 1 Sam. viii. 20, xviii. 17.—Vers. 9-19. Sennacherib's Advance to Jerusalem. Comp. the more ample account, 2 Kings xviii. 17-36.—*And he himself stood against Lachish;* comp. xxv. 27.—*And all his power with him,* literally, "all his sovereignty" (מֶמְשַׁלְתּוֹ); comp. Isa. xxxiv. 1.—Ver. 10. *Whereon do ye trust?* literally, "whereon are ye trusting and sitting in restraint?" (distress; comp. Deut. xxviii. 53 ff.; 2 Kings xxiv. 10, xxv. 2; Ezek. iv. 7).—Ver. 11. *Doth not Hezekiah mislead you?* literally, "is not Hezekiah misleading you (מַסִּית, as 2 Kings xviii. 32), to deliver you to die by hunger?" etc. —On ver. 12, comp. 2 Kings xviii. 22; on vers. 13-15, comp. 2 Kings xviii. 35, Isa. xxxvi. 20, xxxvii. 11-13.—Ver. 16. *And his servants spake yet more,* the servants already, ver. 9, mentioned, whose Assyrian titles (Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, 2 Kings xviii. 17; on which comp. Schrader's illustrations, p. 198 ff.) our author thinks fit not to adduce, as he omits the whole contents of their blasphemous speeches.—Ver. 17. *And he wrote a letter.* This was, according to 2 Kings xix. 14, at a later period, after Rabshakeh had reported to him the obstinate resistance of the Jewish people; whereas the speech here reported in ver. 18 of the servants of Sennacherib in the Jewish tongue is there (in 2 Kings) addressed to the Jews at the same time with the first negotiation. Our author has apparently traced the course of things in a real rather than a chronological order, because his aim was to exhibit an impressive advance in the steps (first a speech of the servants in the Assyrian tongue, then a letter of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, and lastly a demand to surrender in the Jewish tongue), from the same rhetorical motive that led him also before, on the occasion of the war with Syria and Ephraim, xxviii. 16 ff., to co-ordinate the facts not so much in a temporal as in a real sequence.—Vers. 20-23. Hezekiah's and Isaiah's Prayer, and the Divine Help; comp. 2 Kings xix. 14-35 ff.; Isa. xxxvii. 15-19.—*And for this,* עַל־זֹאת, on account of this railing on the God of Israel, which they must have heard.—Ver. 21. *And the Lord sent an angel;* comp. 2 Kings xix. 35 ff., and Bähr on this passage. The "valiant heroes" destroyed by the angel are the common soldiers (comp. xvii. 14), along with whom are then specially named the "leaders and captains" (officers and generals). On "with shame of face," comp. Ezra ix. 7, Ps. xliv. 16; on "they that came out of his own bowels"=sons, comp. Gen. xv. 4, xxv. 23, 2 Sam. vii. 12, xvi. 11; and see the Crit. Note.—Ver. 22. *And defended them around,* literally, "led them around," וַיְנַהֲלֵם (for which Berth. and Kamph., because the word is omitted in the Syr. and Arab., think ought to be read וַיָּנַח לָהֶם, "and gave them rest around"); comp. נִהַל, in the sense of protecting, Ps. xxxi. 4; Isa. xlix. 10, li. 18, etc.—Ver. 23. *And many brought a gift to the Lord;* comp. xvii. 11, xxvi. 8; 2 Kings xx. 12. Among the "many" seem to be reckoned, as the following clause shows, members of the neighbouring nations, who had been delivered by the helpful interposition of the God of the Jews from the same calamity of war and danger of ruin.

5. Sickness, Remaining Reign, and End of Hezekiah: vers. 24-33.—*In those days Hezekiah was sick.* Considerably fuller in 2 Kings xx. 1-11 and Isa. xxxviii.—Ver. 25. *And Hezekiah repaid not according to the benefit done to him,* literally, "according to the benefit in him"; comp. Ps. cxvi. 12.—*For his heart became proud,* literally, "lifted itself up"; comp. xxvi. 16. Wherein the proud uplifting consisted, namely, in the boastful exhibition of his treasures to the ambassadors of Babylon (2 Kings xx. 12 ff.), is not here said, but is briefly indicated in ver. 31; neither is the manner in which "indignation came upon him" (comp. xix. 10; 1 Chron. xxvii. 24), namely, by a prophetic warning and announcement of punishment (Isa. xxxix. 5-7; 2 Kings xx. 16 ff.), more particularly defined. The mode of narrative in our section is generally that of the epitome. On ver. 26 comp. Isa. xxxix. 8; 2 Kings xx. 19.—Vers. 27-31. Hezekiah's Riches, and Building of Cities and Water-courses.—*And Hezekiah had very much riches;* comp. 2 Kings xx. 13, and the earlier accounts in the reigns of David (1 Chron. xxix. 28), Solomon (2 Chron. i. 12 ff.), and Jehoshaphat (xviii. 1). Besides the metals themselves, are mentioned also among his treasures spices (as Dan. xi. 8) and "shields," that is, costly gilded weapons and the like (comp. Isa. xxxix. 2).—Ver. 28. *And storehouses for the increase of corn.* מִסְכְּנוֹת (*p. transpos. lit.* for מִכְנְסוֹת, from כנס, heap up), magazines; comp. Ex. i. 11; 1 Kings ix. 19; 2 Chron. viii. 4.—*And stalls for all kinds of cattle,* literally, "for all cattle and cattle." אֻרוֹת, "stalls," properly, "racks;" comp. the only orthographically different אֻרְיוֹת, ix. 25, and at the close of our verse, אֲוֵרוֹת, which seems to mean folds. But perhaps the last clause is corrupt, and instead of "flocks for the folds," rather (with the Sept. and Luther) an inversion of the terms is to be assumed; see Crit. Note.—Ver. 29. *And he made him cities,* עָרִים, perhaps watch-towers for the keepers of the cattle; comp. on xxvi. 10 and 2 Kings xvii. 9.—*And possession of flocks and herds in abundance;* comp. Job i. 3; for רְכוּשׁ, possession, xxxi. 3.—Ver. 30. *This Hezekiah stopped;* see on vers. 3, 4.—*And led it straight down to the west of the city of David,* led it, the water of the brook Gihon, flowing by the city on the east, by a subterranean channel westward into the city.—Ver. 31. *And so in the case of the ambassadors of the princes of Babel.* Instead of וְכֵן (that cannot be rendered, with Luther and others, in an adversative sense by "but" or "though") we expect וְלֹא or רַק לֹא, "only not." But the author does not intend to represent the interview with the ambassadors of Babylon as an exception to the otherwise prosperous career of the king, but rather as a confirmation of that which is said in this respect; and especially as Hezekiah was not punished for the perversity of his conduct at that time, but only humbled, and for himself, at least, spared the deserved judgment of God (comp. ver. 26). The plural "princes of Babel," instead of the sing., which, according to 2 Kings xx. 12 ff., we might expect, is perhaps

to be interpreted as the term kings in xxviii. 16, xxx. 6, xxxii. 4. On the king Merodach-baladan, and on the chronology of this event, see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—Vers. 32, 33. Close of the History of Hezekiah. —*And his kindness*, literally, "kindnesses" (חֲסָדִים, otherwise than vi. 42); comp. rather Neh. xiii. 14 (against Keil).—Ver. 33. *And they buried him in the height* (or also "the ascent"; comp. xx. 16) *of the sepulchres of the sons of David*, that is, in a place higher than the previous tombs of the kings, as in these, perhaps, there was no longer sufficient space.—*And gave him glory*, namely, by the burning of spices and the like, as at the death of Asa (xvi. 14; comp. xxi. 19).

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS AND APOLOGETIC REMARKS (ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO CHRONOLOGY) ON CH. XXIX.–XXXII.

1. The relation of our author concerning the history of Hezekiah includes in itself two unequal parts of tolerably heterogeneous materials,—a detailed report of the reforms in worship with which the king began his reign (xxix.-xxxi.), and an excerpted and compressed description of the chief warlike events and other public acts and occurrences of his reign (xxxii.). This plan, combining the supplementing with the excerpting process, clearly shows that it is Hezekiah the reformer of worship, and not the warlike prince and pious ruler, that he intends first and chiefly to depict. As a reformer of worship, Hezekiah deserves indeed to be held up along with Josiah, among all the kings from Solomon to the exile. The thoroughgoing spirit, strong faith, and energy displayed in his measures leaves all that had been formerly undertaken by Asa and Jehoshaphat far behind; and even the later Josiah, notwithstanding the character of stricter legality which his measures bore, cannot compare with him, inasmuch as the reforming activity of Hezekiah prepared the way for his own, and thus he stood, as it were, on the shoulders of Hezekiah, and had to look up to what was accomplished by the latter as his model. Between those less efficient and less decided predecessors and this successor, more zealous indeed, but less favoured by fortune, and aiming at no perpetuity of his labours, Hezekiah stands as the greatest hero of faith, as the purest evangelical character among the Jewish kings of the Old Testament. His work forms, by virtue of his powerful, ruthlessly stringent opposition to idolatry, and his honourable zeal for the law, coupled with sincere devotedness of heart to God, a striking typical parallel to that of the evangelical princes in the age of the Reformation,—John the Constant, Philip the Magnanimous, Edward VI., Gustavus Vasa, etc.; while his predecessors, Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Joash, correspond merely to the better disposed kings and emperors of the Middle Ages maintaining a certain independence towards Rome (as Frederic Barbarossa, Louis IX. of France, etc.); but in Josiah is presented the type of such *epigoni* of the more potent manifestations of the Reformation period as Ernest the Pious of Saxe Gotha, Frederic IV. of Denmark, etc. So far as such parallels between Israelitish and Christian history are allowable,—but that they should be instituted with great precaution and the most careful avoidance of the imminent danger of arbitrary trifling, is shown by very many warning examples, especially in the region of the Roman Catholic theological literature of recent times,[1]—it is natural to set beside the great reformatory activity of King Hezekiah the contemporary movement of a powerful reform and revival of the whole religious and moral life by such heroes of prophecy as Isaiah, Micah (and as probably an older Zechariah, author of Zech. ix.–xi.), and to suppose the one conditioned and supplemented by the other,—his action as the renovator of the religious life and the external theocratic order and discipline, and the endeavour of these prophetic men after the purification of the religious consciousness and the quickening of the moral conscience of their people. For certainly his religious reform would not have been practicable without the co-operation of this contemporaneous life-reform by his prophetic friends and counsellors; and we can as little separate the royal reformer Hezekiah from the royal seer, as those princes of the Reformation age from the Reformers Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Calvin, etc.[2] Indeed, the circle of those wise men around Hezekiah, to whom, according to Prov. xxv. 1, was due the then completed collection of the old Solomonic proverbial literature, and in reference to whom Hezekiah himself has been called the Pisistratus of the Israelitish literature (Delitzsch, *Kommentar über den Psalter*, ii. 377), we may well assert to be a moment of the typical parallelism, and regard the work of these men as a type of the humanists contemporary with the Reformers, and often lending them support.

2. That in our author these manifestations, contemporaneous with Hezekiah, and co-operating with him, the importance of which certainly should not be undervalued, retire into the background, and that he mentions the prophet Isaiah only once in passing (xxxii. 20), and those wise "men of Hezekiah" not at all, corresponds exactly with his character as a historian abiding always by the priestly and Levitical point of view. The credibility of his narrative cannot be disputed on account of this onesidedness. A great number of highly definite and concrete statements in the chapters peculiar to him attest the character of their contents as well founded, and free from any suspicion of fiction. Thus the names of the fourteen Levites in xxix. 12–14

[1] We refer especially to the writings of Phil. Krementz (present Bishop of Braunsberg),—*The Old Testament as the Type of the New* (Coblenz, 1863); *Israel the Type of the Church, attempt to elucidate the history of Christianity by the typical history of Israel* (Mainz, 1865); *The Gospel in the Book of Genesis, or the Life of Jesus typified by the History of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph* (Coblenz, 1867); *The Life of Jesus the Prophecy of the History of His Church* (Freiburg, 1869): likewise to such works as that of the barefooted Carmelite Carl St. Aloysius, *The History of Man, a Divine Work of Creation on the Region of the Moral World* (Würzburg, 1861), and so forth. A useful counterpart to the extravagances of these works, with their parallelistic trifling, is pointed out by W. J. Thiersch: *Genesis, according to its Moral and Prophetical Import* (Frankfurt a. M. 1869).

[2] Compare the remarks of Rudelbach on the typical relation of the Old Testament prophets to the Reformers in several of his writings; for example, in *Reformation, Lutherthum, und Union*; in his biography of Savonarola (p. 283 ff.); in the treatise, *Die Grundtwig'sche Theorie und die Lutherische Kirche* (in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie*, 1857, i. p. 17). To this should be added the far and wide custom since the Reformation itself (for example, in Zwinglius in his letter *ad Zasium*, in Melanchthon, etc.) of drawing parallels between Luther and such prophets of the first rank as Elijah, Isaiah, etc. Comp. also Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 1, pp. 321, 341.

rest as undoubtedly on historical tradition as those of the others in xxxi. 12-15. And as little as these names can be invented, will that which is related, xxx. 1 ff., 10 f., 18 ff., and xxxi. 1, concerning the participation of inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes in Hezekiah's religious acts and reforms bear a fictitious character. The authenticity of these statements is liable to no manner of doubt, view them chronologically as we will—whether we refer them, with Keil and Caspari (see on xxx. 27), to events that happened after 722 B.C., or, with the majority of expositors, assign them a place in the first years of Hezekiah's reign. The excerpt also from 2 Kings xviii.-xx. and Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix., which he presents in ch. xxxii., proves, by its essential agreement with these fuller parallels, the conscientiousness and reliableness of the procedure of our author. Where he presents smaller supplements to the reports there,—as, for example, in his accounts of the fortifications and measures of defence by Hezekiah in ver. 5 (comp. ver. 30),—these supplements bear in themselves their warrant as actual and trustworthy. And where he, in accordance with his rather real than chronological grouping of events, makes alterations in the order of the facts to be related, as in vers. 16-18 (comp. also vers. 24-31), there never results a representation strictly contrary to history. We are to note, moreover, the circumstance, significant of his theocratic idealizing tendency, and recalling analogous omissions in the history of the reigns of David, Solomon, and Jehoshaphat, that he passes over various incidents less favourable to the character of Hezekiah as a specially fortunate and illustrious ruler; for example, the facts that Sennacherib not only besieged but took many Jewish cities (comp. xxxii. 1 with 2 Kings xviii. 13); that Hezekiah was compelled to pay a large tribute to the same sovereign, and for this purpose to take off the gold plating of the temple doors (2 Kings xviii. 16); that he rent his clothes and put on sackcloth (2 Kings xix. 1), etc., and, on the whole, reports only that which proves his glorious and happy government. His representation of the work of Hezekiah has thus received a peculiarly optimistic colouring, beside which that of the other fuller report looks almost like pessimism. But even the sharpest critic would scarcely be able to show that the Chronistic narrative, notwithstanding its idealistic onesidedness, involves any misstatement of facts or distortion of history.

3. An important and difficult inquiry, that, however, concerns the narrative of our book equally with the older parallel text, is involved in the synchronism of the history of Hezekiah in the sacred Scripture and in the contemporary Assyrian monuments. While the most important event of this history in a temporal or spiritual respect, the fall of Samaria or the destruction of the northern kingdom by Shalmaneser and Sargon (namely, by Shalmaneser [Salmanu-âser, "God Salman is good"] as beginner, and by Sargon [Sarrukin, "mighty the king"] as finisher of the besieging and destroying work),[1] according to the unanimous testimony of both sources, is to be placed in the year 722 (or 721) B.C., with regard to the next more important event, the invasion of Sennacherib (ch. xxxii. 1-23, and the parallel), a difference is exhibited of not less than thirteen years between the statements of the Assyrian monuments and those of sacred Scripture. For those assign this expedition to the year 701, full twenty years after the accession of Sargon and the fall of Samaria; whereas the Bible (2 Kings xviii. 13; Isa. xxxvi. 1) places it in the 14th year of Hezekiah, only eight or nine years after the fall of Samaria, which took place in the sixth year of this king, 714 B.C. A reconciliation of these very diverse dates seems at present impossible; and as there is a great number of Assyrian inscriptions which agree in assigning the great Egypto-Palestinian expedition of Sennacherib to the fourth year of his reign (that is, as he must have reigned 705-681, to the year 701), it seems necessary to abandon the biblical date as incorrect, and to substitute for the 14th the 27th or 28th year of Hezekiah as the date of the event. A further chronological difference appears to open between the Bible and the inscriptions with regard to the embassy of the Babylonian king Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 12 ff.; Isa. xxxix. 1 ff.). If we hold this Merodach-baladan (Assyro-Babylonian, *Marduk-habal-iddina*, "Merodach bestowed the son"; see Schrader, p. 213) to be identical with the Μαρδοκίμπαδος of the Ptolemaic canon, the fifth king of Babylon according to this document, the whole transaction in question must, as the synchronism of the Assyrian inscriptions and of this canon determines the years 721-710 as the period of this monarch's reign, be placed a number of years before the invasion of Sennacherib, on the presumption that this fell in 701. And even if we take, not that Mardokempad (or Marduk-habal-iddina), but a later sovereign of the same name reigning only a short time (six months), mentioned by Berosus (or Alexander Polyhistor) in Eusebius, *Chron. Armen.* i. p. 19, edit. Mai, for the Merodach-baladan of Holy Scripture, as is done by Winer, Knobel, Hitzig, and recently by Schrader (p. 213 ff.), yet the reign even of this second Merodach falls before 701, namely, according to the canon of Ptolemy, in the year 704 or 703. The transposition of the reports in question seems therefore unavoidable. The statement in Isa. xxxix. (and 2 Kings xx. 12 ff.) concerning Hezekiah's display of his treasures before the ambassadors of Babylon must apparently be placed, with Oppert ("Die biblische Chronologie, festgestellt nach den assyrischen Keilinschriften," in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1869, p. 137 ff.), Delitzsch (*Komment. zu Jes.* 2d edit. 1869), Diestel (on Knobel's *Isaiah*, 4th edit.), and Schrader (*Keilinschriften*, p. 218), before the account in Isa. xxxvi. f. (2 Kings xviii. f.) of the expedition of Sennacherib, say about ten years, or (with Schrader) at least two or three years; and the full treasure-chambers which Hezekiah shows to the ambassadors must be regarded as those which Sennacherib had not yet emptied (2 Kings xviii. 13 ff.), not (with Keil, Knobel, Thenius, Bähr, Neteler, and others) as replenished from the booty left on the part of the hastily retreating army of Sennacherib, nor even as remaining sufficiently full notwithstanding the contribution imposed

[1] This relation of the Shalmaneser of 2 Kings to the Sargon of Isa. xx., Oppert and Schrader (*Stud. und Krit.* 1870, p. 527 ff.; 1871, p. 679 ff.) have now finally established, against the identity or only nominal diversity of these two governors asserted by many (M. v. Niebuhr Dunker, Sayce, Riehm, etc.). Comp. also Diestel, in Knobel's *Isaiah*, 4th edit. p. 169.

by the Assyrians.—The question, whether we are warranted or necessitated by the diverging dates of the monuments of profane history to assume so important chronological inaccuracies or perversions in the biblical sources, that is, in the here substantially agreeing reports of the second book of Kings, the book of Isaiah, and Chronicles, should scarcely be decided so hastily and unceremoniously in favour of the former testimonies, as has been done by Schrader (p. 292 ff.), in accordance with Diestel (pp. 169, 325), Rohling (in the *Literar. Handweiser für das Kathol. Deutschland*, 1872, No. 124), and others. With regard, also, to the wide differences between the Assyrian and biblical chronology before the reign of Hezekiah, which amount,[1] in the estimate of Assyriologists, sometimes to forty or fifty years, the greatest possible precaution and reserve is to be recommended in drawing conclusions unfavourable to the authority of Holy Scripture. For if not in the way proposed by Oppert (according to which a break in the list of Assyrian eponyms for nearly fifty years would have to be assumed, and the great difference for this early period derived therefrom ; which, however, Schrader, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxv. p. 449 ff., declares to be inadmissible[2]), yet in some other way, sooner or later, a greater approximation of the divergent testimonies might easily be accomplished, and so the difference of the dates at least considerably reduced—just as the chronological deviations of the Egyptian monuments from the biblical statements were formerly held by many Egyptologists to be more considerable than is now generally the case, after a more thorough and extensive investigation of the existing sources. Neteler has made an attempt, in several respects untenable and precipitate, to reconcile the divergences on both sides in the parts of his *Commentary on Chronicles* that refer to chronology (pp. 195 ff., 224 ff., 263 ff.), in which he brings down the reigns of the Israelitish and Jewish kings from the division of the kingdom (which he dates at 933 instead of 975 B.C.) to Zedekiah by several decennia (from Josiah at least by several years), and accordingly makes Jehu reign 846–819, Uzziah 786–735, Ahaz 720–705, Hezekiah 706–678 (from 692 with his son Manasseh as co-regent), Josiah 637–607. That this attempt, as well on the biblical side—here chiefly by arbitrary assuming of various co-regencies, as of Amaziah with his father Joash, of Uzziah with Amaziah, of Hezekiah with Ahaz, and of Manasseh with Hezekiah—as on the Assyriologic, rests on several untenable presuppositions (in the latter respect, for example, on the long-since refuted opinion of the identity of Sargon with Shalmaneser), needs no further demonstration. Comp. Schrader's critical counter remark in his review of Neteler's commentary in the *Literarischen Centralblatt* of the year 1872. As little can we certainly regard the onesided chronology of Schrader, founded on the Assyrian documents, as absolutely satisfactory, especially as it involves not a few uncertainties, and often rests on documents not yet fully interpreted.[3]

### *o.* Manasseh and Amon.—Ch. xxxiii.

#### *α. Manasseh:* vers. 1–20.

Ch. xxxiii. 1. Manasseh was twelve years old when he became king, and he reigned
2 fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil in the
eyes of the Lord, like the abominations of the nations whom the Lord had
3 cast out before the sons of Israel. And he built again the high places which
Hezekiah his father had pulled down, and reared up altars for Baalim, and
4 made asheroth, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them. And
he built altars in the house of the Lord, although the Lord had said, In
5 Jerusalem shall my name be for ever. And he built altars to all the host of

[1] Comp. the juxtaposition of some of the biblical with the corresponding Assyrian dates, as they are presented by Schrader, p. 299:—

| | Assyrian Monuments. | Bible. |
|---|---|---|
| Ahab, . . . | 854 (battle at Karkar) | 918–896 (reign of Ahab) |
| Jehu, . . . | 842 (payment of tribute) | 884–857 ( „ Jehu) |
| Uzziah, . . | 745–739 (at war with Tiglath-pileser) | 809–759 ( „ Uzziah) |
| Menahem, . . | 738 (payment of tribute) | 771–761 ( „ Menahem) |
| Pekah, . . | 734 (conquered by Tiglath-pileser) | 758–738 ( „ Pekah) |
| Hosea, . . | 728 (last year in which Aus'ih paid tribute t Tiglath-pileser) | 729–723 ( „ Hosea) |
| Fall of Samaria, | 722 | 722 (fall of Samaria) |
| Hezekiah, . . | 701 (expedition of Sennacherib) | 714 (expedition of Sennacherib) |
| Manasseh, . . | 681–673 (payment of tribute) | 696–642 (reign of Manasseh). |

After differing at first about forty or fifty years, then about twenty or thirty, the Assyrian chronology merges into the biblical in Hosea; in the fall of Samaria the two reckonings coincide; and so mainly in the reign of Manasseh; but with regard to the expedition of Sennacherib, a deviation of full thirteen years again takes place.

[2] Comp. also *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 300 f.: "By this (granted that such an assumption [as the break of the list of eponyms for forty-seven years] were admissible) the difference between the Bible and the monuments would be expunged so far as the times of Ahab and Jehu are concerned: but Jehu would have paid his tribute, which, according to Oppert's calculation, must have been presented in the year 888, four years before his accession to the throne, 884. But in the time of Azariah and Menahem the omission of the forty-seven years would produce a still greater gap; at the most, twenty or thirty years would have to be cast off, etc. . . . And besides, . . . this whole notion of a break in the list of eponyms is untenable, and, irrespective of its internal improbability, is simply wrecked on the parallel lists of reigns and the rotation of officers, extending over from the one reign to the other, which is thereby preserved to us.

[3] Comp., as the most recent attempt at a critical chronology of this period, the treatise of H. Brand: *Die Königsreihen von Juda und Israel nach den bibl. Berichten und den Keilinschriften*, Leipzig 1873.

6 heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD. And he caused his sons
to pass through the fire in the valley of Ben-hinnom; and he practised sorcery,
and divination, and enchantment, and appointed conjurors and soothsayers:
7 he wrought much evil in the eyes of the LORD to provoke Him. And he set
the carving of the image which he had made in the house of God, of which
God had said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jeru-
salem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name
8 for ever. And I will no more remove the foot of Israel from the soil which I
have appointed for your fathers,[1] if only they will hold on to do all that I
have commanded them, in all the law and the statutes and the judgments
9 given by Moses. And Manasseh led astray Judah and the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, to do more evil than the nations whom the LORD had destroyed
10 before the sons of Israel. And the LORD spake to Manasseh, and to his
people; but they did not attend.
11 And the LORD brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of
Assyria, and they took Manasseh in fetters, and bound him with chains, and
12 carried him to Babel. And when he was in affliction, he besought the grace
of the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his
13 fathers, And prayed unto Him; and He was entreated of him, and heard
his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom: and
14 Manasseh knew that the LORD He is God. And after this he built the outer
wall of the city of David, to the west of Gihon, in the valley, and at the
entrance of the fish gate, and encompassed Ophel, and made it very high, and
15 put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah. And he took away the
strange gods and the image out of the house of the LORD, and all the altars
that he had built in the mount of the house of the LORD, and in Jerusalem,
16 and cast them out of the city. And he built[2] the altar of the LORD, and
offered on it sacrifices of peace and thanksgiving, and commanded Judah to
17 serve the LORD God of Israel. But the people still sacrificed in the high
places, but only to the LORD their God.
18 And the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and
the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD God of
19 Israel, behold, they are written in the history of the kings of Israel. And his
prayer, and his being heard, and all his sin, and his apostasy, and the places
in which he built high places, and set up asherim and carved images, before
20 he was humbled, behold, they are written in the history of Hozai.[3] And
Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own house: and
Amon his son reigned in his stead.

6. *Amon*: vers. 21–25.

21 Amon was twenty and two years old when he became king, and he reigned
22 two years in Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil in the eyes of the
LORD, as Manasseh his father had done; and Amon sacrificed unto all the
23 carved images which Manasseh his father had made, and served them. And
he humbled not himself before the LORD, as Manasseh his father humbled
24 himself; for he, Amon, multiplied trespass. And his servants conspired against
25 him, and slew him in his own house. And the people of the land smote all
the conspirators against King Amon: and the people of the land made Josiah
his son king in his stead.

[1] For לַאֲבֹתֵיכֶם the Sept., Vulg., Syr., etc., read לַאֲבֹתָם, which is preferred by many moderns since Luther (Berth., Kamph., etc.).

[2] וַיִּבֶן is the *Kethib* in most mss. and editions; some mss. and many old editions, however, give וַיָּכֶן as the *Kethib* and וַיָּכֶן as the *Keri*. At all events, וַיִּבֶן appears to be the original reading, for which also the Vulg. (*restauravit*) and Syr. testify.

[3] For חוֹזָי the Sept. read הַחֹזִים ("words of the seers," as in ver. 18); comp. Introd. § 5, ii.

EXEGETICAL.

The idolatrous proceedings in the beginning of Manasseh's reign are depicted by our author, vers. 1-10, mostly in verbal agreement with 2 Kings xxi. 1-10. Instead of the summary report there following (vers. 11-16) of the threatening words of the prophets addressed to him, he appends the narrative of Manasseh's removal to Babel, his repentance and conversion, vers. 11-17, for which the book of Kings has no parallel. The closing notices of Manasseh's reign (vers. 18-20), and that which relates to Amon (vers. 21-25), are again in close agreement with 2 Kings xxi. 1 ff., 19 ff.

1. Idolatrous Proceedings at the Beginning of Manasseh's Reign: vers. 1-10; comp. Bähr on the parallel.—*Manasseh was twelve years old.* For the occurrence of this king's name (in the form of *Minasi*) on the Assyrian inscriptions, see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 2.—*And he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem*, 696-641 B.C. (according to the usual chronology, which can scarcely be disputed). Against the length of the reign of Manasseh, as our report states it in harmony with 2 Kings, Scheuchzer (*Phul und Nabonassar*, Zürich 1850) and v. Gumpach (*Die Zeitrechnung der Assyrer und Babylonier*, 1852, p. 98 ff.) have raised objections, and attempted to reduce it to thirty-five years. Bertheau (*Komment.* p. 406) concurs with them in this; and Neteler endeavours to confine at least the independent reign of Manasseh approximately to the same narrow measure, as he makes him reign fourteen years (say 692-678) in common with Hezekiah, and then forty or forty-one years (678-638) alone. On the contrary, Schrader (pp. 225 ff., 238 ff.) shows that no reduction whatever of the fifty-five years is requisite, as the Assyrian monuments bear no testimony against a reign of more than half a century for this king.—Ver. 3. *And reared up altars for Baalim.* In 2 Kings stands the sing.: "for Baal"; as also in the following words: "made an asherah." The phrase of the Chronist appears here to be rhetorically generalizing and climactic; comp., moreover, xiv. 2, xxviii. 2, xxxi. 1.—Ver. 6. *And he caused his sons to pass through the fire.* According to 2 Kings, this happened only to one son (בְּנוֹ for בָּנָיו), precisely the same difference as above in Ahaz (xxviii. 3; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 3); see on xxviii. 3. The Chronist alone states that this horrid human sacrifice took place in the valley of Ben-hinnom; in 2 Kings this note is wanting.—*And he practised sorcery and divination*, etc., "bewitched with an evil eye (עוֹנֵן connected with עַיִן), and divined (נִחֵשׁ, properly, watched serpents), and muttered" (כִּשֵּׁף, whispered charms; comp. Deut. xviii. 10). The third of these phrases is wanting in 2 Kings; whereas the following words: "appointed conjurors and soothsayers" (literally, "made a conjuror and a wizard"), agree again verbally with that text.—Ver. 7. *And he set the carving of the image . . . in the house of God.* In 2 Kings, "the carving (פֶּסֶל, as here, 'carved image,' as distinguished from מַסֵּכָה, 'molten image,' xxviii. 2; comp. xxxiv. 3) of the asherah." The term סֶמֶל, "idol, image," arising perhaps from Deut. iv. 16, appears here and ver. 15, as in Ezek. viii. 3, to be a contemptuous and abhorrent designation of the asherah.—*Will I put my name for ever;* לְעֵילוֹם only here for לְעוֹלָם.—Ver. 8. *Which I have appointed for your fathers*, "fixed," as in xxx. 5. Instead of "your," perhaps "their" is the original reading; see Crit. Note.—Ver. 10. *And the Lord spake to Manasseh*, by the mouth of His prophets, whose speech in the parallel text, 2 Kings xxi. 11-16, is also given in a summary form; whereas our author omits these words (words of the seer, ver. 18), though not without adding a reference to them (see under ver. 18), as contained in the "history of the kings of Israel."

2. Manasseh's Captivity and Conversion: vers. 11-17.—*The Lord brought upon them.* According to the Assyrian monuments, this took place about 647, under King Assurbanipal, the Sardanapalus of the Greek historians.—*Took Manasseh in fetters*, scarcely in nets or hooks (חוֹחִ synonymous with חָח, 2 Kings xix. 28; Ezek. xix. 4; comp. also Job xl. 26), as if Manasseh were to be represented as an untamed wild beast, Ps. xxxii. 9 (Keil). Rather is חחים to be taken simply as a synonym of the following נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם, "brass fetters, double fetters" (comp. Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 34; and also 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6), as it is taken in this sense by the Sept. (δεσμοῖς), Vulg. (*catenis*), and several Rabbins. There is as little reason to think of a place, Hohim, where he was taken captive (Then.), as of a thorn hedge, into which (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 6) he had rushed through fear (Starke and other ancients), or even of a tropical meaning of the phrase, according to which בַּחֹחִים should be: "with deceit, not in open conflict" (Cellarius, *Disput. de Captivitate Babylonica*, and others). For the question of the credibility of a carrying away of Manasseh in chains, and that to Babel, comp. the Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—Ver. 12. *And when he was in affliction* (comp. xxviii. 22) *he besought the grace of the Lord*, literally, "stroked or smoothed" the face of the Lord; comp. Ex. xxxii. 11; 1 Sam. xiii. 11; 1 Kings xiii. 6; Dan. ix. 13. The contents of this penitent prayer of the captive king were handed down to the Chronist by those old sources which he quotes ver. 18 f., namely, the "history of the kings of Israel," and the "history (words) of Hozai." The "prayer of Manasses" in the Old Testament Apocrypha is scarcely identical with this older record, which lay before our author; it appears to have been composed originally in Greek, is wanting in many older manuscripts of the Sept., and is first communicated from the *Constit. Apostolicæ*, ii. 22 (2d or 3d century), on which account the Council of Trent excluded it from the canon of the Romish Church. Yet recently, Jul. Fürst (*Geschichte der bibl. Literatur*, ii. 399 ff.) has defended the document as genuine (after the ancients; see J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, ed. Harles, iii. 732 ff.).—Ver. 13. *And He was entreated of him.* The Apocryphal accounts in the Targ. on our passage, in the *Const. Ap.* p. 9, in Johannes Damascen. Ἱερὰ παραλλ. ii. 15, in Anastasius on

Ps. vi., etc., contain all kinds of wonders concerning the way in which God delivered the penitent Manasseh (by sudden melting or sudden breaking of his chains, etc.). Comp. O. F. Fritzsche, in the *Kurzgefassten exegetischen Handbuche zu den Apokryphen des Alten Bundes*, i. p. 158, and Ew. *Geschichte*, iii. 1, p. 378.—Ver. 14. *And after this he built the outer wall*, perhaps that on which Hezekiah had already built (xxxii. 5); בָּנָה stands, therefore, as often, for finishing a building (elevating). The absence of the article from חוֹמָה, however, cannot constrain us at once (with Berth. and others) to translate "an outer wall," as, on the other hand, the emendation proposed by Arnold (Art. "Zion," in Herzog's *Realencycl.* xviii. 634), הַחוֹמָה הַחִיצוֹנָה, is scarcely necessary.—*Of the city of David* (literally, "to the city") *to the west of Gihon in the valley*, that is, in that valley between the city of David (Zion) and the lower city (Akra), which in its south-eastern outlet was afterwards (in Josephus, etc.) the cheesemakers' valley, or the valley Tyropœon. These words first assign the direction of the wall towards the west, and the following words: "at the entrance of the fish gate," denote, again, the direction towards the east; for the fish gate lay, according to Neh. iii. 3, near the north-east corner of the lower city and the tower Hananeel.—*And encompassed Ophel*, with that outer wall which he carried from the fish gate and the north-east corner on to the south, and then round Ophel (see xxvii. 3). So, no doubt correctly, Berth. and Kamph.; for against the assumption of Arnold (in p. 9) and Keil, that a special wall is here intended, distinct from the former, to enclose Ophel, is the following statement: וַיַּגְבִּיהֶהָ מְאֹד, "and made it very high," which clearly refers to the former wall.—*And put captains of war;* comp. xvii. 2, xxxii. 6.—Ver. 15. *Took away the strange gods;* comp. vers. 3–7. On the closing words: "and cast them out of the city," xxix. 16 and xxx. 14 are to be compared. Moreover, according to 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 12, this removal of the idols, and their altars, appears not to have been complete; for, according to these verses, much of this sort still remained for Josiah to remove (comp. also ver. 17), which constrains us to assign either an incomplete, or at least a transitory and by no means permanent character to the reform of worship by Manasseh.—Ver. 16. *And he built the altar of the Lord*, the altar of burnt-offering, of which, moreover, it is not to be assumed from this remark that Manasseh had before removed it from the temple court (as Ew. *Geschichte*, iii. 1. 367, holds). The building, at all events, is to be regarded as a repairing (comp. xxiv. 4 ff.; 1 Kings v. 32); even if וַיָּכֶן were the original reading (see Crit. Note), the same sense of repairing would result.

3. Manasseh's End; Amon: vers. 18–25.—For vers. 18, 19, see above on vers. 10, 13; and with regard to the history (words) of Hozai, Introd. § 5, ii. p. 20 (also Crit. Note on this passage).—Ver. 20. *And they buried him in his own house;* more exactly, 2 Kings xxi. 18: "in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzza." This garden of Uzza the Englishman Lewin believes he has found in the so-called Sakra, on the east side of the Haram. He affirms that there also the Maccabean King Alexander was buried, on which account the burying-place in question occurs in Josephus, *de B. Jud.*, under the name of the grave of King Alexander (comp. *Athenæum*, 1871, March, pp. 278, 309).—Ver. 21 ff.; comp. 2 Kings xxi. 19–26, and Bähr on this passage. The concise report of our passage says nothing of Amon's mother (as also, ver. 1, the mention of Manasseh's mother is wanting), and at the close contains nothing of the burial of the king nor of the sources employed, but, on the contrary, appears enlarged by a parallel drawn between him and Manasseh, according to which he did not humble himself as his father had done (ver. 23).

EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS, HOMILETICAL AND APOLOGETIC REMARKS, ON CH. XXXIII.

1. The evangelical import of the captivity and conversion of Manasseh consists mainly in this, that it is a pregnant type of the conversion of the ungodly by means of divine chastisement,—a significant confirmation and impressive exhibition of that truth, preached by all the prophets and men of God of the Old Testament, that God the Lord is found only of those who seek Him, that His call to repentance comes to no sinner too late (the *nusquam conversio sera* of Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.* xviii. 21; *Ep.* 16 *ad Damasum*, c. 1; *Ep.* 39 *ad Paulam*, 1; *Ep.* 42, 107, 147, etc.), that He "killeth and maketh alive, bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up" (1 Sam. ii. 6; comp. Ps. xxx. 4, lxxxvi. 13, cxvi. 3), that always again His comforting "return" sounds anew in the ear of the penitent sinner (comp. Joel ii. 12; Ezek. xxxiii. 11). As a deeply impressive illustration and verification of the text: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me," Ps. l. 15, from the history of the Old Testament, the event forms at the same time a very significant parallel to the New Testament parable of the prodigal son (Luke xv.), as well as to those similar exemplifications of the evangelical process in the appropriation of salvation (as the woman that was a sinner, Zacchæus, the robber, etc.), of which that evangelist, who stands in the same relation, as supplementer to the other evangelists, as the Chronist to the older historians of the Old Testament, possesses an exceedingly precious treasure.

2. To this general evangelical importance of our history is to be added its special prefigurative relation to the judgment of the Babylonish captivity, which took place half a century after it. What was announced once in the reign of Hezekiah by the fearfully earnest warning of the destruction of the northern kingdom, and then also by the direct message of Isaiah addressed to the king, as the final doom of the Jewish people persisting in the way of unfaithfulness to God (Isa. xxxvi. 6 f.; 2 Kings xx. 17 f.), this appears to be here realized by the transportation of Manasseh to Babel already in literal truth and full extent. Through the grace of the Lord, moved by the entreaty of the penitent Manasseh, the worst and most terrible calamity—a long exile, with its dissolving and unsettling consequences for the whole state—is at once averted; and as once to Hezekiah, for his personal life and reign during fifteen years, so

now to his son is granted a prolongation of nearly fifty years for the existence of the whole kingdom. Manasseh's lot thus stands intermediate between that which Hezekiah and that which the last kings—Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah—experience, as the reform of the religious life attempted by him after his return from Babel, but unsatisfactory and by no means permanent, falls in the middle between the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, with whose thorough energy and decision it certainly cannot be remotely compared.

3. From the absence of a parallel to our report in 2 Kings xxi., the hypercriticism of our century has sought to refer to the region of unhistorical legend either the whole history of Manasseh (de Wette, Gramberg, Graf, Nöldecke; comp. Introd. § 6, p. 22, and § 7, p. 29), or at least that of his conversion and the reform of worship consequent upon it; comp. what is asserted in the latter respect by Movers (*Chron.* p. 328 ff.), Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 1. 366 ff.), Berth. (*Chron.* p. 408), and Hitzig (*Gesch.* p. 230 f.). The mythifying of the whole history, and therefore of the account of the capture and deportation of Manasseh to Babel, appears in the present state of historical investigation to be a glaring anachronism. This has been also perceived by Hitzig, who, after he had declared (*Begriff der Kritik*, etc. p. 180 f.) the captivity of Manasseh to be an invention derived from the prophecy of Isa. xxxix. 6, has recently (*Gesch.* as quoted) acknowledged the historical validity of this fact; whereas Graf has in his last work (*Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Test.* 1866, p. 174) adhered to his former (*Studien und Krit.* 1859, iii.) absolutely sceptical treatment of the whole narrative. In the face of the most recent Assyriologic investigations of Rawlinson, Oppert, Schrader, etc., a further persistence in such a position could only be regarded as an inveterate unscientific obstinacy. The assumption, indeed, which was at first thought to be confirmed by the Assyrian monuments, namely, that it was Esarhaddon who, on the occasion of his campaign against Phœnicia, about 677, took Manasseh captive and carried him to Babel (an assumption with which the report of Abydenus in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. p. 54, concerning a conquest of "Lower Syria" by Axerdis, that is, Esarhaddon, may very well combine), would scarcely be reconcilable with the most recent state of these investigations. The capture and Babylonish exile of Manasseh cannot be transferred to so early a time as the third or fourth year of Esarhaddon, who, according to Ptolemy and the inscriptions, reigned 681–668. For even if an inscription of this Assyrian king, in a list enumerating twenty-two names of tributary Syrian ("Chattite," Hittite) kings, distinctly mentions a *Minasi sar Yahudi*, and thus, at all events, testifies that Manasseh belonged to the vassal-princes of that great king (comp. Schrader, pp. 227, 238), yet the same evidence reverts to a considerably younger inscription, wherein Asurbanipal (Sardanapalus), Esarhaddon's successor, in a list of tributary Syro-Phœnician princes, along with the kings of Tyre, Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ascalon, Ekron, Gebal, Arvad, enumerates also between Tyre and Edom a *sar Yahudi*, "king of Judah," who again, as is clear from the names of his contemporary neighbouring princes, can be no other than Manasseh. Accordingly his deportation, together with the attempt at revolt which no doubt occasioned it, may very well have taken place under this later sovereign; and that it did so is rendered highly probable by several circumstances, particularly this, that so long as Esarhaddon reigns we hear nothing, but under his successor Asurbanipal very much, of the disquiet and revolt of the vassals in Hither Asia against the Assyrian power. Hence the deportation of Manasseh by the Assyrian troops to Babel, and his short stay in captivity there, are to be placed under Asurbanipal about the year 648, when the Babylonish viceroy, *Sammughes* or *Samul-sumukin*, headed the western vassal-princes in an insurrection against the sovereign residing at Nineveh, and thereby occasioned a victorious expedition of the Assyrian army against them. The combination, keeping in view that point of time at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign, which has been adopted by Bertheau, Keil, and Neteler, after J. Cappellus, Ussher, des Vignoles, Prideaux, Calmet, Rambach, J. H. and J. D. Michaelis, and recently Ewald, Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. 697 ff., ii. 592, 3d ed.), Reinke (*Beiträge zur Erklärung des A. T.* viii. p. 127 f.), Hitzig (*Gesch.* as quoted), Thenius (on 2 Kings xxi.), must accordingly be corrected; see the searching and cogent proof by Schrader in the often quoted work (p. 238 ff.), with which also the not essentially different combination of J. Fürst (*Gesch. der bibl. Literatur*, ii. pp. 340, 372 f.) is to be compared, although the king Sarak there named as captor of Manasseh, as Schrader has proved, p. 233, is a later sovereign, different from Asurbanipal, the Asur-idil-ili of the inscriptions.[1] And with regard to Babylon as the place of deportation, and to the mode of removal with chains and iron fetters, Schrader has produced the most satisfactory explanations and confirmatory parallels from the Assyrian monuments; since, with regard to the latter point, he shows from an inscription of Asurbanipal that even King Necho I. (*Ni-ik-ku-u*) suffered a "binding of the hands and feet with iron bands and chains when he was carried captive to Nineveh about this time,"[2] and referring to this fact justly remarks: "But what might thus befall the king of Egypt might certainly as well be inflicted on a Jewish prince" (p. 243). The final judgment of this distinguished Assyriologist concerning our fact runs thus: "There is nothing to cast suspicion on the notice of the Chronist, and his report is sufficiently intelligible from the state of things about 647 B.C."

4. But even with respect to the history of Manasseh's conversion and his subsequent reforms, the report of our author in vers. 13–17 contains nothing to justify the suspicion of the above-named critics (with whom also Schrader in the

[1] With respect also to the date (645 or a subsequent year), as well as some other circumstances, the combination of Fürst deviates from that of Schrader: among other things in this, that Fürst endeavours to prove historically a league of Manasseh, after his return from Babylon, with Psammetichus of Egypt (?), and so forth.

[2] The words of the inscription which are remarkable as parallel to ver. 11 of this chapter, run thus: "The Sarludari (and) Necho they seized, then bound with iron bands and iron chains the hands and feet." There also mention is made of a subsequent kindness to the captive Egyptian king in Nineveh and his return in company with royal "officers and governors" to Egypt. It was thus by no means an unheard of or extraordinary thing that befell Manasseh at this time; only in the manner of the divine decree and the restoration lies the difference.

main accords, so far as he assumes the legendary as well as the historical in the report). For—1. In close connection with this history is communicated, ver. 14, a notice of the buildings and fortifications of Manasseh that resembles anything but a mere invention or fable, and the separation of which from the surrounding accounts, as if it only were historical and they were fabulous embellishment, is impossible (as the highly unfortunate attempt of Graf, as quoted, p. 174, proves). 2. The report also, ver. 16, of the restoration of the altar of the Lord by Manasseh, is much too historically definite and concrete to be fairly taken for the product of a biassed imagination or a fabulous rumour. 3. The removal, noticed ver. 15, of the strange gods, of the idol, that is, the figure of the asherah (2 Kings xxi. 7) and of the idol-altar, must by no means be thought necessarily connected with the complete annihilation of these monuments of idolatry, as if there were here a contradiction of 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 12; rather the complete destroying, crushing, and reducing to powder there mentioned, which Josiah thought it necessary to inflict on these monuments, directly suggest the thought that Manasseh neglected that which was important, and proceeded with too much mildness and forbearance (towards the priests of this idolatrous worship). Even the phraseology employed is against the assumption that the Chronist reports anything contradictory of those passages of the second book of Kings; for our author knows very well how to distinguish between הֵסִיר, "remove" (or even הִשְׁלִיךְ, "cast out," ver. 15), and שִׁבֵּר, הֵדַק, כָּרַת, and similar words, denoting the annihilation of the images or altars, according to such passages as xv. 16, xxxi. 1, xxxiv. 4 (comp. Keil, p. 365). 4. To the assumption that neither Manasseh's reform of worship was truly thorough and radical, nor his conversion solid and permanent, there is not the least objection; on the contrary, ver. 17 speaks expressly against the conception that he had swept away the monuments of idolatry as thoroughly as his father Hezekiah had done, or his grandson Josiah afterwards did; and the remainder of his reign and life, after his return from Babel (647–642 or 641), amounting perhaps to five years, left him quite time enough to relapse a second time partially or wholly into the idolatrous and immoral course of his earlier days. 5. If, accordingly, as is not merely possible, but probable, his return to the worship of the Lord was not a permanent change, but merely an episode in the long series of acts and events in his reign, it will be the less surprising if, in the judgment as well of the men of his day as of posterity regarding this sovereign, a division arose, so that only here and there express mention is made of the temporary repentance and better theocratic disposition wrought in him by the calamity of his exile; while he was otherwise, and perhaps usually, without any reference to this circumstance, reckoned among the sovereigns who were to be rejected from the theocratic standpoint. That accounts have been preserved to us in the canon by representatives of both of these views—that besides the present report, relatively favourable to Manasseh, the decidedly unfavourable account of the book of Kings, that uses the phrase "sins of Manasseh" several times (2 Kings xxiv. 3, xxiii. 26; comp. Jer. xv. 4) almost as a proverb, has come down to us,—this can by no means be called more wonderful than, for example, the existence of two relations, a more idealizing and a more realistic (duly emphasizing the dark along with the light), concerning the transactions in the reign of a David, a Solomon, a Jehoshaphat, or than the very dimly coloured picture of the religious and moral conduct of the northern kingdom, as the indications of our author, obviously betraying a certain aversion and rooted antipathy, exhibit it, compared with the far more favourable delineations of the books of Kings. In abatement of that which the opponents have specially to allege from the last-quoted passages against the credibility of the account of Manasseh's reforms, comp. also especially Keil, p. 366. If this be the case with the conversion of Manasseh, the passages 2 Kings xxiv. 3, xxiii. 26, Jer. xv. 4, where it is said that the Lord removed Judah out of His sight on account of the sins of Manasseh, lose all significance for the opposite view. Manasseh is here presented as the man who by his ungodliness rendered the doom of Judah and Jerusalem inevitable, because he so corrupted Judah by his sins that he could no longer turn truly to the Lord, but fell back ever more into the sins of Manasseh. In like manner it is said, 2 Kings xvii. 21, 22, of the ten tribes, that the Lord cast them off because they walked in all the sins of Jeroboam, and departe not from them.

## *p.* JOSIAH: THE PROPHETESS HULDAH.—CH. XXXIV., XXXV.

### *α. Josiah's Beginnings; the Extirpation of Idolatry:* ch. xxxiv. 1–7.

CH. XXXIV. 1. Josiah was eight years old when he became king, and he reigned
2 thirty-one years in Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes
of the LORD, and walked in the ways of David his father, and declined not to
3 the right hand nor to the left. And in the eighth year of his reign, while he
was yet a youth, he began to seek after the God of David his father; and in
the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem of the high places,
4 and the asherim, and the carved images, and the molten images. And they
pulled down before him the altars of Baalim; and the sun-statues which were
above them he hewed down; and the asherim, and the carved images,
and the molten images, he broke and pounded, and strewed upon the
5 graves of them that had sacrificed to them. And the bones of the priests he
6 burned upon their altars,[1] and he purged Judah and Jerusalem. And in the

cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, in their
7 ruins[2] around. And he pulled down the altars and the asherim, and he cut
down the carved images to pound them, and hewed down all the sun-statues
in all the land of Israel; and he returned to Jerusalem.

β. *The Purging of the Temple and the Recovery of the Book of the Law:* vers. 8–21.

8 And in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he purged the land and the
house, he sent Shaphan son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the
city, and Joah son of Joahaz the chancellor, to repair the house of the LORD
9 his God. And they came to Hilkiah the high priest, and delivered the money
that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites that kept the
thresholds had gathered from the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and from
all the remnant of Israel, and from all Judah and Benjamin, and the inhabit-
10 ants[3] of Jerusalem. And they put it into the hand of the work-masters who
were appointed over the house of the LORD; and the work-masters who
worked in the house of the LORD gave it to restore and repair the house.
11 And they gave it to the carpenters and masons, to buy hewn stones and
timber for girders and for joists of the houses, which the kings of Judah had
12 destroyed. And the men wrought faithfully at the work, and over them
were appointed Jahath and Obadiah the Levites of the sons of Merari, and
Zechariah and Meshullam of the sons of the Kohathites, to oversee; and the
13 Levites, all that had skill in instruments of song. And over the carriers, and
14 overseeing all that were doing the work in any manner of service. And
when they took out the money that was brought into the house of the LORD,
15 Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of the LORD by Moses. And
Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of
the law in the house of the LORD: and Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan.
16 And Shaphan brought the book to the king, and returned to the king a
17 report, saying, All that was committed to thy servants, they do. And they
have poured out the money that was found in the house of the LORD, and
18 given it into the hands of the overseers and of the workmen. And Shaphan
the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath given me a book:
19 and Shaphan read in it before the king. And when the king heard the
20 words of the law, then he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hil-
kiah, and Ahikam son of Shaphan, and Abdon[4] son of Micah, and Shaphan
21 the scribe, and Asaiah the servant of the king, saying: Go, inquire of the
LORD for me, and for them that are left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the
words of the book that is found; for great is the wrath of the LORD that
is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the
LORD, to do after all that is written in this book.

γ. *Consultation of Huldah the Prophetess, and Solemn Reading of the Law in the Temple:* vers. 22–33.

22 And Hilkiah and those who were appointed[5] by the king went to Huldah
the prophetess, the wife of Shallum son of Tokehath, son of Hasrah, keeper
of the wardrobe; and she dwelt in Jerusalem in the second (quarter); and
23 they spake to her to this effect. And she said to them, Thus saith the LORD
24 God of Israel, Say ye to the man who sent you to me, Thus saith the LORD,
Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon its inhabitants, all the
curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of
25 Judah: Because they have forsaken me, and have made burnings[6] to other
gods, to provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; and my
26 wrath is poured out on this place, and will not be quenched. And to the
king of Judah, who sent you to inquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say:
Thus saith the LORD God of Israel of the words which thou hast heard.
27 Because thy heart was tender, and thou didst bow down before God, when
thou heardest His words against this place and its inhabitants, and thou didst
bow down before me and didst rend thy garments and weep before me, so

28 have I also heard thee, saith the LORD. Behold, I will gather thee to thy
fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, and thine eyes
shall not see all the evil that I will bring upon this place and upon its inha-
29 bitants: and they brought the king word again. And the king sent and
30 gathered all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem. And the king went up into
the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jeru-
salem, and the priests and the Levites, and all the people, great and small; and
one read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant that was found
31 in the house of the LORD. And the king stood in his place, and made the
covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep His command-
ments and testimonies and statutes with all his heart and with all his soul,
32 to perform the words of the covenant which are written in this book. And
he caused all that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it; and
the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God
33 of their fathers. And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the
countries of the sons of Israel, and bound all that were found in Israel to
serve the LORD their God: all his days they departed not from the LORD God
of their fathers.

δ. *The Passover:* ch. xxxv. 1–19.

CH. XXXV. 1. And Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in Jerusalem; and they
2 killed the passover on the fourteenth of the first month. And he set the
priests in their charges, and strengthened them for the service of the LORD.
3 And he said unto the Levites, who taught all Israel,[7] who were consecrated
to the LORD, Put the holy ark into the house which Solomon son of David,
the king of Israel, built; it shall not be a burden on your shoulders: now
4 serve ye the LORD your God, and His people Israel. And make you ready[8]
in your father-houses by your courses, after the writing of David king of
5 Israel, and after the description of Solomon his son. And stand ye in the
sanctuary after the divisions of the father-houses of your brethren, the sons
6 of the people, and a part of a father-house of the Levites [for each]. And kill
the passover, and sanctify you, and prepare your brethren, to do according to
7 the word of the LORD by Moses. And Josiah dealt to the sons of the people
sheep, lambs, and kids, all for paschal offerings, for all that were found, to the
number of thirty thousand, and three thousand bullocks: these were of the
8 property of the king. And his princes presented a free gift to the people, to
the priests, and to the Levites: Hilkiah, and Zechariah, and Jehiel, rulers of
the house of God, gave unto the priests for the passover-offerings two thousand
9 and six hundred [sheep], and three hundred oxen. And Conaniah, and Shemaiah,
and Nethaneel, his brethren, and Hashabiah, and Jeiel, and Jozabad, chiefs of
the Levites, presented to the Levites for passover-offerings five thousand [sheep],
10 and oxen five hundred. And the service was prepared, and the priests stood
in their place, and the Levites in their courses, at the command of the king.
11 And they killed the passover, and the priests sprinkled [the blood] from their
12 hand, and the Levites flayed. And they removed the burnt-offering to give
them to the divisions of the father-houses of the sons of the people, to offer
unto the LORD, as it is written in the book of Moses; and so with the oxen.
13 And they roasted the passover with fire, according to the ordinance; and the
holy things they sod in pots and kettles and pans, and brought them quickly
14 to all the sons of the people. And afterwards they made ready for themselves
and for the priests: because the priests the sons of Aaron were engaged in
offering the burnt-offering and the fat until night; and the Levites prepared
15 for themselves and for the priests the sons of Aaron. And the singers
the sons of Asaph were in their place, according to the command of
David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters
were at every gate: it was not necessary for them to depart from their service,
16 for their brethren the Levites prepared for them. And all the service of the
LORD was prepared that day, to keep the passover, and to offer burnt-offerings

17 on the altar of the LORD, at the command of King Josiah. And the sons of
Israel that were present kept the passover at that time, and the feast of
18 unleavened bread seven days. And there was no passover like that kept in
Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; nor did all the kings of Israel
keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all
19 Judah and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In
the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept.

*ι. Josiah's Battle with Necho of Egypt, and End:* vers. 20–27.

20 After all this, when Josiah had prepared the house, Necho king of Egypt
came up to fight at Carchemish, on the Euphrates; and Josiah went out against
21 him. And he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee,
O king of Judah? I am not against thee this day, but against the house of
my war;[9] and God hath commanded me to make haste: withdraw thee from
22 God, who is with me, that He destroy thee not. And Josiah turned not his
face from him, but disguised himself,[10] to fight with him, and hearkened not
unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and he came to fight in the
23 valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at King Josiah: and the king said
24 to his servants, Remove me, for I am sorely wounded. And his servants
removed him from the chariot, and put him on his second chariot; and
brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried in the sepulchres of
25 his fathers: and all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah
lamented for Josiah; and all the songsters and songstresses spake of Josiah
in their laments unto this day, and they made them an ordinance for Israel:
and, behold, they are written in the Lamentations.
26 And the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his kindness, as it is written in the
27 law of the LORD, And his deeds, first and last, behold, they are written in the
book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

*q.* JEHOAHAZ, JEHOIAKIM, JEHOIACHIN, ZEDEKIAH: CLOSE.—CH. XXXVI.

*α. Jehoahaz:* vers. 1–4.

CH. XXXVI. 1. And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and
2 made him king instead of his father in Jerusalem. Jehoahaz was twenty and
three years old when he became king; and he reigned three months in
3 Jerusalem. And the king of Egypt put him down[11] in Jerusalem, and fined
4 the land a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold. And the king of
Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned
his name to Jehoiakim: and Necho took Jehoahaz his brother and carried
him to Egypt.

*β. Jehoiakim:* vers. 5–8.

5 Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he became king; and he
reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; and he did that which was evil in the
6 eyes of the LORD God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel,
7 and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babel.[12] And Nebuchadnezzar
brought of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babel, and put them in
8 his palace at Babel. And the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abomina-
tions which he did, and that which was found against him, behold, they are
written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah: and Jehoiachin his son
reigned in his stead.

*γ. Jehoiachin:* vers. 9, 10.

9 Jehoiachin was eight years[13] old when he became king; and he reigned
three months and ten days in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in
10 the eyes of the LORD. And at the turn of the year, King Nebuchadnezzar
sent and brought him to Babel, with the goodly vessels of the house of the
LORD; and he made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

δ. *Zedekiah:* vers. 11–21.

11 Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned
12 eleven years in Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil in the eyes of
the LORD his God; he humbled himself not before Jeremiah the prophet, from
13 the mouth of the LORD. And he also rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar,
who made him swear by God: and he stiffened his neck, and hardened his
14 heart from turning unto the LORD God of Israel. Also all the chiefs of the
priests and the people transgressed very much, after all the abominations of
the heathen; and polluted the house of the LORD, which He had hallowed in
15 Jerusalem. And the LORD God of their fathers sent to them by His messengers,
rising early, and sending; because He had compassion on His people and His
16 dwelling-place. And they mocked the messengers of God, and despised His
words, and scoffed at His prophets, until the wrath of the LORD rose against
17 His people, till there was no healing. And He brought up against them the
king of the Chaldees, and slew their young men with the sword in the house
of their sanctuary, and He spared neither young man nor maiden, the old nor
18 the grey-headed; the whole He gave into his hand. And all the vessels of
the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD,
and the treasures of the king and his princes; the whole he brought to Babel.
19 And they burned the house of God, and pulled down the wall of Jerusalem,
and burned all its palaces with fire, and destroyed all its goodly vessels.
20 And he carried away those that remained from the sword to Babel; and they
became servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia:
21 To fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had
enjoyed her sabbaths: all the days of the desolation she rested to fulfil seventy
years.

ε. *Close: the Return from Captivity under Cyrus:* vers. 22, 23.

22 And in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD,
by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit
of Cyrus king of Persia, and he made proclamation in all his kingdom, and
23 also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms
of the earth hath the LORD God of heaven given me; and He hath charged
me to build Him a house at Jerusalem: whoso is among you of all His
people? The LORD[14] his God be with him, and let him go up.

[1] מִזְבְּחוֹתִים is probably an error of transcription for מִזְבְּחוֹתָם

[2] Instead of the *Keri* בְּחָרְבֹתֵיהֶם, that appears formed after Ezek. xxvi. 9, or Neh. iv. 7, but yields no suitable sense, we should point בְּחָרְבֹתֵיהֶם, *in ruinis eorum* (comp. Ps. cix. 10). The *Kethib:* בָּחַר בָּתֵּיהֶם, "he chose (examined, searched) their houses," is scarcely warranted by the usage of speech.

[3] The *Kethib* וַיֵּשְׁבִי is undoubtedly to be preferred to the *Keri* וַיָּשֻׁבוּ, "and they returned."

[4] For עַבְדּוֹן the Syr. presents עַכְבּוֹר, which seems to be the original reading according to 2 Kings xxii. 12.

[5] For אֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ: is to be read, according to the Sept.: וא׳ אמר המ׳, "and whom the king had commanded.

[6] *Kethib* וַיְקַטְּרוּ, "have burned offerings"; *Piel*, as 2 Kings xxii. 17: "have burned incense."

[7] *Kethib* המבונים, perhaps only a slip of the pen for הַמְּבִינִים (*Keri*), "the teaching, instructing"; some mss. give this directly as the *Kethib*; some have המכינים, which is perhaps only another way of miswriting the original המבינים.

[8] The *Kethib* הִכּוֹנוּ (*imp. Niph.* "make you ready") is undoubtedly to be preferred to the *Keri* הָכִינוּ, "prepare ye" (comp. ver. 6).

[9] The difficult phrase אֶל־בֵּית מִלְחַמְתִּי is not translated by the Sept.; the Vulg. gives the very free rendering: *sed contra aliam pugno domum.* The original text is perhaps still to be discovered from 3 Esdras i. 25: *ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ πόλεμός μου ἐστι*, namely, אֶל־פְּרָת מִלְחַמְתִּי (comp. also Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 5. 1). So at least O. F. Fritzsche (on 3 Esdras), Berth., and Kamph.

[10] Instead of הִתְחַפֵּשׂ, "disfigured, unrobed himself," the Sept. read (ἐκραταιώθη) הִתְחַזֵּק (comp. xxv. 11); the Vulg. (præparavit) and 3 Esdras (ἐπεχείρει) appear only to have run into the indefinite.

[11] Instead of וַיְסִירֵהוּ, "and removed, put him down," the Sept. read (ἔδησεν) וַיַּאַסְרֵהוּ, agreeing with 2 Kings xxiii. 33. But the Vulg., Syr., and 3 Esdras confirm the Masoretic reading. The last (3 Esdras i. 33) seems to have read וַיְסִירֵהוּ מִמְּלֹךְ, with a supplement which Berth., Kamp., and others pronounce necessary before בירושלם.

[12] The Sept., Vulg., and 3 Esdras change לְהוֹלִיכוֹ into the past וַיּוֹלִיכֵהוּ; comp. Exeg. Expl.

[13] שְׁמֹנֶה, though the Sept. and Vulg. give the number 8, is certainly an error of the pen for שמנה עשׂרה; comp 2 Kings xxiv. 8, also some Hebr. manuscripts, the Syr. and Arab. in our passage.

[14] For יְהוָֹה the parallels Ezra i. 3 and 3 Esdras ii. 5 present יְהִי, which is perhaps the original form.

## EXEGETICAL.

PRELIMINARY REMARK.—Whereas in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii. the several moments of the reforming action of Josiah are so combined that they appear all conditioned and determined by the repair of the temple, and the discovery in it of the book of the law, the Chronist separates the several acts or steps of his reforming activity more exactly, and indeed chronologically, as he makes the work of the king begin with the eighth year of his reign, the commencement of his more energetic proceedings to fall in the twelfth, and its end in the eighteenth (comp. on xxxiv. 3). In other respects the two accounts agree substantially, though the Chronist has related the cleansing of Judah and Jerusalem from idolatry (xxxiv. 3–7) with great brevity, and, on the contrary, the great passover (xxxv. 1–19) so much the more fully; whereas the author of 2 Kings, in accordance with his less careful attention to the history of the Levitical worship, has reversed this method, and treated of the passover quite briefly. Both historians relate the closing catastrophe of the history of Josiah at nearly the same length and in much the same manner, though the Chronist gives vent to the pragmatic reflective connection of this tragic end with the previous transactions of his reign (2 Kings xxiii. 25 f.). He proceeds, lastly, quite in the form of an epitome in his statements concerning the four last reigns, in ch. xxxvi., to which the author of the books of Kings devotes a great deal of space.

1. Josiah's Beginnings; the Eradication of Idolatry: ch. xxxiv. 1–7.—Vers. 1, 2 agree with 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2, especially with regard to the eulogy applied to Josiah (alone of all kings), that he "declined not to the right hand nor to the left"; only the mention of his mother (Jedidah, daughter of Adaiah) is wanting in our passage.—Ver. 3. *And in the eighth year of his reign,* when he was sixteen years old. The "seeking after God," as xxii. 19 and elsewhere. On the relation of the present chronological statements, especially that referring to the twelfth year of Josiah's reign as the date of the beginning of the abolition of idolatry, in 2 Kings xxii. 3 ff. and ver. 33 of our chapter, see Bähr's full discussion (*Bibelw.* vii. 453 ff.). This agrees with the conclusion of almost all recent expositors in this, that neither the Chronist nor the author of 2 Kings proceeds exactly in chronological order, in so far as the latter compresses the whole measures of the purification of worship and extirpation of idolatry into the eighteenth year of his reign; but the former (according to vers. 4–7, which are to be taken partly as proleptic) attaches to that which was put in operation in the twelfth year part of that which was only carried into effect in the eighteenth year, as he himself indicates at the close of the chapter (ver. 33).—Ver. 4. *And they pulled down before him the altars of Baalim, and the sun-statues . . . he hewed down;* comp. xxxiii. 3, xxxi. 1; and for the sun-statues especially, xiv. 4; and for that which follows, xv. 16.—*And strewed* (the dust of the ground images) *upon the graves of them that had sacrificed to them,* literally, "upon the graves that sacrificed to them." In 2 Kings xxiii. 6, perhaps more exactly the ashes of the great asherim merely are designated as strewn upon the graves of the idolaters.—Ver. 5. *And the bones of the priests he burned* · for the particulars, see 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14 16–20.—Ver. 6. *And in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim, and Simeon, and unto Naphtali,* that is, in all the land, from the most southern to the most northern part of the tribes. That the regions belonging to the northern kingdom (among which here, as in xv. 9, Simeon also is named as a tribe addicted to idolatry) were at that time wasted by the invasion of Shalmaneser and Sargon, is indicated by the addition: "in their ruins around." For the exclusive admissibility of this reading (בְּחַרְבֹתֵיהֶם), see Crit. Note Moreover, the present account (with the parallel statement in 2 Kings xxiii. 19 f.), according to which the kingdom of Josiah included again in some measure all the twelve tribes, is certainly to be estimated in the same way as the statement in xxx. 18, according to which, even in the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, before the northern kingdom had fallen, a partial annexation of its inhabitants to the southern kingdom in respect of worship had taken place. Here also it is only the introduction of the remnant of the inhabitants of the north into the work of the purification of worship that is spoken of, not the exercise of a formal sovereignty over their country. What Neteler says, p. 261, of a supposed "reunion of the country of Israel with the kingdom of Judah" under Manasseh, and of an inheritance of this collective Israelitish kingdom, restored to its original compass, on the part of Josiah son of Manasseh, is devoid of all definite hold in the text as well of the books of Kings as of Chronicles.—Ver. 7. *Pulled down the altars;* here first is the chief sentence to the (in the form of an absolute sentence, ver. 6) premised determination of the scene of the king's action.—*And the asherim;* לְהַדֵק is a perfect-like (retaining the vowel of the perfect) infinitive with לְ, on which see Ewald, § 238, *d.*—*And he returned to Jerusalem,* from his campaign against the idols, which had carried him into the former region of Ephraim

and Simeon. In 2 Kings xxiii. 20 also is this notice found, but there certainly in reference to the eighteenth year of Josiah. A chronological contradiction of the two accounts, however, can scarcely be found in this circumstance; comp. Bähr on the passage.

2. The Purging of the Temple and Recovery of the Book of the Law: vers. 8–21. Comp. 2 Kings xxii. 3–13, and Bähr on the passage.—*In the eighteenth year . . . when he purged.* לְטַהֵר is neither "after the purging, after he had purged" (Luther, de Wette, etc.), nor "in order to purge" (Berth., Kamph.), but a note of time and circumstance "in the purging" (Keil, Net.); comp. Jer. xlvi. 13. In the naming of Shaphan, his designation as scribe or royal secretary (2 Kings xxii. 3) has perhaps fallen out of the text of our account by a mere oversight, for the two other officers named by the Chronist (reporting more exactly than 2 Kings) are introduced by the addition of their titles. For "repair (literally, 'strengthen') the house of the Lord," see on xxiv. 5, and also on ver. 9 of the present report concerning the repair of the temple under Joash (xxiv. 11–13); see, moreover, the Crit. Note on ver. 9.—Ver. 10. *Put it into the hand of the work-masters,* etc. וַיִּתְּנוּ is a resuming of the same verb in the foregoing verse, but connected with עַל־יַד, "into the hand," by which the sense of "handing" is reached. For the plur. עֹשֵׂה הַמְּלָאכָה (for עֹשֵׂי ה'), comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 24.—*The work-masters . . . gave it,* etc.; so according to the received text; but if, as 2 Kings xxii. 5 seems to show, a לְ has fallen out before עֹשֵׂי, it should be rendered: "they gave it to the work-masters" (or labourers). The latter reading appears the more suitable, though it cannot be affirmed that it is the original one.—Ver. 11. *And timber for girders and for joists of the houses,* literally, "to joist the houses"; comp. Neh. iii. 3, 6. This means, naturally, not any houses of the city, but the buildings of the temple.—*Which the kings of Judah had destroyed,* let go to ruin; a like exaggeration of phrase as in the case of Athaliah, xxiv. 7.—Ver. 12. *And the men wrought faithfully at the work,* literally, "were working." For בֶּאֱמוּנָה, "truly, conscientiously," see on xxxi. 12.—*To oversee* the building; comp. לְנַצֵּחַ in essentially the same meaning, Ezra iii. 8.—*And the Levites, all that had skill in instruments of song;* comp. 1 Chron. xv. 16, xxv. 7; Dan. i 17. These closing words of ver. 12 are to be connected with ver. 13*a*, so that the repeated וְ is = "as well as." This is simpler and less violent than the proposal of Bertheau, accepted by Kamph., to erase the first וְ of ver. 13, and annex the words "over the carriers" to ver. 12. On ver. 14, comp. 2 Kings xxii. 8.—*The book of the law of the Lord by Moses,* that is, the Mosaic law (comp. for the phrase, xxxiii. 8). The whole Torah at all events is meant, not merely Deuteronomy, as the modern critical school (last of all, Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 236) think; and not merely the groups of laws contained in the three middle books of the Pentateuch (according to Bertheau's hypothesis, *Beiträge zur israelit. Gesch.* p. 375). Decisive grounds against these modern hypotheses, especially so far as they endeavour to connect the assertion of an origin from Manasseh or even Josiah with our passage, see in Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker*, 1871, and in Klostermann, "Das Lied Mosis und das Deuteronomium," *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1871, ii.; 1872, ii. and iii. Comp. also Stähelin, *Einleit. ins A. T.* (1862) p. 242 ff.; J. Fürst, *Gesch. der bibl. Literat.* i. 351 ff.; and Bähr on 2 Kings xxii. 7.—Ver. 16. *And Shaphan brought the book to the king.* Somewhat different in the parallel 2 Kings xxii. 9, where at first it is only related: "and Shaphan the scribe came to the king," and where, therefore, no עוֹד, "yet," stands in the following: "and brought the king word." The structure of the words in the Chronist appears in every respect the younger, although none of its deviations is of any essential importance; comp. Keil on this passage.—Ver. 17. *Given it into the hands;* comp. on ver. 10 at the beginning.—Ver. 20. *And Ahikam son of Shaphan,* the father of Gedaliah and protector of Jeremiah; see Jer. xxvi. 24, xl. 5. For the probable originality of the reading "Achbor" for "Abdon," see the Crit. Note. The Achbor of this passage appears the same who is so named Jer. xxvi. 22, xxxvi. 12.—Ver 21. *And for them that are left in Israel,* literally, "for that which is left"; a significant phrase, like the parallel 2 Kings xxii. 13: "for the people and for all Judah." The expression "that is poured out" (נִתְּכָה) stands for the essentially synonymous "that is kindled" (נִצְּתָה) of the parallel.

3. Consultation of Huldah, and Solemn Reading of the Law in the Temple: vers. 22–33. Comp. 2 Kings xxii. 14–20, xxiii. 1–3, and Bähr on this passage.—*Went to Huldah . . . the wife of Shallum.* The forefathers of this husband of Huldah are called in 2 Kings, not Tokehath and Hasrah, but Tikvah and Harhas.[1] Which of these (nowhere else occurring) names are original cannot now be decided. For "the second" quarter or district of the lower city, see Bähr.—*And they spake to her to this effect,* namely, as Josiah had said to them; this כַּזֹּאת, which reminds us of xxxii. 15, is wanting in 2 Kings.—Ver. 24. *All the curses,* etc.; in 2 Kings less strong: "all the words."—Ver. 25. *And my wrath is poured out on this place.* As in ver. 21, here again stands the verb נתך instead of נצת, the one usual in the parallel (2 Kings xxii. 17), which latter, moreover, the Sept. expresses also in our passage, perhaps because it appears to suit better the following words: "and will not be quenched."—Ver. 27. *Because thy heart was tender . . . when thou heardest his words.* In the original text the construction is somewhat different, namely, "the words which thou hast heard" (ver. 26 for example), "because thereby thy heart was made tender, and thou didst bow down before God, when thou heardest," etc. The words הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתָּ, absolutely prefixed, can scarcely be translated. In 2 Kings xxii. 19, moreover, the words "against this place" are rendered still

[1] Not Harham, as Luther and after him also Bähr (changing the ס into ם) write.

more distinct by the addition wanting here: "that they should become a desolation and a curse."—Ver. 28. *And they brought the king word again;* comp. ver. 16.—Ver. 32. *Caused all . . . to stand to it,* namely, to the covenant. In 2 Kings xxiii. 3, instead of וַיַּעֲמֵד stands rather the *Kal* וַיַּעֲמֹד, joined with בַּבְּרִית, "and all the people stood to the covenant."—Ver. 33. *And Josiah took away all the abominations.* For the relation of this statement, that reverts to vers. 3-7 in the way of recapitulation, to 2 Kings xxiii. 4-20, see above, Preliminary Remark, and on ver. 3. By "all the countries of the sons of Israel" are here meant the territories of the former kingdom of the ten tribes, as distinguished from Jerusalem and Benjamin, ver. 32 (that is, Jerusalem, Judah, and Benjamin). Comp. above, ver. 6, also 2 Kings xxiii. 15, 19, where in particular Bethel and the cities of Samaria are mentioned as places of the former Israel that were subjected to the great purging process of Josiah.—*And bound all . . . to serve* (וַיַּעֲבֵד לַעֲבֹד), "caused to serve," bound to the service of the Lord.—*All his days they departed not from the Lord.* This theocratic behaviour of the people during the whole reign of Josiah can, at all events, have only been external, without true conversion of heart, and therefore without real constancy; see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 1.

4. The Passover: ch. xxxv. 1-19. Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 21, 23; as also the tolerably close Greek version of our section in 3 Esdras i. 1-21 (in Tischendorf's edit. of the Sept. the first book of Esdras).—*And they killed the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month;* thus, though Hitzig (*Gesch.* p. 235) doubts it without any ground, at the time prescribed by law, otherwise than in the passover of Hezekiah, xxx. 2 ff. The year of this solemnity is (ver. 9; see on this verse) the eighteenth of Josiah's reign, and therefore 623 (or 622) B.C.—Ver. 2. *And he set the priests in their charges* (watches; comp. vii. 6, viii. 14), in their functions; comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 32.—*And strengthened them for the service of the Lord,* by comforting, encouraging exhortation, as also by instructions in their legal functions; comp. Neh. ii. 18, where חִזֵּק stands in the same sense, and xxix. 5.—Ver. 3. *Who taught all Israel.* Comp. הֵבִין in Neh. viii. 7, 9, also the synonymous לִמֵּד above, xvii. 8, 9. For the following designation of the Levites as "consecrated to the Lord," that is, alone entitled to enter His sanctuary and conduct His holy service, comp. xxiii. 6.—*Put the holy ark into the house.* These words are somewhat surprising, and admit of various interpretations, as a parallel yielding a more definite explanation is wanting. But although not הָשִׁיבוּ, "bring back," but תְּנוּ, "give place," is the verb used, yet the assumption of a previous removal of the ark from its place in the holy of holies appears to present itself with constraining necessity, even if we think (with many ancients, as well as Berth. and Kamph.) of Manasseh or Amon as the author of this temporary transference of the ark; in which case, however, it would be very surprising that nothing should be expressly stated in the reign of these godless kings concerning so profane a violation; or if (with Starke and others) we consider Josiah's repair of the temple to be the occasion of the temporary removal of the ark from its place, which is undoubtedly the simplest and best supposition. Quite arbitrary is the hypothesis of some ancients, that the ark was, in the days of the idolatrous kings, sometimes carried round the country as a means of strengthening the faith of the people, and Josiah now forbids this custom in the present words (see v. Mosheim in Calmet's *Bibl. Untersuchungen,* vi. 226 ff.); and equally so the Rabbinical conceit, that Josiah here gives orders to remove the ark from its place in the holy of holies to a subterranean chamber, to place it in safety from the impending destruction of the temple. But even the rendering: "Leave the holy ark in the house, leave it in the temple, to which it properly belongs" (Keil, after the ancients), is arbitrary; and so is Neteler's attempted emendation, which, against the grammar, would change the imperat. תְּנוּ into the perf. תָּנוּ (from תנן = נתן, "give"), and translate accordingly: "And he said to the Levites, Those who taught all Israel, who were consecrated to the Lord, have put the ark of the sanctuary into the house," etc. Were such an explanation of the passage possible, how surprising that it is first discovered in the 19th century!—*It shall not be a burden on your shoulders;* comp. Num. iv. 15, vii. 9. The sense of these words can only be: ye have to minister to the ark of the Lord not as a moveable sanctuary, to be carried laboriously on the shoulders, through the wilderness or from city to city, but as the throne of God standing in the centre of the temple; the times of the toilsome and perilous (comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 9) transport of the ark are over; an easier ministry before this sanctuary, but not the less conscientiously to be discharged, now lies upon you. If we take the words thus (with Keil, Kamph., etc.), there seems to be no necessity for Bertheau's assumption that the Levites at the passover had carried round the ark on their shoulders in an inconsiderate way, and Josiah therefore instructed them that this function of carrying was no longer binding on them with regard to the ark of the covenant.—Ver. 4. *And make you ready* (see Crit. Note) . . . *after the writing of David,* properly, "in the writing," etc. (בְּ, as in xxix. 25). There were then writings or notes (מִכְתָּב, as in xxxvi. 22, 1 Chron. xxviii. 19) of David and Solomon, in which these kings had established as law their prescriptions for the ministry of priests and Levites in the sanctuary, from which also our author had directly or indirectly drawn his former communications on this subject (1 Chron. xxiii.-xxvi.); comp. Introd. § 5, for example, and the preliminary remark in explanation of 1 Chron. xxiii.-xxvi.—Ver. 5. *And a part of a father-house of the Levites (for each);* so that to every division (פְּלֻגָּה, as Ezra vi. 18) of the non-Levitical father-houses may correspond a part of a Levitical father-house (comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 6). In this way it is not necessary to erase וְ before חֲלֻקַּת in the sense of "and indeed," or "namely" (against Berth.).—Ver. 6. *Kill the passover and sanctify you,* namely, by washing before ye hand to the priests the blood to sprinkle

on the altar; comp. xxx. 16 f.—Vers. 7-9. The King and his Princes bestow Victims.—*And Josiah dealt to the sons of the people;* הֵרִים, bestow as a heave-offering, as in xxx. 24, Ezra viii. 25.—*To the number of* 30,000 head of small cattle, and 3000 bullocks,—the latter, as appears from ver. 13, for slaying and consuming as peace-offerings. All this was from the king's domains; comp. xxxi. 3, xxxii. 29.—Ver. 8. *And his princes presented a free gift;* so is לִנְדָבָה to be taken here (comp. the corresponding לַפְּסָחִים for passover-offerings in the verse before), not as an adverb, "willingly," as Berth. thinks. How many the princes gave as free gifts is not here mentioned (it is otherwise in xxx. 24); for the three "rulers of the house of God" named in *b* as in ver. 9, and six chiefs of the Levites, are certainly as different from "the princes of the king" as the spiritual office-bearers in any kingdom are from the temporal. Moreover, of the three princes of the house of God, Zechariah, named next after the high priest Hilkiah, appears to be his nearest subordinate or deputy (כֹּהֵן מִשְׁנֶה, 2 Kings xxv. 18); but the third, Jehiel, seems to be the head of the line of Ithamar (comp. Ezra viii. 2, and Berth. on this passage). Of the six chiefs of the Levites named in ver. 9, three—Conaniah, Shemaiah, and Jozabad—have the same names with those named in xxxi. 12-15 on the occasion of the reform of Hezekiah, but are scarcely the same persons.—Ver. 10 ff. depicts the preparation of the passover and the sacrificial feast connected with it.—*And the service was prepared* (or arranged, Luther), comp. ver. 16, xxix. 35; for the following, also xxx. 16 f.—Ver. 12. *And they removed the burnt-offering;* הֵסִיר is here to separate the parts of the victim that were to be burned on the altar; comp. Lev. iii. 9 f., iv. 31. These parts are here called הָעֹלָה, because, as the law of the peace-offering, Lev. iii. 6-16 (especially vers. 11 and 16), directs, they were wholly burned as the burnt-offering, and, moreover, on the flesh of the evening sacrifice. A special burnt-offering is not to be thought of, because such were not prescribed on the evening of the 14th Nisan for the passover; the only offerings to be presented thereon were the paschal lambs. — *To give them to the divisions;* "them," namely, the separated pieces, to be burned as burnt-offerings.—*And so with the oxen;* they also (those special gifts in oxen mentioned vers. 7-9, 3800 head in all) were presented not as burnt-offerings or holocausts to be wholly burned, but as peace-offerings, to be eaten as a joyful festival in part, that is, after taking away the fat that was to be burned.—Ver. 13. *And they roasted the passover with fire, according to the ordinance;* see Ex. xii. 8, 9. The "holy things" (הַקֳּדָשִׁים) are the slain oxen (see xxix. 33). If it is further said of these, that their flesh, after being sodden in pots, etc., is to be brought "quickly" to the sons of the people, that is, the non-Levitical partakers in the feast, it does not follow that this was done on the first evening of the feast, the 14th Nisan, and thus that all that was provided, passover lambs and peace-offerings, was consumed on the very first evening (as Berth. and apparently also Kamph. think). On the contrary, Keil justly remarks: "Such a junction or rather mingling of the feast prepared of the roasted lambs with the eating of the boiled beef would have been so rude an offence against the legal prescriptions concerning the passover, that we shall not ascribe it either to King Josiah and the priests, or even to the author of Chronicles, as the latter expressly remarks that they proceeded in the festival according to the prescription of the law of Moses, and according to the ordinance." Accordingly, that which is here and in the two following verses recorded concerning the preparation of the offering and the feast refers not merely to the opening evening, but to the whole seven days of unleavened bread.—Ver. 14. *And afterwards,* when the laity were provided for.—*Because the priests . . . (were engaged) in offering the burnt-offering and the fat until night,* and thus could not cook and prepare for themselves, the Levites must do this for them. Burnt-offering and fat appear to denote one and the same thing, and so to form a hendiadyoin; or also the conjunctive ו between the two phrases appears to be explicative (Keil).—Ver. 15. *And the singers . . . were in their place* (comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, xxv. 1, 6). What is here recorded concerning the co-operation of the singers and the porters in the solemnity clearly refers, as the comprehensive character of the scene shows, not merely to one, but to all the seven days of the feast. The phrase "that day," at the beginning of ver. 16, does not oppose this view, but reverts to the 14th Nisan as the fundamental day of the festival; comp. the sing. יוֹם in Gen. ii. 4 and in ver. 17, which shows most directly and clearly the correctness of our interpretation.—Ver. 18. *And there was no passover like that kept . . . from the days of Samuel.* This does not contradict xxx. 26, for there the point of comparison is the magnificence and numerous participation in the solemnity; here, on the contrary, its theocratic purity and legitimacy. Comp. above on that passage, as well as Bähr on the parallel 2 Kings xxiii. 22. On "all Judah and Israel that were present," that is, so far as they were present, comp. xxxiv. 33.—Ver. 19. *In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept;* thus in the same year in which, according to xxxiv. 8, the full execution and conclusion of Josiah's reform of worship took place (comp. on ver. 1). There is no proper chronological difficulty in this date, which is also found in 2 Kings xxiii. 23; for the 18th year which is here spoken of is a reign and calendar year (Bähr), and if dated from the autumn, from that time till the legal term of the paschal feast, about the middle of Nisan (in the spring of the following calendar year), all that is related in xxxiv. 8-33 may take place. And all the more because not a little that referred to the cleansing and repair of the temple might have been already prepared in the previous years of Josiah's reign (from the 12th, xxxiv. 3).

5. Josiah's Battle with Necho of Egypt, and End: vers. 20-27. Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 25-30. —*After all this . . . Necho, king of Egypt, came up;* not the Necho I. (*Ni-ik-ku-u sar Mi'-im-piu S'a-ai*, "king of Memphis and Sais," on an inscription of Asurbanipal) mentioned xxxiii. 11, who had reigned before 664, but the successor of

Psammetichus, Necho II., who reigned till about 605. The Assyrian (or rather Babylonian) king who is attacked by Necho in the present campaign is probably Asur-idil-ili, the Sarak of Abydenus and Syncellus (see Schrader, p. 231 ff.), or even, if Nineveh was already fallen, Nabopolassar (see Then., Berth., Bähr, etc.), but by no means Sardanapalus (v. Gumpach, *Zeitrechnung der Babyl. und Assyr.* p. 146), who was much earlier. For Carchemish = Circesium, on the Euphrates, comp. the expositors on Isa. x. 9; Jer. xlvi. 2.[1]—Ver. 21. *What have I to do with thee?* properly, "what is there to me and thee?" comp. Judg. xi. 12; 2 Sam. x. 9; John ii. 4.—*I am not against thee this day,* "I am come up" (עליתי), my attack is not on thee; after עליך the suffix of the second pers. is rendered emphatic by an added אתה, which would be expressed in English by "even thee."—*But against the house of my war.* These words must, if original, be interpreted like the phrase: "man of wars of Tou," 1 Chron. xviii. 10, or the similar form in 2 Sam. viii. 10, and would thus denote the hereditary foe of the Egyptian king. But it seems more natural to amend, as in 3 Esdras i., according to the Crit. Note.—*And God hath commanded me to make haste.* By this God, to whose command he was obedient, Necho means not any Egyptian deity, as the Targ. as well as some recent expositors (appealing to Herodotus, ii. 158) think, but, according to ver. 22, the true supreme God, the acknowledgment of whom in the mouth of Necho cannot surprise us more than xxxvi. 23 in the edict of Cyrus. The older expositors assume a special divine command (*sive per somnium, sive per prophetam aliquem ad ipsum a Judæa missum*) without sufficient necessity; what Necho had recognised as agreeable to the will of his Egyptian deity, that he transfers at once to a supposed indication of the will of Jehovah. —Ver. 22. *But disguised himself to fight with him;* he gave up his true character, the part of the peaceful, which he was bound to play, and engaged against the will of God in combat with Necho. Perhaps, however (with Berth., Kamph.), the reading of the Sept.: "but made himself strong for battle" (comp. xxv. 11), is to be preferred. A literal disguise, such as that of Ahab, xviii. 29, should in no case be thought of (against Starke and other ancients, also Neteler). For the well-founded opinion of our author, that the battle of Josiah with Necho was a contravention of the divine will, see Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 1. For the valley of Megiddo, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f.—Ver. 24. *And his servants . . . put him in his second chariot,* perhaps a more commodious one, which he had with him besides the war chariot. Not so exact 2 Kings xxiii. 30.—Ver. 25. *And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah.* This lamentation of Jeremiah was certainly included in the collection of lamentations (קינות) on Josiah mentioned immediately after at the end of the verse, but is no longer found in the present Lamentations of Jeremiah, which must be regarded as a later collection than that here named. Perhaps the passages in Jer. xxii. 10, 18, and Zech. xii. 11 contain allusions to the older laments in memory of Josiah that are here intended; comp. Nägelsbach on Jeremiah, and Köhler on Zechariah. — Ver. 26. *And his kindness;* חסדים, as in xxxii. 32 of Hezekiah, but more exactly defined in our passage by the addition: "as it is written in the law of the Lord," corresponding to the characteristic peculiarity of Josiah, as a prince living and reigning in the strictest sense according to law.

6. Jehoahaz: ch. xxxvi. 1-4. Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 30-35.—*And the people of the land took Jehoahaz;* the same mode of elevation to the throne as in Josiah, xxxiii. 25, and Uzziah, xxvi. 1. In the present case, the will of the people took effect in a usurping way, as the younger brother (Jehoahaz, or properly Shallum; see 1 Chron. iii. 15, and comp. remarks on this passage) was preferred to the older Jehoiakim, perhaps because they had learned to fear the latter on account of the tyrannical spirit early manifested by him (comp. on ver. 8).—Ver. 3. *Put him down.* For the here probably necessary supplement of ממלך after ויסירהו, see Crit. Note. On the terms 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold, which are also found in 2 Kings xxiii., see Bähr on this passage.

7. Jehoiakim: vers. 5-8. Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 36-xxiv. 7.—*Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he became king,* and so two years older than his brother Shallum-Jehoahaz.—*Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar;* according to the Assyrio-Babylonian monuments, *Nabiuv-kudurriusur* (comp. the Hebrew form נבוכדראצור, Jer. xlix. 28 and Ezra ii. 1, *Kethib;* likewise Ναβουκοδρόσορος in Alex. Polyhistor, Megasthenes, and Abydenus). The name (according to Schrader, p. 235) is compounded of the idol name *Nabiuv* or *Nabu,* the subst. *Kudur,* "crown" (κίδαρις), and the imperat. *usur* or *nasar,* "protect," and means: "Nebo, guard the crown" (not Nebo guards the crown, as Keil states our passage and at Dan. i. 1).—*And bound him in fetters,* as befell Manasseh, and as the Assyrio-Babylonish sovereigns were wont to do to all captive princes; comp. on xxxiii. 11.—*To carry him to Babel.* That this carrying to Babel was only intended, not executed, almost all recent expositors justly assume; comp. besides Movers (*Chron.* p. 333), Bertheau, Keil, Neteler on our passage, also Bähr on 2 Kings xxiv. 1 ff., Nägelsbach on Jer. xxii. 17 ff., as well as my remarks on Dan. i. 2. If the Sept., which presents a text often deviating from the Masoretic text, and amplified with many additions, makes out of "to carry him" (להוליכו) an actual "and carried him" (καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα), and also 3 Esdras and the Vulg. translate accordingly (*et vinctum catenis duxit Babylonem*), this has its ground in the erroneous assumption derived mainly from a onesided view of Dan. i. 2, as if already the misfortune of being carried to Babel had befallen Jehoiakim, which, according to the sequel, first overtook his son Jehoiachin, whereas he himself, according to the express statement of ver. 5, reigned eleven years at Jerusalem (the last of these eleven years, natur-

[1] Recently G. Maspero (*De Carchemis oppidi situ et historia antiquissima. Lut. Par.* 1872) has attempted to identify Carchemish with the town Mabug = Βαμβύκη or Hierapolis, north-east of Aleppo, following the lead of Ephraem on 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

ally, as the vassal of Nebuchadnezzar). On the date of this first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Dan. i. 1 ."in the third year of Jehoiakim," about 606 or 605 B.C., comp. our remarks in the Introd. to the book of Daniel, § 8 (*Bibelw.* xvii. 28, 30 ff.). On ver. 7, comp. Dan. i. 2; Ezra i. 7.—Ver. 8. *And his abominations which he did;* not certainly a mere designation of the idolatry of Jehoiakim (as Berth. thinks, who understands עָשָׂה תּוֹעֵבוֹת of the making of idols), but also of his other evil deeds—for example, his shedding of innocent blood, 2 Kings xxiv. 4. The next phrase: "and that which was found against him," is a still more general and comprehensive expression for these evil deeds; comp. xix. 3.

8. Jehoiachin: vers. 9, 10. Comp. the fuller account, 2 Kings xxiv. 8-17.—*Jehoiachin was eight years old.* That the number eight here is, at all events, a miswriting for eighteen, see in Crit. Note. Not merely in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 is Jehoiachin designated as a youth of eighteen years at his accession, but Ezek. xix. 5-9 makes him appear at least as old, since he is depicted as a young lion, who practised man-stealing, oppressed widows, and laid waste cities, abominations which a boy of eight years could not have committed. Against Bertheau's opinion, that it follows from 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15, Jer. xxii. 26, where Jehoiachin's mother is mentioned along with him, that he was still in his minority, and thus the present statement of the Chronist that he is only eight years old is correct, is the joint mention of the queen-mother in the account of the accession of a new king which is usual in the books of Kings, and occurs, for example, also in Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii. 31), Jehoiakim (xxiii. 36), and Zedekiah (xxiv. 18). For the name Jehoiachin, and its relation to the kindred form Jechoniah or Coniah, comp. on 1 Chron. iii. 16.—Ver. 10. *And at the turn of the year,* in the spring, when men are wont to open the campaign (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 1; 1 Kings xx. 22).—*And brought him to Babel* ("caused him to come") *with the goodly vessels,* etc. In the mention of these "goodly vessels" (as in xxxii. 27) there is an advance in comparison with "some of the vessels," as in ver. 7. The spoliation under Jechoniah (598 B.C.) was more thorough than under Jehoiakim.—*And he made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.* That this designation of Zedekiah, the last king before the exile, as the brother of Jehoiachin is inexact, and, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 17, to be explained by father's brother (uncle, דּוֹד), or even directly changed into this term, is shown by the full list of Josiah's four sons already communicated by the Chronist, 1 Chron. iii. 15 f. Comp. on this passage, especially on 1 Chron. iii. 16, where also mention is made of Mattaniah, the name borne by Zedekiah before he ascended the throne.

9. Zedekiah: vers. 11-21. Comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 21, also Jer. lii. and 3 Esdras i. 44-55.—*Zedekiah was twenty-one years old.* The younger Zedekiah, brother of Jehoiachin, and nephew of Mattaniah Zedekiah (see 1 Chron. iii. 16), could not have been so old at the time when Jehoiachin, being eighteen years old, was deposed. The eleven years of Zedekiah's reign extend from 598 to 587.—Ver. 12. *Humbled himself not before Jeremiah the prophet from the mouth of the Lord,* who spoke from the mouth of God; comp. xxxv. 22; Jer. xxiii. 16. Of these prophetic warnings and threatenings addressed by Jeremiah to Zedekiah, Jer. xxi. 4 ff. especially comes into account; comp. also Jer. xxxvii. 2 ff. —Ver. 13. *And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar.* This revolt is also censured by the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. xvii. 13 ff.) as a grievous transgression. — *And he stiffened his neck* (showed himself stiff-necked; comp. 2 Kings xvii. 14; Jer. xix. 15, etc.) *and hardened his heart,* "made his heart firm." Comp. Deut. ii. 30, where God is said to harden and make stiff-necked; which does not, however, warrant the conclusion that he must also here be the subject of וַיְקַשׁ, as Bertheau thinks; comp., on the contrary, Deut. xv. 7.—Ver. 14. *Also all the chiefs of the priests and the people transgressed very much;* comp. Ezek. viii. 6 ff., where priests and people are described as sunk in base idolatry under the last kings, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, while prominence is expressly given to the "elders of the people" (ver. 11) and the priests (ver. 16) as the chief participators in these abominations. Neither there nor here would a reference of the accusation concerning idolatrous abominations to an earlier time than that of the last kings, namely, to that of Manasseh and Amon, be justified (against Berth.). From the circumstance that in the prophetic discourses of Jeremiah such complaints of idolatry are less vehement under Zedekiah, no inference can be drawn against this view. The phrase: "chiefs of the priests," denotes here, as in Ezra x. 5, the presidents of the twenty-four classes, together with the high priests, and therefore the same whom Ezekiel has in view in the twenty-five men in the temple; comp. Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 238.—Ver. 15. *Sent to them by his messengers, rising early and sending,* constantly and earnestly; הַשְׁכֵּם וְשָׁלוֹחַ, as in Jer. xxvi. 5, xxix. 19, xxxv. 14 f.—*Because He had compassion on His people,* exercised forbearance toward them, did not wish to deliver them over instantly to condign punishment.—Ver. 16. *And they mocked,* literally, "were mocking." מַלְעִבִים (also occurring in Syriac in the sense of *subsannantes*) is ἅπ. λεγ., of like import with מַלְעִגִים, xxx. 10. Also the following מִתַּעְתְּעִים (*Hithp.* of תעע), "ape, befool," occurs only here; the equivalent *pilel,* see in Gen. xxvii. 12. On the contents of the present accusation, comp. especially Ezek. xxxiii 22. If, then, at first only Ezekiel, the prophet of the exiles, is named as mocked by the people, yet it cannot be doubted that mocking and reproach were often cast upon the other prophets, especially Jeremiah, whose bold exhortations to repentance had to encounter so much opposition on the part of the ungodly population under the last kings before the exile. There is, therefore, in the plural "messengers of God" and "prophets" no exaggeration, though there may be some rhetorical generalization in the expression.—*Till there was no healing,* till the threatening judgment could no longer be averted. Comp. on the phrase, xxi. 18, xxx. 20; Prov. vi. 15.—Ver. 17. *And slew their young men with the sword.* To וַיַּהֲרֹג, "slew," or "caused to slay," also is God the subject, as to

the foregoing and following verbs. To bring in Nebuchadnezzar here as the subject is to import an unnecessary harshness of construction (against Keil, Neteler). The temple, where the young men were slain, is designated the "house of the sanctuary," because they had profaned it by their idolatry; comp. ver. 14*b*. The Sept. (τοῦ ἁγιάσματος αὐτοῦ) unnecessarily changes בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁם into ב׳ מִקְדָּשׁוֹ (vii. 20).—*The whole He gave into his hand;* comp. Jer. xxvii. 6, xxxii. 3, 4. The neutral הַכֹּל, notwithstanding that persons only are previously named, is used, in view of the vessels and treasures about to be mentioned in the following verse; yet it may be rendered "them all."—Ver. 19. *And they burned;* comp. Jer. xxxix. 8; 2 Kings xxv. 9.—*And destroyed all its goodly vessels* (comp. Isa. lxiv. 10, also ver. 10), literally, "to destroy"; comp. לְהַשְׁחִית in xii. 12.—Ver. 20. *And he carried away those that remained from the sword,* literally, "the remnant from the sword." The following words: "and they became servants to him and his sons," coincide with the prophecy, Jer. xxvii. 7.—Ver. 21. *To fulfil;* לְמַלֹּאת, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 5; Dan. ix. 2. The oracle here quoted stands in Jer. xxv. 11 f. (comp. Jer. xxix. 10), where, however, only the seventy years' duration of the Babylonish bondage is predicted; but nothing is said of a representation of these seventy years as an expiation or requital for the neglect of the sabbath years. This symbolizing of the seventy years' duration of the exile predicted by Jeremiah, contained in the words: "until the land enjoyed her sabbaths," is taken from the passage Lev. xxvi. 34, where such an expiation of neglected sabbath-year solemnities by an equally long time of desolation was announced to the people; and the added remark: "all the days of the desolation she rested" (kept a sabbath), is taken word for word from this passage of Leviticus. That there were exactly seventy neglected sabbath-years, and therefore a period of 490 years on account of which the seventy years of exile (with the beginning of the Persian monarchy as *terminus ad quem*, see ver. 20) were decreed, our author scarcely assumes. The *terminus a quo* of his reckoning of the neglected sabbath-years need not be sought exactly 490 years before the beginning of the exile (606 or 605), in the time of the last judges, Eli and Samuel; and we can scarcely suppose the whole period of the kingdom down to the exile to have been marked by the neglect of the sabbath-years, since under such theocratic sovereigns as David, Solomon, and Hezekiah, the observation of the precept in question was scarcely omitted. The whole statement is only approximate (like that in xxxv. 18 regarding the passover of Josiah, and its relation to the preceding one); it is in no way fitted to be the basis of any calculations, whether of the number of sabbath-years neglected till the exile, or of the point from which these acts of neglect date.

10. Close; The Return from the Captivity under Cyrus: vers. 22, 23. Comp. Ezra i. 1–3 (also 3 Esdras ii. 1–5); and on the coincidence of the beginning of Ezra with the close of Chronicles, Introd. §§ 2 and 3.—*And in the first year of Cyrus,* in the first year of his sovereignty over the former Babylonian-Assyrian monarchy, immediately after the taking of Babylon. For the name Cyrus (כּוֹרֶשׁ, Pers. *Quurus*), see the expositions on Ezra i. 1 and Isa. xliv. 28.—*That the word of the Lord . . . might be fulfilled;* לִכְלוֹת (from כָּלָה, *perfici*, xxix. 34) thus = לְמַלֹּאות of the verse before, as the same prediction of Jeremiah is spoken of there as here.—*And he made proclamation,* literally, "let go a cry"; comp. xxx. 5.—Ver. 23. *All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me.* In the same way as Necho, xxxv. 21, Cyrus knows and confesses himself the instrument or the "anointed" (Isa. xlv. 1) of the most high, living, and only true God, but designates Him not by the common name "God," like the former, but at once as Jehovah, the name of the God of the Jews, whose existence and identity with his own supreme god he at once acknowledges, and therefore as the "God of heaven," by the title which his supreme god, Ahuramazda, was wont to receive at the heads of all the royal edicts of the Persian sovereign. Comp. Evangelical and Ethical Reflections, No. 3.—*Whoso is among you all of his people, the Lord his God* (be) *with him.* That here probably יְהִי is to be read instead of יְהוָה, see in Crit. Note. On the abrupt termination of the narrative after these words of the royal edict, see Introd. as quoted above.

### EVANGELICAL AND ETHICAL REFLECTIONS AND HOMILETIC HINTS ON CH. XXXIV.–XXXVI.

1. The last mighty outburst of the theocratic spirit under Josiah, which brought in at the same time the last flourishing epoch of the Jewish kingdom and people, is depicted by our author with comparative fulness in one respect, namely, as regards the great passover after the purging of the temple, which accords with his Levitical leanings, with much greater fulness than by the author of the books of Kings. If he not only celebrates the theocratic purity, exactitude, and legitimacy of this festival, as one the like of which had not been held during the whole period of the kings (from the days of Samuel the prophet, xxxv. 18), but praises the pious deeds of Josiah as it is written in the law of the Lord, xxxv. 26, designates the single case in which he renounced his character as a prince of peace, walking strictly according to law, as a disguising of himself, as being untrue to himself (xxxv. 22), and in the very opening of his description gives him a commendation which was given to no other king, namely, that he walked in the ways of David his father, and declined not to the right hand nor to the left (xxxiv. 2), nothing of all this appears to be exaggerated; on the contrary, the whole extremely favourable picture of the prince is correctly conceived and faithfully rendered from the standpoint of our author. In the second book of Kings, while no specially Levitical leaning affects the pragmatism of the narrator, the praise of his walking in the footsteps of David, without declining to the right or left, is set forth with equal prominence; and a special aspect of his theocratic disposition and demeanour, his zeal in the extirpation of idolatry, is there described still more minutely and commended with more fulness (2 Kings xxiii. 4–20) than in the account before us, which compresses that which

is here referred to, as already sufficiently known, into a brief sketch of a few verses. But as there, so here, it is manifest, amid the glory of his theocratic success, that his strenuous efforts were unsatisfactory, and insufficient to effect a permanent recovery, a true regeneration of the people of God. That, notwithstanding the sincerity of his conversion, "the Lord turned not from the great hotness of His anger which was kindled against Judah because of the provocations of Manasseh," but rather the divine sentence of extirpation against the kingdom of Judah remained unrevoked (2 Kings xxiii. 26 f.),—this our author certainly does not say in the express words of the older parallel text; indeed he appears, according to xxxiv. 33, to add to the testimony for the sincerity of the king's conversion the assurance of the reality of the conversion of the people, when he writes: "All his days they departed not from the Lord God of their fathers." But even this "all his days" contains a fatal limitation of the praise here bestowed on the endeavours of Josiah; and the lamentable state of idolatrous degeneracy which betrayed itself immediately under his sons (xxxvi. 5 ff.), and which was the fault no less of the maladministration of these last kings than of the apostasy of the chiefs of the priests and the people (xxxvi. 14), sufficiently shows that the adherence of Judah to the law of the Lord during the period from the reform of Josiah to his death was by no means sincere or truly genuine, but rather the complaints uttered in the last days of the kingdom by Jeremiah, of the unfaithfulness, the inner apostasy, and immorality, uncleanness, corruption indeed, of the people (Jer. xi., xiii., xxv., etc.), were fully justified. The insufficiency of mere reforms of the theocratic worship, healing only the surface, not the deep seat of the wound, and accordingly, as all that could serve the king as the standard for his reforming action lay in the ordinances of worship, the inadequacy of the law to the production of true life, that ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου (Rom. viii. 3), that impotence of the law to secure true freedom, true righteousness, and assured hope of the heavenly inheritance (Gal. iii. 4; Rom. vii.),—all this came out with astonishing clearness in the history of the reform of Josiah, which was pursued with so much zeal and sudden success, and yet yielded so transient a result. The king hears the words of the law discovered in the temple; the curses which it pronounces on the infidelity of the apostates pierce through his heart; he rends his garments, weeps, and bows down in deep, sincere sorrow before God. He succeeds also in inspiring the rulers of the people, if not with the same spirit of sincere repentance, yet with the fiery zeal that turns to the monuments and instruments of idolatry, and repeats the deeds of an Elijah. And what does he effect by all this? The stern message of Huldah announces this to him: for himself, and for the duration of his reign, he shall enjoy the blessings of walking with God; in peace he shall be gathered to his fathers' sepulchres; his eyes shall not see all the misfortune which the Lord is determined to bring upon his kingdom and city; for His wrath is now once for all poured out on this place, and nothing is now able to quench it (xxxiv. 23–28). It is impossible more thoroughly and powerfully to exemplify and exhibit what is the curse which the law works (Gal. iii. 13) than by these words of Huldah, of which it can scarcely be said whether they are more an exhortation to repentance or a promise of mercy (comp. the in many ways similar address of Azariah ben Oded to King Asa, xv. 1–7). And not even the salvation and blessing which they promise the king on account of his personal piety —that he shall depart in peace to his fathers—is fulfilled in a perfectly satisfactory way. Josiah departs before he has seen all the misfortune that the Lord has threatened to send, but as a brand plucked from the fire! Not in a painless way is he brought home to his fathers, but through conflict, war, and bloodshed, as he himself had willed. The only infidelity of which he made himself guilty in an otherwise irreproachable walk is avenged by a certainly only temporal (slaying only the body, not the soul), but yet terribly sharp and severe punishment; and even thereby is the series of judgments which bring on the end of the Jewish state and kingdom immediately introduced.

2. Josiah's defeat and tragic decease is the beginning of the end. As a fair but rapidly-overspreading evening glow after a dull, rainy day indicates the approaching nightfall, so his reform of worship, as the last powerful movement of the theocratic spirit, almost immediately precedes the sinking of the people of God into the murky night of political annihilation and protracted subjugation. It goes rapidly down, after its better administration of the people and the kingdom had once risen to a certain height; and, like that better emperor of the house of Palæologus shortly before the fall of the Byzantine Empire, or like the reign of Louis XVI. as the forerunner of the terror of the French Revolution, had delayed for a short time the execution of the sentence of extirpation, already ripened into an inevitable decree under the last preceding kings. The Chronist indicates this rapid riding of the dead that came on after the decease of Josiah, this entrance of the galloping consumption into the long since internally rotten and putrid state of Judah, by the extreme brevity with which he despatches the last four reigns. In a way more summary still than the author of the books of Kings, who likewise does not dwell very long on them, he depicts the ungodly practice of the first three successors of Josiah, to none of whom he devotes more than four verses, and for none of whom he has any word of praise or acknowledgment—not even for Jehoahaz, with respect to whom he does not indeed employ the formula used of the following two, in harmony with 2 Kings, "and he did that which was evil before the Lord" (comp., on the contrary, 2 Kings xxiii. 32), but simply on account of his epitomizing habit, as he hastens to the end, not because he cherished any better opinion of him. On Zedekiah he dwells somewhat longer; but not to report more fully the public acts of this unfortunate last of the Davidic kings, nor to depict the terrible catastrophe of wasting and destruction forming the close of his reign with the same fulness as in 2 Kings xxv. or Jer. lii., but only to exhibit the ungodliness and perversity, carried out to the end, of the course of both king and people, in a pragmatic, reflective way, as the cause of the inevitable judgment (see vers. 13–16), and to display the contrast between this course and the incessant but always ineffectual cries of admonition and warning coming from the prophet Jeremiah (vers. 12, 21). His report of

the fall of Jerusalem and the beginning of the Babylonish captivity (vers. 17–20) is, compared with the fuller accounts of the parallels, in fact, as compendious as possible, but by its very conciseness and brevity produces only the deeper and more powerful impression.

3. The conclusion of his historical account, xxxvi. 22, 23, is also characteristic for the standpoint and method of our author. While the author of the books of Kings (2 Kings xxv. 27–30) closes with a notice of the release of the captive king Jehoiachin in the middle of the exile, by the grace of the Babylonian king Evilmerodach, and thus, in correspondence with his paramount interest in the personal fate of the king, reports a mere prelude of the final release of Judah from the exile, and not the very release itself, our work closes with a notice, though brief, of the cessation of servitude in a foreign land by the gracious edict of Cyrus. In this characteristic trait is exhibited the historian who bears on his priestly heart the fortune of the whole people, not merely of the royal house. As he had set forth immediately before the divinely decreed and prophetically attested necessity of a servitude of seventy years, to compensate for the past neglect of seventy sabbath-years, so he cannot but point, at the close of his work, to the final fulfilment of this prediction. The internal organic connection of this closing notice, by which the fair perspective opens into a new and more fruitful beginning of the history of the covenant people after the exile, with that which was recorded immediately before concerning the last kings before the exile and their downfall, is as clear as day, and precludes any such opinion as that the contents of vers. 22, 23 stood originally only at the beginning of Ezra, and was afterwards added at the close of our work by a later hand (comp. Introd. § 3, p. 7). But these closing verses betray their originality and integral connection with the whole preceding work not only by the manifest reference to predictions of Jeremiah and Moses quoted in ver. 21, but also by this, that they add to that earlier testimony from the mouth of Necho to the fate of Israel-Judah as divinely decreed and carried on (xxxv. 21) by the counsels of the supreme living God, the God of heaven (xxxvi. 22), a second such testimony on the part of a holder of the heathen world-power; as if it were intended to prove to superfluity that God's judicially strict but also gracious rule over His deeply guilty and corrupt people might be known in its reality, and according to its salutary effect on the people, even on the part of the heathen executors of His judgments. Necho and Cyrus appearing as witnesses of the divine truth, as involuntary and more or less unconscious heathen prophetic announcers of the severity and the goodness of God in reference to the destiny of His people, as prophetic dispensers of blessing to Israel,—as Balaam formerly,—the one as a foe, but the other as a friend and protector, yea, as the type of its future Messiah (comp. Isa. xlv. 1);—in this light the close of our history presents the relations of the heathen world-powers to the people of God when entering the period of its development after the exile. His representation in this respect corresponds with the mode of thought of the prophets before the exile, especially Jeremiah, to whom the world-power external to Israel had ceased to appear as something absolutely opposed to God, so that they frequently warn their people against foolish opposition to it, and inculcate willing submission to its authority (comp. *Bibelw.* xv. p. x. ff., and especially E. Vilmar, "Der Prophet Jeremia," in the monthly journal *Bew. des Glaubens*, Bd. v. 1869, p. 19 ff.); and on the other hand, with the view of the world taken by the prophetic men of God of and after the exile, as Daniel, Zechariah, etc., in accordance with which the dependence of the destiny of Israel on such of the world-powers as were occasional executors of the judicial and beneficent providence of God is presupposed as a thing understood of itself, a certain mission-call of Israel in reference to the heathen nations around is preached, and the continuance of this state to the entrance of the Messianic era is announced (comp. *Bibelw.* Bd. xvii. pp. 3 f., 37 f., 41; also Hengstenb. *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, ii. 2, p. 277 ff.). It is of no small consequence that the Old Testament Chronicles, the most comprehensive historical work of sacred literature, closes with such universalistic views of Israel's call of salvation to all nations, and of the future union of all in faith in Jehovah as the one and only true God. Its end thus turns to its beginning. Setting out from the first Adam, the author concludes his work with the consoling expectation of the future and not far distant, but rather, in the reconstruction of the theocracy promoted by the edict of Cyrus, already guaranteed and necessarily involved restitution of the blessed kingdom of the second Adam, the Redeemer of the world.

THE END.

# THE BOOK

OF

# EZRA.

THEOLOGICALLY AND HOMILETICALLY EXPOUNDED,


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THE

# BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. THEIR SIGNIFICANCE, CHARACTER AND CONTENTS.

1. *Their Significance.*—It might readily seem as if the development of Israel subsequent to the exile had been backwards, and it had had but a negative significance with reference to the history of redemption; that is, as if it was merely through the deficiencies of the present, that the desire for a better future had been awakened and pointed forward to it. If, however, it was the final destiny of Israel to overcome the empires of the world, and set up the kingdom of God, not through political, but religious forces; not as a nation in battle with the nations of the world, but as leaven cast in among them; not from without, but from within, and without political independence or power—in other words: if the kingdom of God, the preparation for which is here considered, was to be a higher spiritual kingdom, then even the circumstances of the exile, still more those subsequent to the exile, were peculiarly appropriate to prepare Israel for its work in a positive way, likewise; yea, they constrained this people at once from the very beginning to become a community which was not so much political as religious, which, in distinction from the previous royal kingdom, we may call a priestly kingdom. (Comp. J. P. LANGE, *Introd. to the Scriptures* in the vol. of the *Comm. on Matt.*, p. 4.) In all their public undertakings, even after the close of the exile, although so dependent upon their heathen rulers and overseers that they could not even build their temple, not to speak of the walls of Jerusalem, without permission, they yet had the important task of showing that in spite of the loss of their national independence, they were in a position to maintain victoriously their internal religious peculiarities, and that they had in them a treasure through which, if they faithfully cherished the inheritance entrusted to them from above, they might be enabled to rise above all external oppressions —yea, through which they might arise in the most powerful and glorious manner even from their apparent defeats. It is true that they still for a long time could not entirely dispense with externalities. It was necessary that their God should ever have a temple, in which to dwell among His people, though apart from them; their hearts were not yet sufficiently won and purified to become His dwelling and temple. And so Israel itself still needed a city in which they might be near the temple, in which more than any where else they might live as a religious community, and they must still secure it with walls and gates. But in view of their higher and proper aims, they were no longer called to reconquer their political independence and re-establish a worldly kingdom. The efforts of the Maccabees, so far as they tended to this result, and their consequences, were in a false and round-about way.

The development of the people of God, as such, at that time necessarily required that the external vessel, which indeed was entirely appropriate to its times and even indispensable, should gradually more and more completely fall away and disappear, as the chrysalis, out of which the butterfly, attired in the most beautiful colors, soared upward to the bright

sky; so that that which was spiritual and belonged to eternity might attain its pure representation as spiritual and eternal, and that the words whose depth and fullness we still to-day so insufficiently appreciate: "My kingdom is not of this world," might be more and more understood.

Now the more Israel was referred to their religion and religious customs, the more weight would they be likely to give to those things which still seemed to give their religion its greatest stability; the more decidedly they found their calling in being a holy people, the more might it seem that they were commanded to clothe with religious consecration those things which were externally as well as those which were ethically holy, *e. g.* the sanctuary, especially the temple and the institutions of worship, the ancient writings also which guided to the religion, the people which had its existence through the religion and the law over against the heathen world; yea, the city itself, in which alone they were able to preserve all these holy things. Yes, they were in great danger of regarding reverence and care for these sacred things as the highest and most important of all things, and thus of externalizing religion in a worse way than before the exile, when it was through the undue estimation of other things. In short both tendencies were possible. The times following the exile might just as well prepare the way for the new, real and internal organization of the kingdom of God, commencing with Christ and the apostles, as be the beginning of that entirely opposite extreme of Pharisaism through the cultivation of externals and of antichristian Judaism. And both possibilities have been realized. It is the great significance of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah that they historically describe that effort, yea, likewise power and might of Israel in rising up again and maintaining the field, even without political independence, as a purely religious community, thus of struggling for the New Testament and spiritual mode of existence, so likewise it at least lets us, through the entire character of the persons with whom they have to do, yea even through the condition of the entire congregation, forebode the danger pointed out of a new external religion putting itself in place of the old. The book of Esther also shares in this characteristic, as on the one side it brings into view the faithfulness of Israel to the law of their fathers in the midst of the severest temptations and trials; whilst on the other it does not extol this faithfulness as being as pure and exalted as we could wish. Thus these three books were given for instruction, edification, consolation and warning, especially for those times when the congregation is again in the condition of doing away with their previous unreliable and frail props, of becoming poorer in apparent blessings and of being obliged to return to the real and substantial blessings. They bear witness to the congregation in the plainest and most unmistakable manner that it can show itself as internally, really rich even in external poverty, and can rise above all difficulties, trials and oppressions in spite of external weakness, yea, they prophesy to it, that whilst not of this world, it will abide ever anew as indestructible and eternal. But they likewise warn, in such times of mortification and trouble, not to be careless of self, or to find true piety, which can only consist in sincere devotion to God, in the estimation and cultivation of those things which are really the products of piety itself.

2. *Their Character.*—It might be questionable whether the period subsequent to the exile afforded the appropriate material for a sacred history. Sacred history had previously had especially to do with the government of God as it was more or less revealed in Israel. If now there were no longer any such manifestations of God as had previously been described, no more such preservation, deliverance, revival and advancement of the people; if the people continued to exist merely as a religious community, and accordingly lead merely a quiet, so to say a hidden life, without rejoicing in new revelations—then at least it is not quite clear why the history should still maintain a sacred character. But on the other hand the history might, yea, must exhibit, on the one side, the new beginning at all events, so far as the people had such a beginning in Jerusalem as a religious community, and thus the return of a portion of the exiles and the restoration as well of the temple as of the city with its walls, as a secure place of the community; but especially likewise the re-establishment of the community itself as a people separating themselves decidedly from the heathen, and living in accordance with the divine law in communion with God.

This beginning had been expressly set in prospect by the prophets as God's own act, and so could not come to pass without the especial co-operation of God, that is, unless He had made the heathen world-powers subservient to His purpose, and inclined a portion of the exiles to return to their devastated land. Moreover, on the other side, the preservation of the portion remaining in the lands of the exile might at all events take such a form that it would not be an entirely inappropriate theme of sacred history. That is, if a danger should arise for this Judaism in the Diaspora too great to be overcome through human power and sagacity without a higher divine providence; if it should especially threaten Judaism as such, that is, on account of the law and their lawful reverence of God so that it became doubtful whether obedience to the divine law could be maintained in spite of the human claims to obedience—then there could, yea, must be such a preservation. That portion of Judaism remaining in heathen lands had by no means been dismissed as such from communion with Jehovah; it had a not unimportant part to play for the kingdom of God, as is manifest in the apostolic times, where it constituted with its synagogues the best starting-point for the preaching of the gospel; and their remaining behind in exile was in some measure approved by the word of God itself, inasmuch as the prophets had placed the proper return in connection with the appearance of the Messiah.

The new beginning we find described in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and a preservation of the character above pointed out in the book of Esther. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah by no means intend to narrate the history of the entire period which they embrace from Zerubbabel to Nehemiah; but they would in reality merely treat of that which was essential to the new beginning. This is clear not only from what they narrate, but also from that which they omit. And with respect to the book of Esther, the principal thing is not so much the person of Esther or Mordecai and their exaltation, as the deliverance of Israel, for which all else is as the means to the end. As it was to be expected, however, the history of this new period has a new method and a different tone. Whilst the representation of the times before the exile regarded the external affairs, that is, the people and their possession of the land, as the bearers of the internal; and the lower, that is, the political fortune as the outflow of the highest; and thus had ever occupied itself with the proper soul of that which occurred, with the thoughts and plans of God, especially with the holy and glorious acts of God: the historian of the times subsequent to the exile naturally took the external itself at once as an internal thing, so that he stopped with the lower, earthly and human. Whilst the history of the times previous to the exile, as a faithful copy of the great conflict, which the Lord had then conducted for the existence of His truth, against all heathenish influences within and without Israel, had on its part most earnestly taken part in the struggle, and become especially great and strong through its simple, constantly-repeated, but at the bottom the only valid criticism of the heathenish influence, the apostacy from Jehovah, the carnal impulses and errors—the history of the times subsequent to the exile contented itself with a simple account of that which transpired, and purposed merely to excite a grateful remembrance of that which God had done, or of the services of the prominent men and families. Whilst the history of the pre-exile times had a genuine prophetic character, in that it had immediately taken part in real life, as it then was also conducted by prophets; that of the post-exile times assumed a priestly Levitical character without doubt likewise proceeding from priests and Levites. This new method of conception and treatment had likewise its propriety. The view which supported this method was that ultimately all depends upon the divine service, and that which is connected therewith, that hence the temple and the capital deserve the most attention as the places of the divine service. This was sufficiently sustained by that advance in development, which marked the post-exile time and the new arrangement of affairs, and is entirely correct. And if now the singers and musicians appeared alongside of the priests, this is all the more established, as alongside of and after the offerings the worship must more and more gain through the word a higher and more spiritual value. We must find sufficiently good reasons for this, and recognize it with thankfulness that a historian subsequent to the exile in the books of Chronicles treated the entire history previous to the exile from the same point of view and according to the same principles.

But we must also bring into consideration a difference in the method of using the sources, which, if it is more of a formal character is yet not unimportant. Whilst in the pre-exile history the use of the sources was the subordinate and secondary thing, and the independent representation in accordance with practical aims was the principal thing; in the post-exile history, as it appears in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the chief thing appears to be the use of the sources. The author lets his own representation remain in the back-ground, at least so far as that he merely gives a sufficient introduction to the sources or original documents respecting the subject in hand, so far as he can use them, and seeks to put them in proper connection with one another, and even in the Chronicles he does not revise, but compiles. Hence he heaps up the original documents, especially in the book of Ezra, official letters, which naturally seem too detailed, and in addition registers of names, which strike us as too long-winded. But when we ask what induced him to make these so prominent, we might bring into consideration in general and above all that which was involved in the entire development of the times, the above-mentioned estimate of ancient pieces of composition as holy treasures; but the chief reason for the adoption of such epistolary documents, as we find especially in the book of Ezra, was certainly in the circumstance that the whole existence of the community subsequent to the exile, politically so dependent, was based upon them, so that they really had an inestimable worth; with respect to the register of names, we are likewise to consider, that in a time when the existence of the community gathered about the temple was no longer given by the simple mention of their membership in the tribe or people, but was dependent on the free resolution of the individuals who would return from Babylon, and as a matter of fact limited itself to individual households of the ancient families and tribes, that it was no longer sufficient to speak in general of Judah or Benjamin, but was natural to mention the individual families and households, yea, here and there likewise of individual persons, and to hold them as worthy of a thankful remembrance. These registers of names cannot but remind us from this point of view of the fact that the farther the congregation developed itself in accordance with this idea, the more the personality of the individual gained in importance and came into estimation.

8. *Their Contents.*—The chief topics of consideration after the exile were, on the one side, the temple as the dwelling-place of God; on the other side the city with its walls as the place of the congregation, and besides the congregation itself. Thus in the book of Ezra the temple stands decidedly in the foreground, in the book of Nehemiah the city with its walls, whilst both books, in their second parts, take up the congregation itself, that is the organization of their life in accordance with the law. The book of Nehemiah, moreover, embraces the city walls and the life of the congregation in accordance with the law once more in a brief closing section. More closely considered there are only a few principal topics treated of with reference to these subjects. The book of Ezra begins with the year in which Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return (536), and extends at least to the seventh year of Artaxerxes (458), embracing accordingly a space of about eighty years. The book of Nehemiah alludes to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and touches besides upon what happened after his thirty-second year, thus after 433. Limiting itself, however, to the beginnings, the book of Ezra occupies itself merely with the fundamental permission of Cyrus, the building of the temple under Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and finally merely with the negative consolidation of the life of the congregation under the law, which still so readily mixed itself with heathenism, namely, with the exclusion of heathen women by Ezra; it thus, after narrating the building of the temple, leaps over the entire period between the seventh year of Darius Hystaspis and the seventh year of Artaxerxes, a period of fifty-six years. The book of Nehemiah discourses merely respecting the restoration of the city-walls and the positive strengthening of the life under the law through the renewal of the covenant between God and the new congregation, with an emphasis of the conditions then particularly important. How much the author is inclined to make use of the documents and sources respecting the re-establishment of the congregation, or rather give them after a short introduction, is manifest enough from the beginning. After referring to Jeremiah's words with reference to the end of the exile and re-establishment of Jerusalem, by which the subsequent history is put in the light of an act

of God in fulfilment thereof, the edict of Cyrus follows, that called upon the Jews to return to Jerusalem and build the temple, and moreover called upon those who remained to assist the departing. The restoration of the vessels of the temple, once carried away from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, is likewise mentioned (chap. i.). This is, however, in a certain sense, merely the introduction to chap. ii. Without going further into a description of the return, yea, without even simply mentioning it in so many words, the author at once gives the register of those who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, whilst he adds at the close their number and the number of their servants, maid-servants, horses, *etc.*, at the same time, moreover, the sum which the heads of fathers among them offered for the building of the temple (chap. ii.). In chap. iii. he again continues his narrative. The returned people again assembled from the different cities in which they had settled, towards the seventh month, and in order to be able to celebrate the feast of tabernacles, restored at first merely the ancient altar, then, moreover, directly prepared also for the building of the temple. Already in the second year and indeed in the second month occurred the laying of the foundation of the temple, when shouts of joy and cries of lamentation touchingly mingled. But sad to say (chap. iv ) the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin, the Samaritans, interfered, who would have gladly assisted, but were necessarily excluded from the work, and in consequence of this had the permission to build revoked at the Persian royal court, who still even in the time of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes raised obstacles by their calumniations. The author narrates this to us in order now directly to insert in Chaldee the letter of complaint of the Samaritans which they addressed to Artaxerxes, and the answer of the king to it, documents without doubt preserved in Jerusalem. In chaps. v. and vi. he continues the history of the building of the temple in the time of Darius Hystaspis, but so that first of all he gives the report that the Persian officers sent to their king and his answer thereto. He concludes this section in ch. vi. 19–22 with a short account of the celebration of the first passover after the completion of the temple and the re-establishment of the worship.

A new section begins with chap. vii. as it passes over from the seventh year of Darius Hystaspis, from Zerubbabel and Jeshua to Ezra. It narrates chap. vii. 1–10 summarily, that the priest Ezra, whose high-priestly origin is shown, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes had departed from Babylon for Jerusalem, and had arrived in the fifth month, in order to set up and teach the law of the Lord in Israel. But this is again only for an introduction to documents, which he has to communicate and directly subjoins First a letter in the Chaldee language follows, which Artaxerxes gave Ezra to take along with him, in order to secure him the support of the officers for the complete establishment of the worship in Jerusalem, in order also to give him ample authority for the improvement of the administration of judgment, for the appointment of judges and officers of justice (chap. vii. 25); then comes the conclusion in the Hebrew language added by Ezra himself, in which he praises God for this decree of the king (chap. vii. 11–28). Next we have a list prepared by Ezra of the families who went up with him to Jerusalem (chap viii. 1–14); furthermore a somewhat more extended narrative of Ezra's, respecting the equipment of his company, respecting his journey to Jerusalem, and respecting the delivery of the treasures and vessels that he brought with him for the temple (chap. viii. 15–36); finally in chap. ix. respecting his action against the intermarriage with heathen women or men, especially respecting his prayer that he made with reference to this matter. Chap. ix. introduces Ezra's activity in Jerusalem. It is true it seems to treat only of a particular part of his activity; but this is yet in truth the foundation of all the rest, yea, it already involves the rest to a certain extent: it is the strengthening of the life of the congregation in the law; only it is merely the negative side, which alone could be undertaken at once, namely, the separation of the congregation from heathenism and from the life of the heathen. The author himself, as it seems, again takes the word in chap. x. in order to append what success Ezra had at first with the heads, but then also, when they had called all the Jews together to Jerusalem, with the great congregation, how he obtained the solemn promise of all, to dismiss the heathen women and its fulfilment. But even here there follows again a list, which he doubtless had come upon in some way, namely, an

enumeration of all those who had married heathen women, and now dismissed them. The whole is divided into two parts, the first part again into three sections, and the second part into two sections; each of these sections, however, amounts to a principal document.

**Part I.** *The Temple as the place of the Lord* (times before Ezra). Chaps. i.–vi.

SECTION 1. The most important foundations. Chaps. i. and ii.
Chap. i. The permission to build, and those who returned for this purpose.
Chap. ii. The document respecting the names of the returning.
SECTION 2. The first effort. Chaps. iii. and iv.
Chap. iii. Re-establishment of the altar and the preparation for building the temple.
Chap. iv. The interruption and a document respecting the machinations of the enemies.
SECTION 3. The renewal and completion of the work. Chaps. v. and vi.
Chap. v. The renewal of the work and the report of the officers to Darius.
Chap. vi. Darius' answer, with the completion of the temple. The Passover feast.

**Part II.** *The congregation as the people of the Lord. Negative strengthening of their life in the law* (Ezra's activity). Chaps. vii.–x.

SECTION 1. Ezra's emigration to Jerusalem. Chaps. vii.–viii.
Chap. vii. Ezra's journey and purpose, and Artaxerxes' letter of authority.
Chap. viii. Ezra's own documentary report (his companions, their completion and journey).
SECTION 2. The chief fault of that time, and its removal. Chap. ix.–x.
Chap. ix. Chief fault of that period, and Ezra's penitential prayer on that account.
Chap. x. The removal of that fault, and documentary list of those who purified themselves from it.

In the book of Nehemiah the entire first part, chaps. i. to vii., is devoted to the rebuilding of the walls of the city by Nehemiah, in spite of many hinderances and disappointments, but throughout taken from a documentary written source, namely, from Nehemiah's own memorial. The second part then occupies itself with the congregation, in order now to give an account of the further activity of Ezra with reference to it, or rather its results, the positive strengthening of the congregation in the life in the law, which led to the renewal of the covenant relation between the people and God; since, however, he adduces the names of the families belonging to it, he runs out into traditional lists. The third part describes the dedication of the city walls and the removal of various evils in that period; the latter is again accompanied with the documentary words of Nehemiah himself. The three chief parts may be again divided each into two sections, so that the following summary results:

**Part I.** *The city as the place of the congregation. Re-establishment of the city walls and list of the first emigrants.* Chaps. i.–vii.

SECTION 1. How the re-establishment of the city walls came about. Chaps. i.-iii.
Chap. i. Nehemiah hears of the sad condition of Judah and Jerusalem, and prays to the Lord for help.
Chap. ii. He asks permission of Artaxerxes, and journeys with authority from him to Jerusalem. There he brings about the resolution to re-establish the walls, in spite of the adversaries of the Jews.
Chap. iii. Each family of the congregation undertakes a certain portion of the work.
SECTION 2. How Nehemiah overcame all difficulties. Chaps. iv.–vii.
Chap. iv. The difficulties from without: Sanballat, Tobia, *etc.*, threaten to fall upon the Jews with force of arms; Nehemiah organizes against them a troop of warriors, and also arms the laborers themselves.
Chap. v. The difficulties from within; the poor complain of oppression on the part of the rich; Nehemiah does away with usury, and works through the example of his own unselfishness.

Chap. vi. The difficulties that arise from the co-operation of external and internal factors. Sanballat frightens the Jews, as if Nehemiah stood in the odor of a rebel. The prophet Shemaiah attempted in the pay of Sanballat to deprive Nehemiah himself of courage, as if a real danger threatened him; the companions of Tobia carry on tale-bearing. But all these efforts fail on account of Nehemiah's foresight.

Chap. vii. Nehemiah completes the building of the walls, and gives a review of the first emigrants after the exile.

**Part II.** *The congregation as inhabitants of the city of God. Positive strengthening of their life in the law by the renewal of the covenant between them and God, and list of the members of the congregation.* Chaps. viii.–xii. 26.

Sect. 1. The history of the renewal of the covenant. Chaps. viii.-x.

Chap. viii. The reading of the law under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah leads at first to a feast of tabernacles according to the law, and then

Chap. ix., to a prayer for grace and redemption from the afflictions that were still present; finally,

Chap. x., to a renewal of the covenant under conditions then particularly important, and indeed for many heads of families, who are especially adduced.

Sect. 2. The constituent parts of the entire congregation at that time. Chaps. xi.–xii. 26.

Chap. xi. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, and at the same time of the other cities of Judah.

Chap. xii. The priests and Levites, at first the earlier families who had already come up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, vers. 1-11, and then also the later ones, vers. 12-26.

**Part III.** *The city and the congregation. Dedication of the city walls. Removal of various evils in the life of the congregation.* Chaps. xii. 27–xiii. 31.

Sect. 1. Dedication of the city walls. Chap. xii. 27-43.

Sect. 2. Removal of various evils in the life of the congregation. Chaps. xii. 44–xiii. 31.

## § 2. SOURCES, COMPOSITION AND AUTHENTICITY.

1. *Sources.*—There can be no doubt but that the author really had original documents and sources before him, and introduced them unchanged in his narrative, to a great extent. That the list of names in Ezra ii. is such an original document is the less to be disputed that already Nehemiah came upon it as an ancient piece of writing and used it in chap. vii. 6-73. It must have been composed already in the earliest times of the re-establishment of the congregation. The same is true with reference to the letters that are given in chaps. iv.-vi., and that constitute the principal contents of the statements there made. Many interpreters even regard it as very probable that the few verses of a historical character that introduce the letters in chaps. iv.-vi., or unite them with one another, were taken from other sources, namely, a Chaldee history of the building of the temple. Yet the reasons given therefor are not very tenable, whilst those that are adduced against this view, are well worthy of attention. They appeal to the Chaldee language of these verses, which our author would have had no occasion to use himself. But perhaps he found some of these verses as an introductory superscription already on the letters themselves; the others, however, which he himself added and inserted between Chaldee passages, would have made the narrative too much mixed, if he had wished to write in Hebrew. They also appeal to the fact that the first person is used in chap. v. 4, "then we spake to them" (the Persian officers), whereby the writing shows itself to be a work composed long before, by a man who participated in the building of the temple in the time of Darius Hystaspis, whilst the work as a whole could have originated only at a far later period. But the correctness of this first person is very doubtful, as we will see in the exegesis of chap. v. 4. Still further they appeal to the fact that there occur here statements respecting names, close accounts of transactions and individuals, which, as Bertheau says, must have been derived altogether from written documents. Nevertheless there is nothing further in this respect than what is suggested by the letters. On the other hand, already in chap. vi. 14,

Artaxerxes is mentioned alongside of Cyrus and Darius, as one of the Persian kings, through whose favor the Jews had re-established the temple, which shows at least that this piece cannot have been written already in the time of Darius, but at the earliest in the time of Artaxerxes. This name must then have been added at the later revision, at which time also Artaxerxes seemed well worthy of mention. In vers. 16-18 furthermore, in the closing verse of the Chaldee section, the dedication of the temple, especially in ver. 17, the offering of sacrifices, in ver. 18, the arrangement of the priests and Levites, are spoken of in such a manner, and besides the arrangement of the priests and Levites, in accordance with the law, is so expressly emphasized, as is peculiar only to our author himself (comp. the parallel passages brought forward upon the verses in question). Finally, the 24th ver. of chap. iv., which refers back to ver. 5, has manifestly been added by the same person who in vers. 6-23 has given the letter of Artaxerxes before. That this, however, was done by our author himself, there can be no doubt, since it only commended itself thus to his purposes and arrangement.—Again, on the other hand, that the lists of names, as they are given further in the book of Ezra (chaps. viii. and x.) especially, however, in the book of Nehemiah, were already met with as ancient pieces of writing, is not only said by the author himself quite plainly, since he speaks of different registrations of the Levites at different times (Neh. xii. 23), but is likewise in itself probable, and is all the more sure, that a part of the register given in Neh. xi. 3-36, occurs also in 1 Chron. ix. 3-33, and indeed with many deviations, which is best explained from the supposition that the author found the same writing in different places and in different forms.

It is only questionable, whether in Ezra vii. 27 sq. likewise, we may speak of an original document, or whether the author of that which could be regarded as such, that is, Ezra, speaking of himself in the first person, must be regarded as the author of the rest of the second part, and accordingly also, as the Rabbinical tradition will have it, the author of the entire book. This leads us to our second point.

2. *Composition.*—That Ezra wrote a narrative of his journey to Jerusalem, and what he accomplished there, is clear from the passages in which the first person is used, without doubt. Yet it cannot be denied that, against the view still advocated by KEIL [PUSEY, RAWLINSON, WORDSWORTH], that Ezra is the proper author of the book named after him, many very weighty arguments are opposed, which make it more probable that a later author compiled our book, as we now have it, with the use of Ezra's writing. In general against Ezra as the author, is the incompleteness, we might say the fragmentary character of the second part; Ezra himself would, we should suppose, have communicated something more, and something more systematic respecting his work in Jerusalem We learn from our book only the one thing, that he opposed the intermarriage with the heathen, whilst yet he was empowered to undertake a far more comprehensive work. More in detail comes into consideration, especially the circumstance, that in the genealogy of Ezra (vii. 1-5) his immediate ancestors are passed over, that at once the high-priest Seraiah, who lived at the beginning of the exile, is mentioned, since the design without doubt was to make him known above all as a descendant of the high-priestly family. Ezra himself would rather have been led by filial reverence to mention his own father before all. Furthermore we are struck by the honorable mention of Ezra in chap. vii. 6, that he was a סֹפֵר מָהִיר, a skilful scribe,* then also the circumstance, that chap. vii. anticipates chap. viii., so that there is a repetition, which is only natural, if the author in chap. viii. yet again cites from an original document the same thing that he had already previously briefly mentioned in chap. vii.; furthermore the fact, that in chap. vii. 1 sq. the third person is used,† first in chap. vii. 27 sq. the first person,—finally and especially

* [Pusey, p. 339: "It is added merely that he was a *ready*, fluent expositor of it. He mentions of himself, what others have observed of him in the books of Chronicles, that the law of his God was the great study of his life, and that he made progress in it. Perhaps he meant, as one of the Psalmists, whose expression he used, said before him, that he was a "ready writer" of what he was taught by God, ascribing to himself only that he was, what he was, the instrument of God."—TR.]

† [Rawlinson *in loco:* "But exactly parallel changes of person occur in the Book of Daniel (*e. g.*, the third person from i. to vii. 2, the first from vii. 2-ix. 27; the third in x. 1, and the first from x. 2 to the end), which there is good reason to regard as the work of Daniel himself, and not of a compiler; changes too, not very dissimilar occur in the nearly contemporary Greek writer Thucydides. Thucydides begins his history in the third person

this fact, that the book of Ezra has so many things in common with the Chronicles in the manner of expression, and at the same time in many matters of fact, as the preference for the different Levitical officials in the sanctuary, especially for musicians and door-keepers, besides the interest in genealogies and registers of names. This is shown in the Com. of ZOECKLER upon the Chronicles, Introduction, § 2. The view in recent times wide-spread and discussed in the Introduction to the Chronicles, §§ 2 and 3, by ZOECKLER that the author of Chronicles at the same time brought Ezra, yea also Nehemiah into the present form in which we have them, has decidedly the most reasons in its favor. If it were really a fact, that the observed resemblances in Ezra and Nehemiah throughout occurred even in the original documents and written sources with entire indifference, then they would not have to be regarded as individual peculiarities of a common author, but be ascribed in general to the later period, to which the books in question belong, especially if they likewise occurred in other writings of essentially the same period. But this is true of only a proportionally few of them, as for example with the expressions brought forward by KEIL, בִּינָה, קִבֵּל and כְּיַד אֱלֹהַי עָלַי (the last is not found indeed in other books, but in the written sources, Ezra vii. 28; viii. 18, 22, 31, as well as in vii. 6–9, and besides Neh. ii. 8). By far the most of them occur, as we must at once remark, if we review the passages cited by ZOECKLER in the Introduct. to Chronicles, § 2, not to speak of Chronicles, on the one side, in Ezra i. and iii., as well also in the other passages not presenting themselves as original documents or sources, and on the other side in Neh. viii.–x. Here belong most decidedly these very phenomena of the language, which may be regarded most properly as idiomatic expressions of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; thus the expression, עַל־עָמְדָם, 2 Chron. xxx. 16; xxxv. 10; Neh. viii. 7; ix. 3; xiii. 11,—הֶדְוָה, 1 Chron. xvi. 27; Ezra vi. 16; Neh. viii. 10,—כְּפוֹר = goblet, 1 Chron. xxviii. 17; Ezra i. 10; viii. 27; עַד־לְמֵרָחוֹק, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15; Ezra iii. 13; פְּלֻגָּה, of divisions of the Levites, 2 Chron. xxxv. 5; Ezra vi. 18; so also *termini*, which emphasize the being in accordance with the law, which in the later period seem so particularly important, especially כַּמִּשְׁפָּט, 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; 2 Chron. xxxv. 13; xxx. 16; Ezra iii. 4; Neh. viii. 18, for which in the older writings כַּכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה occurs frequently, furthermore liturgical formula, as הוֹדוּ וְהַלְלוּ לַיהוָה, 1 Chron. xvi. 4; xxiii. 30; xxv. 3, *etc.;* Ezra iii. 11, לְהוֹדוֹת וּלְהַלֵּל, and "that Jehovah is good, and his mercy endure h forever," 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. v. 13; Ezra iii. 11,—the standing expressions in connection with descriptions of festivals and the like: בְּשִׂמְחָה, 1 Chron. xii. 40, *etc.;* Ezra iii. 12; and עַל־יְדֵי דָוִיד, 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 6; Ezra iii. 10,—finally, the official names of the musicians and servants in the temple that only occur in our books, מְצִלְתַּיִם מְשֹׁרְרִים and נְתִינִים. But even those phenomena, which seem in general to belong to the later language on the whole, because they are found here and there in other books likewise, are found besides in the Chronicles, at least pre-eminently in those very parts of our books under consideration. To these belong 1), the brief method of subordination of the relative clauses, together with their collocation after a *stat. constr.*, 1 Chron. xxix. 3; 2 Chron. xxxi. 19; Ezra i. 5; Neh. viii. 10; 2) the case of the infin. with לְ, in order to express a potential mood, 1 Chron. v. 1; ix. 25; xiii. 4, *et al.;* Ezra iv. 3; x. 12; Neh. viii. 13; 3) the extraordinarily frequent use of the preposition לְ partly before the object as *nota accusativi*, partly after an accusative, to continue it, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1, *etc.;* Neh. ix. 32, as especially before כֹּל, when in enumerations everything is to be included, 1 Chron. xiii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 12; Ezra i. 5 (certainly moreover also vii. 28); Neh. xi. 2, after the preposition עַד, 1 Chron. xxviii. 7, 20, *etc.;* Ezra iii. 13; x. 14 (moreover also ix. 4, 6); 4) the redundant use of prepositions in general, *e. g.*, in expressions like בְּיוֹמָם, Neh. ix. 19; 5) the use of the article before a verb instead of the relative pronoun, 1 Chron. xxvi. 28; xxix. 8, 17, *etc.:* Ezra viii. 25; x. 14, 17; Neh. ix. 33.

(i. 1), and changes to the first after a few chapters (i. 20-22). Further on, in book iv., he resumes the third (124-100). In book v. 23 he begins in the third, but runs on into the first, which he again uses in book vii. 97."—TR.]

The manner in which the section Neh. viii 1 sq. is connected with Chronicles and Ezra on the one side, and on the other is distinguished from the rest of the book of Nehemiah, is in a critical point of view very important. In order to carry out the latter point, how it separates itself from the rest of the book, we might already bring into consideration the subject-matter itself. This is not only suddenly entirely different from the previous context, since it no longer treats of the strengthening of the city wall and the like, but treats of religious acts, but it seems almost as if we might first have expected something else instead of it. Nehemiah in chap. vii. has given an account of the completion of the building of the walls; it is singular that there is no reference *here* to the dedication of the walls, but that this comes only afterwards in xii. 27 as supplementary. In chap. vii. 4 he has mentioned that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were too few; it is singular that their increase is first intimated in xi. 1, and indeed only incidentally. It is very true that the book, as it now is, has a tolerable continuity, since the author allows himself to make use of the remark respecting the inhabitants of Jerusalem in vii. 4, as an occasion for going over from the securing the safety of the capital, of which he had previously written, to the congregation and its organization, in order further on to mention the increase of the inhabitants and the dedication of the walls, merely as a supplement, and as it were incidentally. Nevertheless this kind of progress of thought compared with the first part, has something surprising in it. It seems as if here suddenly a point of view was taken, which for the previous part of the work had originally not been considered important. But besides this there are still many other circumstances which render the difference of subject here very significant. 1. Nehemiah very suddenly ceases to speak of himself in the first person. 2. He here in general retires to the background, whilst Ezra, who is mentioned in the book of Nehemiah elsewhere only at the dedication of the walls incidentally (xii. 23), is the chief person. Nehemiah occurs only as supplementary, and indeed only twice, viii. 9; x. 2. 3. He bears here both times the title of "the Tirshatha," whilst in v. 14, 15, 18, he is called "Pechah." 4. Whilst the chiefs are called ii. 16; iv. 8, 13; v. 7, 17; vi. 17; vii. 5; xii. 40; xiii. 11, חֹרִים and סְגָנִים, the term רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת occurs in viii. 13. 5. The expressions peculiar and usual to Nehemiah are missing, as "according to God's hand over me," comp. ii. 8 and 18; furthermore, "God gave to me in my heart," comp. ii. 12 and vii. 5. Even KLEINERT (*Dorp. theol. Beitr.* I., S. 114 sqq.) and HÆVERNICK (*Einleit.* II. 1, S. 305 sqq ) find it probable that there was another author for vii. 73 *b*—x. 40; they suppose that this section was not composed by Nehemiah, but by Ezra as the leader of the religious transactions here described, and was only appropriated by Nehemiah.* But, 6. The author speaks also of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah as past, yea, considers likewise the times subsequent to Nehemiah, Neh. xii. 11, 22, and thereby makes himself known, as he does likewise in Chronicles as a later writer, as will be still more evident when we consider the time of its composition. The grounds adduced by KEIL for the traditional view that Neh. viii.–x. comes from the same hand as the rest of the book, namely, from Nehemiah himself, have little significance. That the previous threads of thought in Neh. viii. have been allowed so entirely to fall, yea, to be broken off, is to be explained, says he, simply and artlessly from the succession of the things narrated in time, as if the order in time could not yield at times to the logical order of facts, yea, in such cases as the present must not yield. What would have hindered the author in such a case, if, for the sake of chronological order, he would have come to the public reading of the law in viii. sq., from reserving the statement, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were few, and therefore also the list of the exiles who first returned, for another place, where he then could have spoken at once of the increase of the inhabitants? That Nehemiah suddenly steps so decidedly into the back-ground with respect to Ezra, he says, has its ground in the fact that Nehemiah as civil governor was not authorized to lead the religious feast here narrated which alone belonged to the priest and scribe Ezra (—at first it speaks only of the public reading of the law, which Nehemiah might have very well occasioned,—), that he here rather could only co-operate subordinately

* [RAWLINSON *in loco* conjectures here that Zadok (or Zidkijah), Nehemiah's scribe, or secretary, was the author as an eye-witness of the proceedings.—TR.]

as *membrum præcipuum ecclesiæ Israeliticæ*. But if it were really so, the question would at once arise, how is it that Nehemiah narrates here something in which he had so little to do, since he elsewhere limits himself entirely to that which had been urged and brought about by himself. Moreover, under all circumstances, the failure of the first person, which is elsewhere so consistently retained in the writings of Nehemiah, is not explained. When KEIL refers to xii. 27 sq., where he says not "*we*," but "*they* sought the Levites," to prove that Nehemiah might very well put others in the foreground in connection with facts that did not originate primarily with himself, this very section suffices with reference to the principal point for a very decisive counter argument. For notwithstanding Nehemiah does not stand so much in the foreground as a matter of course as elsewhere, yet he uses the first person in vers. 31 and 38 even in this connection. What KEIL says respecting the *Tirshatha* and *Rashe haaboth* deserves no mention. With the different character of the section, Neh. viii.–x., if critical probability is worth anything, we are to suppose that here another author has supplemented Nehemiah's writing, whether from another document or from tradition. Who this was cannot remain in doubt in connection with the similarity of the style that is manifest here, in the book of Ezra and in the Chronicles.

The question whether this author is to be regarded moreover as the editor or the proper author of our two books, is answered from the foregoing of itself. It is possible, that already Ezra, when he described his journey to Jerusalem, and his principal work there, likewise collected the original documents respecting the previous times, and placed them, provided with historical introductions, before his book. Yet we have no right to derive from him in our present book, any more than chap. vii. 22, 28, and chap. viii.—ix. 15, that is, any more than the passages, which show clearly by the first person that they were written by him, which thereby distinguish themselves from all the other passages, especially from chap. vii. 1–10, and chap. x. Whatever is not as chap. ii. 4, 8–23, an original document, or as chap. v. 5, 6, 12, chaps. viii. and ix. sources, whatever serves as introduction to the original document or sources, as especially chaps. i. and iii. and v. 1–10, bears the stamp of the so-called chronicler, or at least of his time. When KEIL, in order to show that the whole, and therefore also the tenth chap. was composed by Ezra, raises the question, what could have determined the author to break off the further communication of the memoir of Ezra at the end of chap. ix. and narrate the end of the transaction in his own words,—criticism would not be required to answer this question, unless it knew something more of the memoir of Ezra than it can know at present. Now we may think of various reasons.—With more propriety the book of Nehemiah might be spoken of as merely edited. Since however the last author has inserted chaps. viii.—x., and indeed for the most part with the help of his own literary activity, he must be designated here at least as a supplementer. Although he already had before him the book of Ezra, and so also a book of Nehemiah, yet the form of these books, as it lies before us, originated first with him, and the design which he on his part pursued in his literary activity. Perhaps he had also transformed, to some extent, the text of the registers and original documents, which he reproduced in his work here and there in accordance with his method, as it may perhaps be seen, for example in Ezra ii. 68 sq , in comparison with Neh. vii. 71 sq., and so also Ezra vi. 16–18, if here an authority has been really used.

The question, when this last and real author actually lived, has already been answered by ZOECKLER (in his introduction to the books of Chronicles), who, it is true, with reference to Ezra and Nehemiah regards him only as an editor. In Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22 and 23, the line of high-priest is carried down to Jaddua, who, according to JOSEPHUS' statement, not to be doubted here (*Antiqu.* XI. 10) held his office in the time of Alexander the Great. KEIL'S supposition that the author had known Jaddua not yet as high-priest, but only as a child, and had mentioned him merely as grandson of the last high-priest of his own time, Joiada, is already in itself improbable, and besides has against it the fact that the same person is mentioned with the others as one in whose days the Levites were recorded. It seems that the meaning of ver. 22 is that under the four high-priests Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan and Jaddua, four registrations of Levites had been made. KEIL understands, it is true, that only one occurred, namely, under Eliashib and Joiada, and the others are mentioned merely because

they then already lived. But this supposition is too clearly a mere evasion of the difficulty. If immediately afterwards only the one record of priests, which was made in the time of Darius, is mentioned, this is to be explained from the fact that this one chiefly, yea exclusively, comes into consideration for the author, since he according to the entire context, would mention only those belonging to the times of the beginning—at all events those living up to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah—as he then also in chap. xii. 1-11 expressly names only those of the time of Zerubbabel, and then in ver. 12 sq., only those of the times immediately following Joiakim, and in ver. 26, after mentioning the heads of the Levites, expressly adds that he thereby had given only those of the time of Joiakim and Nehemiah.—This mark of a late period of composition that has been adduced, stands, it is true, somewhat apart by itself, and would not signify much if anything else contradicted it; we might readily suppose that the names of the later high-priests (and so also those of the later posterity of Zerubbabel in 1 Chron. iii. 19-24) were subsequently added as a supplement by a late hand; but since there is nothing of the kind, since on the contrary the times of Ezra and Nehemiah are spoken of as of a previous period, and of themselves as of persons of the past in Neh. xii. 26, 27, so the probability is, so far as it can be established by criticism, that the author was one who at the earliest lived in the time of Jaddua,* at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek supremacy. [RAWLINSON *in loco* thinks that Ezra, "who seems to have had only a temporary commission (vii. 14), returned to the Persian court when he had carried through the matter of the marriage, and either a little before or a little after his return wrote the Book which has come down to us." He thus accounts for the abrupt conclusion of the book, and gives the date as 457 or 6. With regard to Nehemiah he thinks that it is most probable that the various sections of the book of Nehemiah "were collected by Nehemiah himself, who had written, at any rate, two of them (i.-vii. 5 and xii. 27-xiii. 31). The date of the compilation would be about B. C. 430."—TR.]

3. *Authenticity.*—Already the style of composition, and also the kind of contents and the method of stating them, testifies that the author, even if he wrote a hundred or more years after Nehemiah, in general pursued a method that was entirely historical. We have seen that he supports almost every important event that he narrates, with original documents, or presents it in the language of the written authorities. There is not the least occasion for doubt with reference to the historical character of the original documents and written authorities. There is only one point that can be questioned, having no confirmatory document, unless we should recognize as such the report of the elders in Jerusalem given in the letter to Darius, chap. v. 16. This is where it is said that the returned exiles already in the first year of their emigration had re-established the altar, and already in the second year had laid the foundation of the temple (Ezra iii.). (Comp. SCHRADER *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1867, S. 460 ff., and DE WETTE *Einl.*, 8 *Ausg.*, § 235). Since in later times SCHRADER supposes it has been presupposed that the returned exiles were pervaded with glowing love for the religion of their sires, were filled with the greatest joy over their finally successful redemption from Babylon, and of the most sincere thankfulness towards the God of their fathers, they have quite gradually it is true, and without having any historical foundation for it, been able to give way to the idea that the returned exiles, as soon as they arrived in the land of their fathers, had had nothing more speedily to be done than to think of the restoration of the temple. In reality, however, the congregation hardly went so far as to put their hands to this work until the time when they actually carried on the building to its completion, in the second to the sixth year of Darius. If they had really begun already in the time of Cyrus, we cannot think that they then would have let it remain idle for fourteen entire years: if they would not have ventured to undertake it again in the time of Cyrus, yet they might well do so under Cambyses or Smerdis. Yet these assertions gain some likelihood only from the fact that the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, in the time of Darius, speak not of a fresh undertaking of the building, but of the building simply, yea, that they speak still of a laying of the foundation of the temple, as if it really had now been proposed for the first time. In that Haggai

* [Pusey and Rawlinson agree in regarding this verse as an interpolation or marginal gloss of a later date, that has crept into the text.—TR.]

ii. 18. "Consider now from this day and upward, from the 24th day of the 9th month, as from the day when the foundation of the temple of the Lord was laid consider" assigns the laying of the foundation of the temple to the 24th day of the 9th month, that he adds the phrase לְמִן הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר יֻסַּד in apposition and accordingly as of like meaning with the phrase, "from the 24th day of the 9th month," is just as clear as the interpretation of KEIL, according to which לְמִן *etc.*, would be in apposition indeed, yet would reach back to the time of Cyrus, is artificial and untenable. And that Zech. viii. 9, "the prophets which were in the day when the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid, that the temple might be built," does not mean the prophets after the exile in general (KEIL) but those of the better times (KÖHLER), which were already bringing the fulfilment, as they, according to the immediately following verse, had not come previously, but for the first now after the failure of the harvest, that the laying of the temple's foundations accordingly also here is recognized as of the present, can as little be denied. But with all this the conclusions which SCHRADER derives from it are by far too hasty. As בָּנָה often means continue the building, or also, rebuild, comp. Ps. li. 20; lxix. 36, so יָסַד also may be used in different senses, since in a narrower sense it refers merely to the laying of the foundation stone, in a broader and fuller sense to the laying of the foundations in general. Only in the narrow sense had the laying of the foundation taken place in the time of Cyrus; for without doubt only a small portion of the congregation had as yet the leisure to occupy themselves therewith. Above all, moreover, the ruins had to be removed and the necessary new material be procured. In the fuller sense the laying of the foundations did not really take place until the time of Darius. Now for the first time was stone laid upon stone, as it was necessary, if the foundations as a whole were to be carried up. (Comp. Hag. ii. 15).*

That the returned, however, had constantly undertaken, already in the time of Cyrus, the re-establishment of the temple, yea, regarded it as most necessary and important, is entirely probable, and cannot be conceived of as otherwise. (Comp. EWALD, *Geschichte Israels* IV. S. 129 sq.). Not only because that the pre-exile prophets, as Jeremiah, by whose utterances the returning exiles allowed themselves to be chiefly led, that Ezekiel also had seen in the re-establishment and continuance of the temple worship and priestly office the best security for the continuance of the true religion itself, Jer. xxxiii. 17–26; Ezek. xx. 40; xxxiv. 26; xxxvii. 26 and 28, and especially in chaps. xl.–xlvii. (comp. EWALD IV. S. 43) and that in Jer. xliv. 28 the re-establishment of the temple under and by Cyrus was set down definitely as the will of God, comp. also Isa. lx. 7—against which it might perhaps be said that passages of contrary purport may be found in Jer. iii. 16 and Isa. lxvi. 1—but the edict of Cyrus itself, which constituted the foundation for the existence of the new congregation itself, had decidedly the same purport that the congregation should above all have the task of building the temple and restoring the temple worship, as is testified not only by Ezra i., but also by the original Chaldee document given in chap. vi. 3 sq. Over against this edict they would have lost the right of their existence in Jerusalem if they had set aside the building of the temple for the sake of any incident that changed the posture of affairs, or had postponed it for fully fourteen years. That they, however, did not touch the building for a long time after they had been interrupted, and did not even in the time of Cambyses attempt to take it up again, is easily explained from the many sad circumstances, especially also from the external dangers threatening them, under which they had to suffer, as is to be seen from the book of Ezra, and especially from the book of Nehemiah.

* According to Hag. i. 14, 15, it is true they had not for the first begun to work upon the house of the Lord on the 9th month and 24th day, when, according to chap. ii. 18, the foundation of the temple of the Lord was laid, but already in the 6th month. But that they then had merely performed the preparatory labor, removed the rubbish, and procured materials for building, that the proper work of building really began on the 24th day of the 9th month, is clear from the simple fact that the prophet makes this later day his great *terminus a quo*, with which the bad growth shall come to an end and a better and more fruitful time begin, and of a *quid pro quo* (Keil) there can be thought if we understand it thus.

§ 3. RELATION OF THE TWO BOOKS TO ONE ANOTHER, TO THE CHRONICLES, AND ESDRAS.

If the composition of the two books was in the manner above described, the question readily arises whether the last author from the first regarded the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah as three particular books, or planned them as one work. That the unity, which has in recent times been asserted by ZUNZ (*Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*), EWALD, BERTH., *et al.*, really exists in a certain sense, cannot be ignored. The three books are so cut out that they unite to form a greater whole, not only in the looser way of the books of Samuel and Kings, but in a much more internal and firmer manner. Ezra begins with the same edict of Cyrus with reference to the return of the Jews, with which the Chronicles end. Ezra and Nehemiah, moreover, on their side are united together in the closest manner by Neh. viii.—xii. 26. Ezra's activity, the first part of which alone is narrated in the book of Ezra, is here described as to its continuance and results; the strengthening of the life of the congregation by this activity, the negative side of which is taken into consideration in the book of Ezra, is here carried on to its completion by the positive side. The book of Ezra is thus continued in the book of Nehemiah, and only finished therein. Neh. viii.—x. might have been added to the book of Ezra; it is annexed to the book of Nehemiah only because it describes a later period in which Nehemiah likewise came into consideration along-side of Ezra. Moreover, there is properly in all three books throughout one and the same subject treated; the history of the city of Jerusalem, the worship of God in it, and the most important persons who rendered services to it.

But it is just as easy to see likewise that the division into three particular books cannot have been made at a subsequent period, still less that it rests upon arbitrary grounds. The book of Nehemiah begins with a particular title, which designates it as the history of Nehemiah, and clearly enough separates it as a particular and independent writing from the book of Ezra. This title, moreover, cannot have been appended at a later period, but must have been placed there already by Nehemiah, otherwise the first person that constantly occurs, could not be explained. Moreover the supposition that the book, in spite of this title, should be regarded as merely a section of another larger book, would be against all Biblical analogies. And from this results also the independence of the book of Ezra. That which has been said in favor of the separation of Nehemiah, is also in favor of that of Ezra. To make Nehemiah independent, and append Ezra to the Chronicles (MOVERS) would be very inconsistent at any rate, and all the more so, indeed, that the book of Ezra treats of an entirely new period, which was separated by a great and gloomy chasm, from all that preceded it. Besides, if the author had written Chronicles and Ezra as a single book, he would have mentioned the edict of Cyrus but once, certainly, and he who separated Ezra would have caused the Chronicles to end before the introduction of this fact; in general, before the mention of Cyrus at all. That edict would have its proper place only at the beginning of the book of Ezra, where it formed the foundation for the subsequent history, and where it was therefore indispensable. To put it at the end of the Chronicles, moreover, would have been too refined for a mere arranger; this rather would come only into the mind of the author himself, who thereby would certainly merely satisfy the need of indicating by a brief word the restoration also after the exile and the destruction, which could not here be entirely absent.

In favor of the view that at least Fzra and Nehemiah originally constituted a single book, the circumstance is cited that both books from the most ancient times, namely, in the Talmud, yea, even in JOSEPH. and in the Alexandrine version, and accordingly also in MILETUS of Sardis and ORIGEN, in EUSEBIUS' *Church Hist.* II. 25, have been counted as one. But at the basis of this enumeration there is hardly more than the true recognition of the relationship that has been shown, and on the other side, the wish to have no more than just so many books in the Canon of the Old Test. as there are letters of the Alphabet. For the same reason the books of Judges and Ruth were connected together. For already JOSEPH. (*c. Ap.* I 8) enumerates, although he does not expressly give the reason, exactly twenty-two books, and JEROME says in the *prologus gal.*, expressly that the Hebrews had twenty-two ca-

nonical books, according to the number of the letters of their alphabet, which he, namely, mentions, and then adds that some, because the rabbins distinguish Sin and Shin, and for the sake of the sign of Jehovah, would set up a double yod in the alphabet, suppose that there are twenty-four, since they separate Ruth and Lamentations. That Ezra and Nehemiah are properly two books, can be the less denied, as they without doubt recognize two authors; for the book of Ezra, the priest of that name, of whom it is expressly said in the Talm. (*Bab. batr.* Fol. 14): "*Esra scripsit librum suum et genealogias librorum chron. usque ad sua tempora,*" and for the book of Neh. with as much certainty the governor Nehemiah also makes himself known unmistakably as the author by the use of the first person. As for the Alex. version the connection of the two books is found indeed in *Cod. Alex.* and *Cod. Frid.-Aug.*, but not in the *Cod. Vatic.**

Now in the Alexandrine version there is found a translation at first of our book of Ezra, enlarged by additions, and only afterward a translation that conforms closely to our text, and the question arises what weight the former has with its deviations, as well critical as exegetical. The former is in the Alex. in the ancient Latin and in the Syriac versions (comp. *libri vet. test. apocryphi syriace e recogn. de Lagarde*) Ἔσδρας πρῶτος, the second Ἔσδρας δεύτερος, the book of Nehemiah Ἔσδρας τρίτος, or also (probably from the time of Jerome) Nehemias; in the Vulgate, on the other hand, the book of Ezra in its present unenlarged form, is called I. Esra, the book of Nehemiah, II. Esra, as then likewise already ORIGEN (in EUSEBIUS' *Church Hist.* IV. 25), then the council *Laodicæ can.* 80, and other lists, distinguish our books of Ezra and Nehemiah as Ἔσδρας πρῶτος and δεύτερος,—the enlarged translation however is called III. Ezra, and the apocalyptic, pseudepigraphic book of Ezra finally the IV. Ezra.—The enlargement of the translation was brought about on the one side by placing before the proper beginning the closing part of the Chronicles (chaps. xxxv. and xxxvi.), namely the description of the brilliant passover feast under Josiah, and at the same time the last history of Jerusalem before the exile, and by adding as a conclusion the beginning of the second part of Nehemiah, Neh. vii. 73—viii. 13, namely, the public reading of the law by Ezra before the door of the restored temple. We see that as in the original book, so also in this enlargement nothing is so much regarded as the history of the temple worship, and indeed especially its indestructibleness. The translator would first of all recall the evening sky in which he rejoiced shortly before the exile, for this reason, because it was to him to a certain extent a prophecy of the morning and the resurrection, which might be expected after the temporary ruin in exile, through the power and grace of God. He then lets the contents of our book of Ezra follow, and adds Neh. vii. 73—viii. 13, because here the fulfilment of that prophecy is narrated. For the public reading of the law before the door of the temple, Neh. vii. 73 sq., came into consideration for him without doubt as a kind of temple worship, yea, was regarded by him perhaps in accordance with the ideas subsequently formed, as the most suitable and important worship of God alongside of the sacrificial worship. He needed not to go further than Neh. viii. 13, however; it was already sufficiently established by the history preceding, up to this time, that the restoration had been completed, and especially in the last verse does it still stand forth, what seems to have come into consideration for the author therewith that the people by their worship of God had again been exalted to prosperity and joy.—On the other side, however, the author has taken into his book likewise a passage entirely foreign to the canonical Old Test., which gives an account of a banquet which the Persian king Darius prepared in the second year of his reign, where Zerubbabel found opportunity to gain the king's favor for himself and his people, so that he permitted the building of the temple, contributed to the restoration of the worship in Jerusalem and influenced many Jewish heads of

* [DAVIDSON's summary is as follows: "*Intro.* II., p. 148. The extended work of the Chronist embraced a post-exile as well as a pre-exile part; but the former was afterwards separated from the latter, and received a distinct name, the book of Ezra, including what is now Nehemiah. In this post-exile portion the Chronicle writer copied his sources more extensively than in the preceding part. In Ezra ii. 1-63 he gave an old list; in iv. 8—vi. 18 a fragment of an Aramean narrative which he had got. In vii. 12—ix. 15 he inserted a piece of Ezra's memoirs, and in x. 13-33. he put a list or register which had come into his hands. Thus more than two-thirds of the book of Ezra was transcribed from the sources at his disposal. With respect to the book of Nehemiah, which was merely intended as an appendix to the whole, he filled up gaps in Nehemiah's memoirs with vii. 73 *b*—ix.; xii. 1—xiii. 3, and with minor interpretations besides. We have then left for the authorship of Ezra vii. 12—ix. 15; for Nehemiah i. 1—vii. 73 *a*, x. at first; xi. *a*—xiii. 4-31."—TR.]

families to return. This is the section, chaps. iii.—v. 6, which may be compared with the "passages in Esther." It is quite probable that the author here had reproduced a popular tradition (FRITZSCHE, *Einl. zu.* III. Esra § 5); but without doubt, in the formation of the story the design had already co-operated of giving moral truth a historical dress (ZUNZ, *Gottesdienstl. Vort.*, S. 106 and 123). Zerubbabel and two other young men were at that banquet, body-guards of the king; they agreed, when the latter had gone to sleep, to lay down their opinions before him with reference to what was the mightiest on earth, and see to which he would give his recognition. The one wrote "wine," the second "the king," the third (Zerubbabel) wrote "women are mightiest;" the latter added, however, "but truth gains the victory over every thing," and this he explained afterwards so that every other thing, even the king, had fallen into unrighteousness, and hence likewise become perishable. Only truth lasts. The author might by this sentence of Zerubbabel, so to say, have indicated the spirit of his presentation of history; not the king, that is worldly power and glory, can do everything. Their victory over the Lord is only apparent. The worship of Jehovah and the existence of Jerusalem can only be interrupted by them for a time. The king is not the mightiest, because on the one side even wine, and on the other women, rule over him; in other words, because he belongs to the world and its lusts, that is, to vanities; but it is the truth, the divine truth, which guarantees the eternal duration of the worship of God, because it is one with it; it proceeds from the eternal, and must therefore endure forever.

Now with respect to the critical value of this enlargement, it is by no means in the condition to make probable to us the already rejected view of an original external unity of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, notwithstanding the reasons for the opposite opinion; the internal connection is sufficient to explain why the author, if his object was the temple worship, went to work to collect material at the same time from the three fields. No more are we to suppose that he had found a basis in the original for the section, chaps. iii.—v. 6, that he inserted. "The language (of this passage) betrays itself throughout as originally Hellenistic (FRITZSCHE, *l. c.*). It seems to FRITZSCHE that only the conclusion, chap. v. 1–6, can be an exception. At any rate III. Ezra might come into consideration with reference to textual criticism. The translation is indeed frequently free, yet is as a whole in close conformity to the Hebrew text, in comparatively good Greek, and "is therefore an important evidence of the condition of our present Hebrew text at the time of this author" (BERTH., S. 15). However, the author could not have lived earlier than the first century before Christ, and the changes in the text that he recommends to us, are only to be admitted with great caution.

Exegetically and historically the III. Ezra might almost make it questionable for us whether we interpret the names of the Persian kings aright when we understand by the Darius mentioned after Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis, and by Artasasta, Artaxerxes. After having informed us of the edict of Cyrus in chap. ii. 1–14 and other matters contained in the canonical book of Ezra, III. Ezra lets the two original documents of Ezra iv. directly follow in vers. 15–25, the letter of the officer to Artaxerxes and its answer, and in addition the transition verse, by which it is carried back to Darius, "then the work on the house of the Lord was discontinued until the twentieth year of Darius." It also gains the appearance as if it had held the Artaxerxes, to whom the Samaritans turned themselves through the Persian offices, as one of the kings previous to Darius, perhaps Cambyses. Since then in chaps. iii.—v. 6, in his apocryphal addition, in that Zerubbabel still under Darius, and indeed still as a young man, stayed at the Persian court, he excites the appearance as if already before or even alongside of Cyrus, Darius had been favorable to the Jews, and had given them permission to return. The skein of difficulties, moreover, is entangled, as soon as it is supposed that the author in his statement, so to say, has made two beginnings, and indeed the second time in chap. v. 7, however little, there is here to be observed by the reader a larger pause. The announcement of the exiles who returned under Darius, which we read here in ver. 4 "these are the names of the men who went up," *etc.*, is only to be referred to the names that follow in vers. 5 and 6, that is to the priests, the sons of Phineas, to Jeshua the high-priest, and Joakim, the son of Zerubbabel, not at the same time to those following from ver. 7 onward. In ver. 7 a new announcement, corresponding to that of Ezra i. 2, introduces the names of

those who returned already in the time of Cyrus, or as it is expressly said with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. The matter would be clearer if the fifth chapter did not begin until ver. 7. It seems as if the author, before he passed over to the statement of the history proper, as it lies before us in Ezra iii., would anticipate all that which subsequently would have too much interrupted the connection of the history of the temple at Jerusalem, and which was yet of importance with reference to the course that affairs took; at first the edict of Cyrus, which constituted the foundation for all that followed, but then also the letter of the adversaries to Artaxerxes, with reference to the building of the city and its walls, and his unfavorable answer to the Jews, which original documents at the very beginning would throw a strong light upon the adversaries who were active at the time of the building of the temple likewise, and which already, because they are brought out in so much detail in our canonical Ezra, must be mentioned somewhere—finally the apocryphal section respecting the events at the banquet of Darius, which explains the sentiments of this king as so favorable and so decided for the building of the temple. The letter to Artaxerxes and the reply, he probably placed before the apocryphal history from the time of Darius, because it would have interrupted the narrative if placed after it, that is, would have too much separated similar things,—the names of those who returned under Darius on the one side, and the list of those who returned under Cyrus on the other side. Perhaps it likewise comes into consideration, that the closing verse after the reply of Artaxerxes, "then the building of the sanctuary at Jerusalem ceased until the second day of the reign of Darius" (chap. ii. 25), which here really has no sense at all, provided that under Artasasta we are to understand Artaxerxes, and under Darius the Darius Hystaspis, who had already reigned previously,—was well calculated to form the transition to the section respecting Darius. If it should be thought that the author thought of Cambyses as Artasasta, and therefore had placed the letter in question before, objections are excited by the close of the 5th chap., where he says, changing our Ezra freely, "they, namely, the Samaritans, hindered, that the building was not completed the entire period of the life of king Cyrus, and they were restrained from building two years, to the reign of Darius," which sounds as if, according to his view, Darius had followed immediately after Cyrus, and indeed already two years after the interruption of the building of the temple.—That the author makes Zerubbabel still live in the time of Darius, and indeed still as a young man at the Persian court, although he yet, according to him, was already active in Jerusalem under Cyrus, rests perhaps on a corruption of the text; perhaps the young man who influenced Darius so favorably in chap. iii. was not Zerubbabel, as, it is true, it is expressly said in chap. iv. 13, but the son of Zerubbabel, Joiakim, who in chap. v. 5 is mentioned as one who returned under Darius, and at the same time, also, expressly as the one who spake wise words under Darius, the king of Persia. To be sure, however, the difficulty still remains that as the high-priest, not Jeshua's son, but Jeshua himself, stands alongside of him. It is possible that rather the name Joiakim in chap. v. 5, rests on an alteration, by which a copyist would assist the author, and the appearance of Zerubbabel as a young man at the court of Darius is to be explained from the fact that the author himself thought of Darius, who already so soon after the interruption of the building of the temple attained the sovereignty, as the immediate successor of Cyrus; at any rate it must properly be supposed that Zerubbabel, after the interruption of the temple building, returned again to Babylon.

## § 4. LITERATURE.

As in the books of Chronicles, so here we have to complain of the small amount of exegetical and critical literature. Of Jewish interpreters, besides the well-known R. S. JARCHI and ABEN EZRA, who wrote commentaries upon almost the entire Old Test., which are printed in the *Rabbin. Bible* of BUXTORF, we may mention R. SIMEON BEN JOIAKIM, whose Commentary on Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, according to BARTOLOCCI, (*bibl. rabb.* IV., p. 412) appeared at Venice from Bomberg,—furthermore JOSEPH. BAR ABEN JECHIJJA, of whom a Commentary on the 5 *Megilloth* and the rest of the *Hagiographa* is mentioned, and ISAAK BEN R. SOLOMON JABEZ, whose *Thorath chesed* likewise embraces the *Megilloth* and the rest of the *Hagiographa*.

Of the Fathers of the Church only BEDA. VEN. comes into consideration, who composed two books of allegorical interpretation upon Ezra and Nehemiah (*op. t.* IV., p. 462 sq.); he would show by both books how those who have fallen into ruin by carelessness or error, must turn to repentance, how great God's grace is, *etc.* Of the Reformers, only JOHN BRENZ wrote a *Commentar. in Esdram*, and provided the first three chapters of Nehemiah with *annotationes.* VICT. STRIGEL'S *scholia in libr. Esræ* appeared at Leipsic, 1571; his *scholia in libr. Nehemiæ*, Leipsic, 1575; Erasmi Sarcerii *scholia in Nehemiam* and Cyriaci Spangenbergii *tabulæ* (Basel, 1563) are barely worthy of mention. The expository writings of the 16th and 17th Centuries are embraced, so far as they deserve mention, in the great collection "*Critici sacri*," London, 1660, 9 vol. fol., and in the selections therefrom of MATTH. POLUS, *Synopsis Criticorum s.*, London, 1669.

On the part of the Roman Catholics are to be mentioned: THOMAS DE VIO, Rome, 1553; DIONYS. CARTHUSIANUS, Cologne, 1534; CASPAR SANCTIUS, Lyons, 1627, and NICOLAUS LOMBARDUS (*Commentarius literalis, moralis, et allegoricus in Nehemiam et Esram.* Paris, 1643).

Of the Reformed Church are: LUDOV. LAVATERUS (38 Homilies upon Ezra, and 58 upon Nehemiah), Zurich, 1583; JOHANN WOLFF, *Nehemias de instaurata Hierosolyma seu commentarius in librum Nehemiæ*, Zurich, 1570; CHRISTIANUS SCHOTANUS, *bibliotheca hist. sacr.* V. T. T. II., p. 1154 sq.; GUILELM PEMBELIUS, *explicatio locorum obscurorum ex Esræ, etc., libro*, Lond., 1658; H. GROTIUS, *Annotatt. in Vet. Test.*, Paris, 1644, *ed. Vogel et Doederlein*, Halle, 1775–6.; FRANC. BURMANNUS, a Belgian Commentary upon the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra, Amsterdam, 1694.

Of the 18th Century are only the works embracing the entire Old Test., or at least a greater part of it, by AUG. CALMET, *Commentaire literal*, Paris, 1707 sq.; by JO. CLERICUS, *Commentarius* (3 vols. *in Hagiographa*), Amsterdam, 1731; by JOH. HEINR. MICHAELIS, *adnotationes uberiores in hagiographos veteris testamenti libros*, Halle, 1720 (the book of Ezra, by J. H. MICHAELIS himself, the book of Nehemiah, by J. J. RAMBACH, both in the third vol.); by H. B. STARK *Notæ selectæ in Pent., etc.*, Leipsic, 1714,—by JOACH. LANGE, *Mosaisches, Prophetisches u. s. w. Licht und Recht*, Halle, 1729—38, by CHR. STARKE the Synopsis III.; by J. D. MICHAELIS, *Die Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte. Theil* 12, 1785. Of the 19th Century we have, by J. B. D. MAURER, *Comment. gramm. crit. in V. T.*, vol. I., Leipsic, 1835; E. BERTHEAU, *Die Bücher Esra, Nehemia, and Esther* (17 *Lieferung des kurzgefassten exegetischen Handbuches zum A. Testament*), Leipsic, 1862; BUNSEN, *Bibelwerk* (Thl. I., *Abth.* 3, by AD. KAMPHAUSEN), Leipsic, 1865; C. F. KEIL, *Bibl. Kommentar über die nachexil. Geschichtsbücher*; *Chronik, Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (Thl. 5 *des bibl. Kommentars* of KEIL and DELITZSCH, Leipsic, 1870 —[Trans. in CLARK'S *For. Theol. Library*]; SCHIRMER, *observatt. exeget. crit. in* 1 *Esdræ*, Breslau, 1820. There are the following introductory critical treatises on the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; KLEINERT, *über die Entstehung, die Bestandtheile und das Alter der Bücher Ezra und Nehemia*, in the *Beitr. zu den theol. Wissenschaften* by the Professors of Theology at Dorpat, Hamburg, 1832, first volume; KEIL, *über die Integrität des Bücher Ezra* in his *Apol. Versuch über die Chronik*, S. 93 sq.; F. W. SCHULTZ, "*Cyrus der Grosse*" in the *Stud. u. Krit*, 1853, S. 624 sqq.; BAIHINGER, "*zur Aufhellung der nachexil. Geschichte Israels*" *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1857, S. 87 sqq.; E. SCHRADER, "*die Dauer des zweiten Tempelbaus,*" *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1867, S. 460 sqq. E. SCHRADER'S book, "*die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,*" Giessen, 1872, contains contributions worthy of consideration with reference to the book of Ezra, fewer with reference to Nehemiah.

[To these we may add the few works upon Ezra and Nehemiah in English. The Holy Bible, with notes of the older MATTHEW HENRY and SCOTT, and the more recent Holy Bible, with Notes of WORDSWORTH, vol. II., new ed., London, 1873; the Bible or Speaker's Comm., vol. III., London, 1874, by RAWLINSON, to which frequent reference is made by the translator. See also DAVIDSON'S *Introduction to the Old Test.* II., 121–132, Edin., 1862; PUSEY on *Daniel*, p. 331 sq., 3d ed., London, 1869; also in KITTO'S *Cyclopædia*, 3d edit., 1865, and SMITH'S *Biblical Dictionary*—especially the American edition.—TR.]

# THE BOOK OF EZRA.

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## PART FIRST.

**The Temple as the Place of the Lord. (Period previous to Ezra.)**

Chaps. I.—VI.

### FIRST SECTION.

*The Most Important Fundamental Facts.*

Chapters I. II.

#### A.—THE DECREE OF CYRUS—THE DEPARTURE FROM BABYLON—THE RESTITUTION OF THE SACRED VESSELS.

Chap. I. 1–11.

I. *The Decree of Cyrus.* Vers. 1–4.

1 Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the
mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king
of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also
2 in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath
given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a
3 house at Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah. Who *is there* among you of all his people?
his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah, and
build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he *is* the God,) which *is* in Jerusalem.
4 And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his
place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, besides
the free-will offering for the house of God that *is* in Jerusalem.

II. *The Departure from Babylon.* Vers. 5, 6.

5 Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests,
and the Levites, with all *them* whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the
6 house of the Lord which *is* in Jerusalem. And all they that *were* about them
strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with
beasts, and with precious things, besides all *that* was willingly offered.

III. *The Restitution of the Vessels of the Temple.* Vers. 7–11.

7 Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which
Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the
8 house of his gods; Even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand
of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of
9 Judah. And this *is* the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand

10 chargers of silver, nine and twenty knives, Thirty basins of gold, silver basins of a
11 second *sort* four hundred and ten, *and* other vessels a thousand. All the vessels
of gold and of silver *were* five thousand and four hundred. All *these* did Sheshbazzar bring up with *them of* the captivity that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–4. The decree of Cyrus placed here at the beginning constituted the basis of all that followed, first of all, of the re-establishment of the temple and the renewal of the congregation. And although this decree was issued by a heathen prince, it yet involved a great act of fulfillment on the part of the Lord. It is manifest from the first verse that the Lord was there present and acting to fulfil His word.

Ver. 1. **And in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia.**—The וְ (and), which under other circumstances might be deemed unimportant, here, in view of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, connects the subsequent re-establishment with the previous destruction. The first year of Cyrus naturally refers to that first year, in which he began to come into consideration as ruler with reference to the Jews, that is, over Babylon, and indeed not mediately, as the sovereign of Darius the Mede, in view of Dan. vi. 1, but immediately. It was the year 536 B. C.—[Rawlinson contends that "by the first year of Cyrus is to be understood his first year at Babylon, which was the first year of his sovereignty over the Jews. This was B. C. 538."—Tr.]—כּוֹרֶשׁ corresponds with the old Persian *kurus*, the Greek *κῦρος*, and is perhaps connected with *kurus* the name of prince in ancient India [and the *kuru* race, according to Rawlinson, who also thinks that the Masoretic pointing is incorrect for כּוּרֻשׁ.—Tr.].—*Vid.* Delitzsch, Com., Isaiah xliv. 28. פָּרַס (in the best editions with pathah under resh, for which we have qamets in strong pause, as with silluq, ch. iv. 8) is in the cuneiform inscriptions *Paraça*, in the native dialect *Parça*, *vid.* Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, S. 244 [Rawlinson, Appendix to Com. on Persian words in Ezra.—Tr.].—**That the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled.**—לִכְלוֹת would generally be rendered: in order that it might be completed. The subject would then be properly regarded as the period of seventy years which the divine word had determined (so Berth. and Keil); yet as this is not the subject, but rather the word of the Lord itself, we are compelled to render: in order that it might be fulfilled. כָּלָה means properly to be ready, and thence, on the one side, to be finished, *e. g.* Ex. xxxix. 32, especially of buildings, as of the temple, 1 Kings vi. 38, but likewise of predicted events, Dan. xii. 7; in the Piel, to finish, 1 Kings vii. 1 sq.; in Pual, to be completed, Gen. ii. 1; on the other side, to pass away. Taking it thus, לִכְלוֹת is essentially the same as לְמַלֹּאות, which is used as its synonym, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 (Vulg. *ut compleretur*), although this term rests on a different idea. The word of God is not as with מְלֹאות to be regarded as a measure to be filled full, but as the vital beginning of that which is to be carried out.—That our author, as well as the author of Dan. ix. 1, brings into consideration above all the prophecy of Jeremiah, xxv. 11 sq. and xxix. 10, not that of Is. xli. 2–4, 25; xliv. 24–28; xlv. 1–5, 13; xlvi. 11; xlviii. 13–15, is to be explained from the fact that he is concerned, as we see from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, not merely with the deliverance after the exile, but likewise with the time of that deliverance, that is, with its beginning, after the expiration of the seventy years of the exile, which is foretold in Jeremiah alone. Besides the prophecies of Jeremiah were the more popular as they were older and more fundamental.* The seventy years of the exile, to the first year of Cyrus, can only be made out by going back to the first beginning of all the Chaldean wars, conquests and captivities of Israel—that is, to the victory of Nebuchadnezzar over Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 606 B. C. [Rawlinson and Smith both make the date 605 B. C. The former contends that seventy is a round number sufficiently fulfilled by sixty-eight years, which he makes between 605 and 538.—Tr.], when Jeremiah first uttered the prophecy under consideration (comp. ch. xxv. 1 sq. and xlvi. 1). We are fully justified in doing this, as is now again generally recognized. That already in the fourth year of Jehoiakim there was really a conquest of Jerusalem and a carrying into captivity of Jews of the principal families, is shown not only by the fact that this year had to Jeremiah the significance of an important crisis, comp. ch. xxv., not only, moreover, from the statement, 2 Kings xxiv. 1, that Nebuchadnezzar made a first expedition against Jehoiakim, and then reduced him to submission for a long time, but likewise from the combination of very definite historical statements. Here belongs especially the remark of Jer. xlvi. 2, that Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh Necho in the fourth year of Jehoiakim at Carchemish, and in connection therewith the account of Berosus, that he pursued the Egyptians in conquest into their own land, and then when the account of the death of his father recalled him, had carried away captive the Jews among other nations. Besides, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 may be adduced as an evidence of this fact (with Bertheau), since the account there manifestly taken from ancient sources, that Nebuchadnezzar had ordered Jehoiakim to be bound with an iron chain, in order to bring him to Babylon, cannot be referred to the last campaign

* [The author adopts the view of Ewald, Hitzig, *et al.*, that the second part of Isaiah was written by "the great unknown in the latter part of the exile." This view is to be rejected, and the unity of Isaiah maintained with most evangelical critics. Hence the author's statement of the priority of Jeremiah falls.—Tr.]

against Jehoiakim, in which he perished in his native land, but only to a previous expedition. The fact that Jeremiah makes no mention of a capture of Jerusalem in the fourth year of Jehoiakim cannot count for the contrary opinion; for Jeremiah touches upon the history of Jerusalem only in so far as it determined his own history; and there is no more importance to be given to the fact that Jeremiah, ch. xxxvi. 9 sq., caused to be read in the fifth year of Jehoiakim and the ninth month a prophecy that Nebuchadnezzar would come and destroy the land. Jehoiakim was ever thinking of rebellion, and the people were of like spirit, and would not believe that ruin actually threatened them from the Chaldeans. They were therefore still in especial need of such a threatening, even if the misfortune had already begun. It might also under these very circumstances be as unwelcome to them as it appears from ch. xxxvi. 11 sq. In contrast with their hopes and efforts it was certainly the most undesirable (against Bähr on 2 Kings xxiv. 1). At that time they held a fast, and that they thereby would lament a misfortune already suffered, and not merely avert one that was to be feared, is in connection with the false security so natural to them, and their effort to suppress those gloomy thoughts that were anywhere about to have vent, is at least highly probable.—**The Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus.**—This does not mean that Cyrus was influenced in the same way as were the prophets, upon whom, with their greater susceptibility, the Spirit of the Lord came; but yet an influence in consequence of which Cyrus made the will of God his own will, and executed it in the things under consideration. God gave him the resolution and the desire to execute His intention, comp. 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Chron. xxi. 16; Hag. i. 14 sq. That the Lord at this time chose a heathen, and indeed the ruler of a heathen empire, as His instrument, was in accordance with the new position that the empires of the world were henceforth to assume with reference to the kingdom of God.—**He made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and also (made known) by writing.**—Usually הֶעֱבִיר קוֹל means "to cause to be made known through heralds," comp. ch. x. 7; Neh. viii. 15; 2 Chron. xxx. 5; Ex. xxxvi. 6; that it is to be taken here in the same sense is clear from the use of גַּם before בְּמִכְתָּב, which is thus adjoined in zeugma, so that we must supply a new verb with a general meaning, such as "he made known."

Ver. 2. The decree of Cyrus immediately following was not merely designed for the Jews; accordingly was by no means merely to be communicated to them secretly; but, according to ver. 4, it was directed to all the subjects of the Persian empire. All the more striking therefore is the open confession of Jehovah, which Cyrus makes at the very beginning.—**All the kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah the God of heaven given me, and He hath charged me to build Him a house**—We are not therefore to suppose that the author simply imputed to Cyrus the acknowledgment of Jehovah or indeed that he altogether invented this entire edict. Chapter v. 17; vi. 3 suffice to disprove this supposition. It is not to be supposed, indeed, that Cyrus spake in his edict of Jehovah as the God of heaven who had given him the lands; for his subjects would have regarded it as an apostasy from the Persian religion, which might have been fatal to him; moreover such a thing would be without any analogy.* Against this view there cannot be cited the case of that king of Hamath who in the inscription of Sargon at Khorsebad and Nimrud is called *Jahubihd*, in another inscription however *Ilubihd*, who thus seems not only to have employed the name of El., but likewise of Jehovah. Comp. Schrader, *l. c.*, S. 3 sq. Without doubt the Persians had an entirely different self-consciousness from the Syrians, who as a matter of course were much more closely related to the Israelites. Notwithstanding this, however, it is clear from the fact of the edict itself and the dismission of the Jews, that Cyrus tolerated the religion of Jehovah, at least as much as so many others in his wide realm, yea we may certainly conclude therefrom that he favored it. He would not only have Jehovah recognised as a God alongside of other gods; for such a polytheistic syncretism would have accorded but little with the strong monotheistic bent of the Persian religion, and would still less accord with that recognition of Jehovah which is declared in the decree before us. Cyrus might very well have regarded the Jewish religion as a method of worshipping the highest God, which deserved a preference above many other sensuous conceptions of the Deity. He might have seen in Jehovah, so to speak, only another name for *Ahura mazda*, and might have been so much the more inclined to this conception, as the Persians had an idea of God which in itself was purer than that of other nations, which has been obscured for the first time by more sensuous religious elements, pressing in upon them from Media and the West. Comp. Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, S. 351 sq. [also Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, III., p. 97]. A good impression in this respect might have been made upon him by the fact that his conquest of Babylon had been very desirable to the Jews, yea that they had placed their hopes at once in him as their deliverer. It is then but probable that they made their disposition and expectations known to him, and if they laid before him, as Josephus (*Arch.* IX., i. 7) informs us, at once likewise the prophecies referring to him in Isa. xli. 2-4, 25 sq.; xliv. 24-28; xlv. 1 sq., this must have given him a very favorable disposition towards them. Moreover, as Cyrus recognised in the Jewish God, so might the Jews easily find in the Persian God one closely related to their own, yea identical with Him. Without regard to the fact that the divine name *Ahura* = *asura*, from *as* = *esse*, to a certain extent coincides with יְהוָֹה (compare Böttcher, *Rudimenta mythologiæ semiticæ*, spec. I.), the Zoroastrian religion was nearer to the religion of Jehovah than any other, and it is very remarkable that it is predicted in Isa. xli. 25; xlv. 3, not only

* [We have here not a citation of the very words of the decree, as is so often the case in Ezra and Nehemiah, but rather a free reproduction of it.—Tr.]

that Cyrus will call upon and proclaim the name of the Lord; that he will recognise Jehovah as the one who has chosen him, but likewise that he will be a mighty instrument in the hand of the Lord for overcoming the respect of the Chaldean gods. In fact, since Cyrus and the establishment of the Persian empire, the temptation to the rude worship of idols has declined as never before, not only in Israel, but likewise there gradually came over the other nations, even over the Greeks and Romans from that time forth more and more a spirit of enlightenment that certainly paved the way for the agency of the second great instrument of God, the servant of the Lord foretold in Isa. xlii.—The introduction given by Cyrus to his decree: "all the kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah the God of heaven given me, and hath charged me with building him a house in Jerusalem," corresponds with the beginnings of the proclamations of the Persian kings, as they are preserved to us in the cuneiform inscriptions. These likewise frequently begin with the confession that they owe their dominion to the highest God, the creator of heaven and earth. (Comp. Lassen, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Bonn, 1836, S. 172; and more recently Joach. Menant, *Exposé des elements de la grammaire Assyrienne*, Par., 1868, p. 302 sq., according to whom the trilingual inscription of Elvend begins thus: *deus magnus Aūra-mazda, qui maximus deorum, qui hanc terram creavit, qui hoc cœlum creavit, qui homines creavit, qui potentiam (?) dedit hominibus, qui Xerxem regem fecit*, etc. [Also Rawlinson's *Monarchies*, III., 348, and his *Com. on Ezra*, where he gives the inscription of Darius: "The great God, Ormazd, who is the chief of the gods; he established Darius as king; he granted him the empire; by the grace of Ormazd is Darius king."—Tr.]). The words: "all the kingdoms of the earth" are explained from the wide extent of the Persian empire. When Cyrus conquered Babylon, he had already subjugated to himself almost the entire eastern Asia, even to the Indian Ocean (according to Berosus in Joseph. *c. Ap.*). Afterwards he pressed southward also, and entered even into Egypt and Ethiopia. The words of Cyrus: "He hath charged me to build Him a house," would be possible and justified even if he had merely felt himself charged by circumstances to build the temple at Jerusalem, but is still better explained if the Jews, as Josephus, *l. c.*, says, laid before him Isaiah xliv. 24 and 28, and xlv. 1 sq. [So also Rawlinson, who says: "It is a reasonable conjecture that, on the capture of Babylon, Cyrus was brought into personal contact with Daniel, and that his attention was drawn by that prophet to the prophecy of Isaiah.—Cyrus probably accepted this prophecy as a 'charge' to rebuild the temple." Keil also refers to Dan. vi., which states that Darius the Mede made Daniel one of the three presidents of the one hundred and twenty satraps of the empire, and valued him greatly at court.—Tr.]. J. H. Michaelis therefore explains the passage thus: *mandavit mihi, nimirum dudum ante per Jesaiam*, cap. xliv. 24-28; xlv. 1-13. The reference to these prophecies is all the more apparent since there, as well as here, the same fundamental fact is so strongly and repeatedly emphasized, namely, that the Lord gave to him the kingdoms of the earth, comp. especially Isa. xli. 2, 3, 25; xlv. 1 sq. Comp. A. F. Kleinert, *Ueber die Echtheit sämmtlicher in dem Buch Jesaia enthaltenem Weissagungen*, Berlin, 1829.

Ver. 3. Cyrus would first call upon the Jews, but yet turn to all his subjects with his address; because he had something to say to those also who were not Jews, but were dwelling with the Jews.—**Who among you, of all His people,** *etc.* With all the people of Jehovah he also properly includes the descendants of the ten tribes. Yet these seem not to have been thought of, nor does it seem that any important element of them made use of the permission of Cyrus. The blessing:—**His God be with him**—thus emphatic in position, shows that that which follows is not so much command as permission, as if he would say: His God be with him should he go up and build. Besides, this wish involves not only the permission to build the temple, but at the same time the consent to all that was necessarily connected therewith, especially the emigration to Palestine.* The additional clause, **He is the God who is at Jerusalem,** which would give the motive for building the temple of Jehovah, does not mean that Jehovah is present only in Jerusalem, and only has power in Canaan, for Cyrus has already ascribed to Him the power over the kingdoms of the earth—but it simply expresses the idea that He has chosen Jerusalem, above all other places, as the holy place which He would have distinguished for His worship. [Compare the confession of Darius, Dan. vi. 26, "He is the living God."—Tr.]

Ver. 4. **And as for every one of the survivors, let the people of his place assist him,** *etc.*—The heathen, on their part, are to assist. כָּל־הַנִּשְׁאָר, is accusative absolute, placed before for emphasis. The designation of the exiles as survivors, properly those left over, is connected with the thought of the great and severe judgments that had overtaken Israel, and is found therefore especially among the Israelites themselves, comp. Neh. i. 2 sq.; Hag. ii. 3 sq. This thought, however, was natural enough even for the heathen. The words: **From all the places where he sojourneth,** can only be connected with the subsequent clause. The Piel נִשֵּׂא here means to assist, as in 1 Kings ix. 11, *etc.*—**With silver and with gold, and with goods** (here perhaps clothing or tents) they are to enable the departing to emigrate.—**Besides the free-will offering.**—This was something additional (עִם comp. ver. 6) to the gifts, by which they were to contribute directly to the building of the house of God. Comp. chap. viii. 25; Ex. xxxv. 29; Lev. xxii. 25. [Rawlinson regards the free-will offering as that of Cyrus himself.—Tr.]

Ver. 5. The permission to march to Jerusalem was made use of by **the heads of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin and the priests and the Levites.**—We are to conclude as a

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* I see no sufficient ground, with Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, § 734, either to strike out entirely 'יְהִי' or change it into יְהוָה, after 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23. In Esd. ii. 5, we have for it ἔστω.

matter of course that with the heads of the fathers* the fathers themselves set out, and with the fathers their families; that is, that the divisions of a higher and lower degree accompanied their heads. But it does not mean that all of the heads of the three tribes mentioned set out, but **all whose spirit God had raised.**—It certainly must have been the most of them, otherwise it would not have been said so distinctly the heads of the fathers. The simple לְכֹל (to be distinguished from וּלְכֹל, chap. vii. 28) does not serve, in enumerations, to add in a short and summary way all the others, which have not yet been mentioned, as if the meaning were that besides the heads there were others also who set out (Berth. [A. V.]), but it adds to that which has been already said a still closer definition, which is important to the context, (comp. Neh. xi. 2; 1 Chron. xiii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 12), so that it corresponds with our "namely," "that is" [Ew. § 310 *a*]. ל properly here, as elsewhere, indicates the belonging to a class or kind. The author has then, in a manner peculiar to himself, subordinated the following relative clause to the כֹּל־ without אֲשֶׁר. God must awake the spirit of those who would ascend, that is, must make them willing (comp. ver. 1); for the return home was not a matter that required no consideration. Their native land lay either desolate or occupied with heathen and barbarous nations. Great dangers threatened the little nation, that would put itself in opposition with the inhabitants and indeed severe tasks awaited them. In Babylon, on the other hand, their circumstances had become such that they could very well endure them, yea, they were favorable, as we can see from Isa. lvi. 11—lviii., hence πολλοὶ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ βαβυλῶνι τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες. (Many remained behind in Babylon, unwilling to relinquish their property (Joseph. *Arch.* XI. 1, 1).

Ver. 6. **All they that were about them.**—The call to assist the returning exiles was obeyed and their neighbors, who certainly included the Israelites, who remained behind, who if they had means, would especially contribute with liberality (comp. Zech. vi. 9) in order to a certain extent to make up for what they seemed to neglect by their remaining behind. But there were surely heathen, also, whom Cyrus had chiefly in view, under the supposition that the Israelites could not let his permission go by without using it. The example of the king and his exhortation must have already made them willing, but there were certainly here and there some who were influenced by their friendly relations to the departing. חִזְּקוּ בִידֵיהֶם means, like הֶחֱזִיק בְּיָד, first of all to take by the hand, in order to hold or support (Berth., Keil), then passes over as the German "*jemandem unter die Arme greifen,*" immediately to the meaning "assist" (although the construction with בְּ is against a full equivalence of the expression with the frequently-occurring חִזֵּק יָד) as is clear from the context, which demands the meaning, assist, the בְּ before כְּלֵי־כֶסֶף the following noun זָהָב, and the נִשָּׂא corresponding to it in ver. 4.—**Besides all that was willingly offered.**—לְבַד is here connected with עַל, (which properly would have sufficed by itself), for the usual כֵּן Gen. xxxii. 12. Comp. Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxix. 39. כָּל־ after עַל is certainly to be taken as neuter. הִתְנַדֵּב which is closely connected with the foregoing must have supplied not only אֲשֶׁר, but also the subject "what" he, namely, the giver, gave as an offering. הִתְנַדֵּב means properly "to act freely," is frequently used in this sense by our author, so likewise here "to give freely," comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 9; Ezra ii. 68; iii. 5, and indeed in the liturgical sense "give for the temple," to a certain extent as an offering, נְדָבָה. Comp. ver. 4.

Vers. 7–11. It was Cyrus himself who especially helped the returning exiles by bestowing upon them the vessels that had been plundered from the temple. These vessels might have been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, at the very first capture of Jerusalem in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7; Dan. i. 2. That nothing of the kind is mentioned either in 2 Kings xxiv., or by Jeremiah, is explained naturally from the fact that in general so little is expressly said with reference to that first campaign of Nebuchadnezzar. When Jehoiachin (Jechoniah) was carried away captive, there was certainly a plundering of the temple, and that seemed more worthy of mention, 2 Kings xxiv. 13; Jer. xxvii. 16; xxviii. 1 sq.; whilst it is expressly said, 2 Kings xxiv. 13, that Nebuchadnezzar at this time brake off the gold of the vessels, which seems to indicate that there were no longer vessels of massive gold, but merely vessels overlaid with gold. When Zedekiah was set aside by the governor of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan (2 Kings xxv. 13 sq.; Jer. lii. 18 sq.), the vessels remaining were mostly of brass.

Ver. 8. Cyrus delivered over the vessels by **the hand of the treasurer Mithredates.***—עַל־יַד, that is, so that he had at the same time to take them in his hands to inspect them, to recognize them as the vessels of the temple at Jerusalem, accordingly under his supervision. Comp. chap. viii. 33; Esth. vi. 9. גִּזְבָּר is the Zend *gaza-bara*, treasurer, whilst the other form, גְּדָבָר, pl. גְּדָבְרִין Dan. iii. 2, 3, corresponds with the old Persian *gada-bara* (*gaint bara*, modern Per-

* רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת for the fuller form רָאשֵׁי בֵּית הָאָבוֹת, Ex. vi. 14, that is, heads or chiefs of the fathers' houses or families, which were subdivisions of the מִשְׁפָּחוֹת, as the latter were of the שְׁבָטִים or tribes. Thus the fathers' houses of the going up from Babylon are in striking contrast with the tribes of the going up from Egypt. —Tr.]

* [*Mithredath.* Rawlinson: "The occurrence of this name, which means given by Mithra," Persian *Mithradata* — *Mithra*, "the Sun-God," and *data* past part. of *da* — "to give," or dedicated to Mithra, is an indication that the sun worship of the Persians was at least as old as the time of Cyrus. (Comp. Xen. *Cyrop.* ch. VIII. 3, § 24."—Tr.]

sian *geng' war*) from *gada* or *ganda*. Comp. Keil, Dan. v. 36, *Anm.* 1.—**Sheshbazzar**, the prince of Judah, to whom Mithredates counted out the vessels, meets us again in the Chaldee passage, chap. v. 14, 16, and indeed as *pecha* or governor of the new community in Judea, who laid the foundation of the new temple, so that without question he is identical with Zerubbabel (chap. ii. 2; iii. 8; iv. 3) the son of Shealtiel (chap. iii. 2, 8; v. 2; Hag. i. 1, *etc.*, comp. also Matth. i. 12; Luke iii. 27), who, 1 Chron. iii. 19, is likewise a son of Pedaiah, a brother of Shealtiel, and belongs to the family of Daniel. Alongside of the more Chaldee name of Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel was used as a more Hebrew name. The latter occurs even in the Chaldee part of the book, chap. v. 2. In the same way Daniel and his three companions had with their Chaldee names, which they received when they entered into the service of the king of Babylon, likewise Hebrew names, Dan. i. 7. The meaning of Sheshbazzar is still more uncertain than that of Zerubbabel. Not even the pronunciation of the word is certain. The Alex. version has, in most accordance with the Masoretic form Σασαβασάρ, but likewise Σαβαχασάρ, and Σαναβάσσαρος. The latter form is found in accordance with the best MSS. in Esdras, where the reading alongside of it is Σαμανασσάρ.

Ver. 9. In the *enumeration* of the vessels their names, as well as their numbers, afford difficulties. Instead of the usual names for temple vessels, others are chosen here, perhaps, because they were preferred as more comprehensive and popular terms. The detailed numbers do not correspond with the sum total in ver. 11. Thirty golden and one thousand silver אֲגַרְטְלִים were numbered first of all, according to the Alex. version ψυκτῆρες (wine coolers), Esdras ii. 11, σπονδεῖα, cups for drink-offerings, according to the interpretation of the Talmud in Aben Ezra from אָגַר to collect, and טָלֶה, lamb, vessels for collecting the blood of lambs, which is certainly untenable. Probably we have in the Arabic *kirtallat*, Syriac *kartolo*, Greek κάρταλλος, the same term, accordingly a basket coming to a point below (see Suidas). The twenty-nine מַחֲלָפִים which follow, are judged according to their small number merely a subordinate kind of the preceding, which differed from them in some special kind of decoration or arrangements, thus not *cultri*, sacrificial knives (Vulg.), according to rabbinical interpretation, from חָלַף to penetrate, to cut in two, but rather according to מַחְלָפוֹת = braids, Judges xvi. 13, 19, adorned with net work (Ew.) or provided with holes above, designed for incense (Berth.), or likewise from חלף in Piel and Hiph. to change, sacrificial dishes serving for the pouring out of the blood of the sacrifices.

Ver. 10. The thirty golden cups כְּפוֹרִים (properly covered vessels, 1 Chron. xxviii. 17) are followed by silver ones in parallelism with verse 9. מִשְׁנִים has been taken by the ancient and more recent interpreters as an adjective in the sense of *secundarii*, as if the silver cups were thereby compared with the golden as expressive of a less good, merely second sort and quality. Since this closer definition seems strange and at any rate superfluous, it is more appropriate to suppose that משנים (pointing it, as it were, as a Piel participle) designates a subordinate kind of *cups*, corresponding with the מַחֲלָפִים in the previous ver. and with essentially the same meaning, which likewise served for pouring out; or it has arisen from a numeral, perhaps אֲלָפִים (Esdras ii. 12), so that not 410 but 2410 silver cups were returned. If we find a subordinate sort indicated by משנים, then the number must be supplied to the previous principal sort. Of the subordinate sort there were 410, and of other vessels 1,000 more.

Ver. 11. The sum total, 5400, is more than double the detailed numbers given in our text of the 9th and 10th verses, 2499, and can only be made out by conjecturing the number of the silver cups as 1000 or 2000. If we supply 2000, the sum total of 4499 results, thus in round numbers 4500, and it is possible this may be the correct sum, arisen from 5400 by transposition of numbers. But at any rate the LXX. already favored the text, as we have it, and Esdras which has 1000 golden and 1000 silver σπονδεῖα; 29 silver θυίσκαι, 30 golden, and 2410 silver φιάλαι, and 1000 other vessels, in all 5469, has ventured to conjecture, in order to reach the sum total in some measure. [So Keil, but Ewald, *Gesch.* IV. p. 88, Bertheau *et al.* more properly find the key to the difficulty in Esdras.—Tr.]. It is however possible that the author, as J. H. Michaelis asserts against Clericus, passed over many subordinate vessels in the detail, but in the sum-total has taken them all into consideration. [Rawlinson thinks the sum-total in our passage a corruption.—Tr.].—**All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with** (or at) **the bringing up of the captives.**—(הֵעָלוֹת is the infin. Niph. with passive meaning as in Jer. xxxvii. 12). This statement passes over lightly the long and difficult journey from Babylon to Jerusalem. It is possible that the documents used by our author, contained something more on this subject. But the author himself has hardly given anything more that has been lost, but he hastens to his proper topic, to come to the building of the temple in Jerusalem. In Esdras v. 1–6 some verses are found respecting the journey of those who returned under Darius. Darius sent with them 1000 cavalry, in order to bring them in peace to Jerusalem, with musical instruments, with kettle-drums and flutes, and all their brethren played, *etc.* Fritzsch and Bertheau are of the opinion that these verses were taken from a Hebrew original and conjecture that they originally stood in our book of Ezra, and referred to the return under Cyrus. But their contents are so cheerful that we have no reason for finding any greater authority for them than that afforded by 1 Chron. xiii. 8, and similar passages.

### THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Ver. 1. *That it might be fulfilled.*—This chapter contains nothing less than the beginning of the fulfilment of all the great and glorious prophe-

cies with which the prophets before the exile brightened the gloomy night of the severe judgments of God—the dawning light of the grace of God in all its greatness, that would re-awaken the people of God from death and the grave, and enable them to live a new and glorious life—the glorious liberty of the children of God in the fullest and highest sense. What a great revolution of affairs was now to be expected! What a fulness of salvation after the night of misfortune—the entire extent of Messianic redemption! The beginnings were very small, very insignificant. There was no king to rule in strength out of Zion and conquer the world, to restore the ancient theocracy in the political sense, if it were only in the old proportions, not to speak of greater proportions and a more complete form. There were no people, great and strong, of their own increase in numbers, breaking through their boundaries and imparting themselves to the world (comp. Mic. ii. 12, 13). There was no territory, broad and free, yea, not even a little piece of land, that the people could really call their own, on which they could really feel that they were free. In other cases, when the Lord had redeemed His people from severe afflictions, or had intended to produce a new and better beginning of their development, He had awakened from their midst an instrument endued with an especial fulness of the Spirit and power. But now even this failed them. It was the heathen king whom He used as His instrument. Moreover not the people as such, but only a small portion of them, were permitted to re-people Jerusalem. The reorganization of a political commonwealth was not allowed, but only the re-establishment of the temple and its worship. Instead of a people, who might have organized and vindicated themselves as such, there could now only be a religious congregation in Jerusalem and Judah. Faith in God's faithfulness and truth, in Israel's lofty destiny and future glory, so far as it at all existed, or was about to awaken afresh, was now once more put to a severe test, even when its confirmation seemed to be in prospect. But if the Lord had so often and so long been obliged to wait until Israel turned in repentance to Him, how unreasonable and presumptuous would it have been, if now Israel had been unwilling likewise to wait and see whether the Lord would yet again turn in grace to them. The Lord was obliged to have such extraordinary patience with men, that men, if they knew themselves even to a very limited extent, could never find reason or justice in being impatient with the Lord. Besides it was very well calculated for those who were to be placed on a higher stand-point and have the eyes of their faith made more sensitive, and certainly for those who came after them, who might look over these small beginnings, in connection with their results, because of its very insignificance, to enable them to foresee, or at least forebode therein, the indications of the highest and brightest end, and to wonder all the more at the really divine operation of God; as indeed it was permitted to more than one pious singer, looking at the glorious end, to raise already his triumphal cry and ever re-echo it anew: the Lord is King, He clothes Himself with salvation. Comp. Ps. xciii. 1; xcvi. 10; xcvii. 1; xcix. 1 (on the basis of Isa. lii. 7).

*The word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah.*—All the previous prophecies of the impending judgments of God, and the temporary ruin of Israel, had again combined in the words of Jeremiah, and developed into the greatest definiteness. As a great prophet, who on the ἀκμή of a critical period, yea, immediately on the brink of the abyss, had caused the call to repentance once more to sound forth with mighty power, and had brought the prophecy of the impending judgment to a conclusion; like Elijah he became typical of the angel which the Lord would send before Him, before the coming of the great and terrible day, Mal. iii. 1. As the Jews expected Elias, so did they Jeremiah, before the advent of the great Messianic events, Matth. xvi. 14; Luke ix. 19; Bertholdt's *Christol.* S. 58. Now it was just this preacher of repentance and chastisement who had become for the exile times and those immediately following, the most important preacher of salvation, as is clear likewise from Dan. ix. 2. The Lord could not limit through him the duration of the time of chastisement without therewith at the same time predetermining the time of the beginning of the period of redemption, so that, so long as the question of the time seriously occupied the soul, the references were made chiefly to Jeremiah. Thus in fact the divine word of chastisement ever goes hand in hand with His word of salvation, and His negative with His positive working. His chastening is in truth ever a helping; yea, His killing is a making alive. He puts to death only the dead.

*The Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia.*—The Lord had hitherto made use of the heathen nations and their kings, when He would chastise Israel. They had been His rods and had been obliged to act in a negative relation to Israel. Now, on the other hand, He makes the mightiest empire of the world, yea, its greatest king, to assist in the accomplishment of very positive ends, in the realization of His most important and greatest designs of redemption. Egypt had once been obliged to help Israel with her possessions (Ex. xi. 2), being a weak type, so now the heathen who had previously plundered Israel were obliged to restore a part of their possessions; and Cyrus, the king of the same empire that had robbed Israel of her most sacred possessions, was obliged to restore the holy vessels, in order to assist in rebuilding the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem. Comp. Esth. viii. 25 sq.; 2 Macc. iii. 35; xiii. 23. This was in fact much more and bore stronger witness to the truth of the Lord and His final victory over the heathen world and its idolatry than the awakening of a great king and prophet in Israel. It already involved something of what the great prophet had uttered in the severest times of affliction as the greatest consolation, that the same heathen who threatened to tread Israel as a worm under their feet, should bring the children of Israel near in their bosom; yea, in that the mightiest king of the earth, the great king of Persia, had assisted Israel even to the accomplishment of their highest and noblest task, the honoring of their God, the word that the kings

should be the nursing fathers of Israel, and their queens their nursing mothers (Isa. xlix. 22, 23), already received the very best fulfilment. But it involved something still greater and more important. Since Israel remained in such a weak and dependent position, and was no longer able to give their spiritual blessings political security by a mighty commonwealth of their own; it must be shown, as never before, that the truth, whose bearers they were called to be, was able to stand by its own indestructible power, and was strong enough of its own fulness and glory to protect the congregation of its adherents and preserve them, notwithstanding their external dependence, in internal freedom and independence.

Ver. 2. With exalted self-consciousness Cyrus could say not only that all the kingdoms of the earth had been given to him, but also that God the Lord Himself had given them to him. Moreover he says this with humility, for it is with the feeling and recognition of the task thereby imposed upon him by God of building His temple. Naturally enough, he does not behold,—yea, he does not even surmise, what a high mission he has, that he is thereby bringing into existence the bud out of which the kingdom of God in its time is to break forth as the loveliest blossom and noblest fruit as well to the blessing of all nations, as for the complete glorification of the divine name; but however little he understood this, he yet nevertheless in praiseworthy respect before the holiest things of a nation reached forth his hand full of help, and fulfilled unconsciously the highest mission of a temporal prince. What he accomplished was indeed still something in embryo, but we can see in the covering still wrapped about it already the sprouting forth of the richest and most wonderful life. Hence it is that the sacred Scriptures have accorded him a significance that is given to no other foreign king. The Lord does not call him His servant as Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxv. 9; xxvii. 6; xliii. 10), but His shepherd, who will fulfil all His pleasure, yea, His *mashiah* (Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1). It has been said that in Isa. xl.—xlviii. Cyrus comes into consideration even for Messianic prophecy; for the servant of the Lord is placed in prospect for the accomplishment of the higher Messianic hopes, Cyrus for the lower. This is correct, inasmuch as the external political work that is necessary for the accomplishment of salvation is assigned chiefly to him, since indeed the proper mediator of salvation is to execute a higher spiritual ministry. It may therefore be said with a certain propriety (Starke) that he is a type of Christ in His royal office. Placed at the beginning of a new period, when the congregation was to be constituted no longer as a political, but as a religious body, he is the first of those who put external political affairs in such a relation to that body, that whilst something different from, they are yet friendly, supporting and protecting; and he is well adapted to represent for all time this ministry of the *patron*. His name has been incorrectly explained as "sun." In modern Persian the sun is *char;* in Zend, *hvare;* sunshine is *charsid*, with a weak initial *ch*, which, according to Rawlinson, Spiegel, *et al.*, would lead us to expect in ancient Persian *uwara*, whilst Cyrus on the monuments is *kuru* or *khuru*, on a block of marble in the valley of Murghab, near the tomb of Cyrus; *k'ur'us*, so likewise *Beh.* I. 28, 39, *etc.* (comp. Schrader, *l. c.*, S. 244), with initial hard *k*. But the prophet did actually view him as possessed of a sunny nature and activity, since he represents the Lord as inquiring with reference to him; who raised up righteousness from the east; called him to his foot, *etc.* (Isa. xli. 2), and is constantly putting him in relation to the sunrise (xli. 25; xlvi. 11).

Ver. 3. *Let him go up and build.*—In former times Israel had needed external political independence and a government of their own, simply because they were still too weak to preserve the pound entrusted to them for the entire human race, without external props and means of protection; because the sweet and saving kernel which was to develope in Israel could only ripen as it were in a sufficiently firm shell. The danger of their giving themselves over internally to heathenism was for the most part overcome by their having been externally abandoned in exile among the heathen. The tendency to heathenism, that previous to the exile broke out again and again with ever-increasing strength, and which in the previous centuries could have been overcome with difficulty, owing to the fact that it had the appearance of being an advance in enlightenment beyond the ancient faith of their fathers, had been rendered disgusting to them by the cruelty and severity of the heathen themselves. Thus it was now possible that there should be a new form of life and activity entirely different from any thing previous. It was the most important change of affairs that could take place at any time before Christ (comp. Ewald, *Gesch. Israels* IV. S. 85). The task of establishing a grand independent form of government for the national life, and securing it by the development of power externally, could now be abandoned; the task of cultivating the worship of the true God could be made much more preponderating in its influence; Israel could become a religious congregation instead of a political commonwealth; they could—expressing the idea with the words of Cyrus—go up and build the temple of the Lord. That this great change was now actually accomplished, in that there was so little cohesion in Israel itself, and, for the most part, there was so little thought of again constituting a powerful body externally, whilst Cyrus, on his part, did not afford them political freedom, but only religious liberty; that was in truth no hindrance to the development of the kingdom of God, but an indication of what the Lord would accomplish with His people, a preparation of the kingdom of God as a kingdom which is not of this world, which in truth deserves to be called the kingdom of heaven. The blessing that was to come from Israel upon the families of the earth was thus too spiritual and internal to be brought about among the nations through a government with external means. Israel's proper and highest task could henceforth only be to let the external opposition to the nations of the world more and more pass away, to subordinate themselves more and more in external and temporal things; at the same

time disappearing among them as an external body, in order to permeate them so much the more internally with the holy and divine things committed to their trust.

Ver. 5. "*And the heads of the fathers arose.*"—It was also already a step nearer to the end and a hint of what must transpire in greater and greater proportions, that Israel no longer as such, or according to an external necessity of nationality, but that only a part of Israel by virtue of free resolution marched to Jerusalem to constitute the new religious community at that place. Individual freedom, and accordingly the importance of the single person and the right of the personal subject, have their proper place in the kingdom of God. Only those marched up whom the Spirit of God awakened, that is, only the zealous and the awakened, whose spirits allowed themselves to be filled from God with courage and joy to overcome all the difficulties that opposed them, and with a longing for the land of their fathers that outweighed every other consideration. This limitation was, moreover, entirely in accordance with the divine purpose. They must bring with them a zeal for the service of the true God that could not be quenched, at least entirely by the difficult and gloomy circumstances in Judea, that might be enkindled and fed in some of them by these very circumstances. For although those remaining behind still retained an importance with reference to the kingdom of God, yet the most direct and greatest importance was henceforth to be given to the congregation in Judea; they were to constitute first and chiefly the ground in which the highest and noblest things might become possible.

Ver. 6. "*And all their neighbors helped them.*" The world generally will be pleased only with the worldly members of the congregation, the lukewarm and faint-hearted. The more decided and zealous provoke opposition, and are often enough met with hostility, oppression and affliction. Yet there are times when the world is obliged to make manifest the fact that they have more respect for the zealous than for the indifferent, when they cannot but show their good-will and friendship, yea, act favorably towards those very efforts that are directed towards divine things. Even the men of the world have, so long as they have not become entirely hardened, two kinds of hearts within them, and it is only necessary that a suitable impulse should be given them, that the better heart may assert itself within them. Even they have a certain feeling that their best and deepest needs can only be satisfied by God and His Spirit, as He comes near to them in the true congregation.

Vers. 7–11. *And Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord.*—Israel had not then been brought so far as to have been able to recognize with full clearness their pure spiritual calling, as to have been able to separate altogether with entire certainty the spiritual and the divine, in which their calling consisted, from the external, earthly and temporal. The time when God would have His place of worship neither in Jerusalem nor on Gerizim, could only come with a new and higher stage of the divine revelation of Himself, yea, only with the fulfillment of that revelation. Until that time the Lord had Himself ordered, in accordance with the lower and limited stand-point of His people, that one particular, chosen place, a special sanctuary, with its vessels, and a priesthood set apart from the people, should to a certain extent share in the sanctity which was properly appropriate only to the Holy One Himself. As the Lord brought about the restoration of the temple itself, so He did also the restitution of the sacred vessels; and the great numbers of them given back to the returning exiles, although in itself unimportant, yet was notwithstanding an evidence that He could re-establish His worship in a magnificence and dignity as great as possible in accordance with the ideas of the times.—In connection with the awakening of the enthusiasm for the ancient and honorable sanctuaries, it might easily happen that their sanctification might be overdone, yea, that they might take the place of the essence of religion itself, so that the externalizing of religion, although in a new form, might creep in anew, that a hierarchy might arise instead of the kingdom of God; but a congregation, in which the only truly holy one has once been recognized so decidedly as in Israel, carries the kernel of reformation ever in itself. And by the fact that the hierarchy also shows itself as something unsatisfying, empty and vain, the hunger after that of which it is the mere phantom must be awakened with all the more strength, at least in the souls of the more spiritual.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The pledges of redemption possessed by the congregation of the Lord even in the severest afflictions: 1) God's unchangeable faithfulness, which fulfils the promises He has given at the right time; 2) God's infinite grace, which chastises indeed, but does not give over to death, but, on the contrary, breaks forth anew in its time in spite of the severest judgment; 3) God's unsearchable wisdom, which advances towards the end, even in the most improbable manner; 4.) God's all-conquering power, which even makes use of the powers of the world and their means. The redemption from Babylon a type of the redemption from the bonds of the devil and hell: 1) With reference to the Redeemer; He breaks into the kingdom of the enemy (Babylon) and conquers it; 2) With respect to the Redeemed; the susceptible arise in order to march home; 3) With respect to the *end of redemption;* the temple of the Lord, a tabernacle of God among men, is built. Or: 1) With reference to its occasion; the greatness of the misery excites God's compassion; 2) With reference to its source; it is the divine grace notwithstanding human sin; 3) With reference to its extent; the susceptible are awakened to accept redemption; 4) With reference to its end; it is the glorious freedom and blessedness in the internal communion with the Lord. BRENTIUS remarks respecting those remaining behind in Babylon: *adumbrant omnes illos, qui fiduciam suam in hunc mundum collocant, satius esse existimantes, felicitate hujus mundi frui, quam per infelicitatem ad perpetua gaudia ingredi.*—Divine grace after wrath: 1)

its time; it waits until God's chastening judgment has been accomplished, but does not tarry, but rather corresponds with the divine veracity; 2) its method; it works often secretly, but shows itself to be all the more appropriate and glorious whether we regard the instruments that it uses or the persons in whose behalf it is employed, or the gracious acts that proceed from it; 3) its end; it is the highest and noblest that there is, the building of the temple, that is, the reconciliation of man with God for their salvation and His glory.—God's wonderful ways, that He chooses in leading His people: 1) Out of the depths up on high; 2) By changing enemies into friends; 3) From small beginnings to a glorious end.

Ver. 2. The universality of God's revelation of Himself: 1) To whom made; even the heathen, even a Cyrus; 2) What it reveals: *a*) that God is the author of all things, the source of all power and strength; *b*) That He is the end of all things, that every one is obligated to honor Him.—The prince endowed with God's grace: 1) He derives his power from God: 2) He puts himself at the service of the divine honor.—Man in his true subordination to God: 1) he ascribes his possessions to God; 2) he employs them in the divine honor.

Ver. 3. The work of the redeemed: 1) to be pilgrims, namely, on the march to the holy city; 2) To build the temple of God; 3) To honor God therein and be saved.

STARKE: Ver. 1. No one will be ashamed who patiently waits for divine help (Ps. xxv. 3; Sir. ii. 7; xvi. 13). The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as brooks of water, and He inclines it whither He will (Prov. xxi. 1: Job xii. 24). God often touches the hearts even of unbelieving princes, *etc.*; therefore let us ever pray for them (1 Tim. ii. 12).

Ver. 2. As Cyrus was of humble origin, lived in his childhood as an humble shepherd, and then God had been with him in a truly wonderful manner, used him, moreover, to deliver the people of God from captivity, so all this is to be found in Christ, although in a much more extraordinary manner. It is a very easy thing for God to make His enemies the benefactors of His Church (Prov. xvi. 7).

Ver. 6. We are bound, in whatever station in life we may be placed, to employ our means for the advancement of the true worship of God (1 Chron. xxx. 6; 2 Chron. xxiv. 4; xxxi. 10).

[SCOTT: When God has work to do, they whom He hath chosen to perform it find their minds enlarged to entertain noble designs.—That which is devoted to the service is entrusted to the protection of the Lord.—HENRY: Those are much *honored* whose spirits are stirred up to begin with God and to serve him in their *first* years.—*Well-willers* to the temple should be *well-doers* for it.—Our spirits naturally incline to this earth and to the things of it; if they move upwards in any good affections, or good actions, 'tis God that raiseth them.—WORDSWORTH: Cyrus is contrasted with Pharaoh, who resisted God's Spirit.—Egypt gave up its gold and silver and jewels to Israel at their Exodus; Babylon gave back the vessels of gold and silver to God's house. The enemies of Christ will one day be made subjects tributary to Him (Acts ii. 35; 1 Cor. xv. 25).—TR.]

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## B.—THE CATALOGUE OF THE RETURNING EXILES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

### CHAPTER II. 1–67. (Comp. Nehem. vii. 6–73.)

#### I. *The catalogue of the families and households of the people.* Vers. 1–35.

1 Now these *are* the children of the province that went up out of the captivity,
of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon
had carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every
2 one unto his city; Which came with Zerubbabel: Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mizpar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah. The number of the
3 men of the people of Israel: The children of Parosh, two thousand a hundred
4 seventy and two. The children of Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.
5, 6 The children of Arah, seven hundred seventy and five. The children of Pahath-moab, of the children of Jeshua *and* Joab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve.
7, 8 The children of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four. The children of
9 Zattu, nine hundred forty and five. The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and
10, 11 threescore. The children of Bani, six hundred forty and two. The children
12 of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three. The children of Azgad, a thousand two
13 hundred twenty and two. The children of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and six.

14, 15 The children of Bigvai, two thousand fifty and six. The children of Adin, four
16 hundred fifty and four. The children of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight.
17, 18 The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and three. The children of Jo-
19 rah, a hundred and twelve. The children of Hashum, two hundred twenty and
20, 21 three. The children of Gibbar, ninety and five. The children of Beth-lehem,
22, 23 a hundred twenty and three. The men of Netophah, fifty and six. The men
24 of Anathoth, a hundred twenty and eight. The children of Azmaveth, forty and
25 two. The children of Kirjath-arim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred and
26 forty and three. The children of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and one.
27, 28 The men of Michmas, a hundred twenty and two. The men of Beth-el and
29, 30 Ai, two hundred twenty and three. The children of Nebo, fifty and two. The
31 children of Magbish, a hundred fifty and six. The children of the other Elam, a
32 thousand two hundred fifty and four. The children of Harim, three hundred and
33 twenty. The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven hundred twenty and five.
34, 35 The children of Jericho, three hundred forty and five. The children of Senaah,
three thousand and six hundred and thirty.

II. *The catalogue of the Priests, Levites, and Servants of the Temple.* Vers. 36-58.

36 The priests: the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred seventy
37, 38 and three. The children of Immer, a thousand fifty and two. The children
39 of Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven. The children of Harim, a
40 thousand and seventeen. The Levites: the children of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of
41 the children of Hodaviah, seventy and four. The singers: the children of Asaph,
42 a hundred twenty and eight. The children of the porters: the children of Shallum,
the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children
43 of Hatita, the children of Shobai, *in* all a hundred thirty and nine. The Nethinim:
44 the children of Ziha, the children of Hasupha, the children of Tabbaoth, The children
45 of Keros, the children of Siaha, the children of Padon, The children of Lebanah,
46 the children of Hagabah, the children of Akkub, The children of Hagab, the
47 children of Shalmai, the children of Hanan, The children of Giddel, the children
48 of Gahar, the children of Reaiah, The children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda,
49 the children of Gazzam, The children of Uzza, the children of Paseah, the chil-
50 dren of Besai, The children of Asnah, the children of Mehunim, the children of
51 Nephusim, The children of Bakbuk, the children of Hakupha, the children of Har-
52 hur, The children of Bazluth, the children of Mehida, the children of Harsha,
53, 54 The children of Barkos, the children of Sisera, the children of Thamah, The
55 children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha. The children of Solomon's servants:
56 the children of Sotai, the children of Sophereth, the children of Peruda, The chil-
57 dren of Jaalah, the children of Darkon, the children of Giddel, The children of
Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the chil-
58 dren of Ami. All the Nethinim, and the children of Solomon's servants, *were* three
hundred ninety and two.

III. *The members of the People and the Priests without Genealogy.* Vers. 59-64.

59 And these *were* they which went up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, Cherub, Addan,
*and* Immer: but they could not shew their father's house, and their seed, whether
60 they *were* of Israel: The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children
61 of Nekoda, six hundred fifty and two. And of the children of the priests: the chil-
dren of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai; which took a wife
62 of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite, and was called after their name: These
sought their register *among* those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were
63 not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood. And the Tir-
shatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there
stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim.

IV. *Sum total of those who returned, their Servants and Beasts of Burden.* Vers. 64-67.

64 The whole congregation together *was* forty and two thousand three hundred *and*
65 threescore, Besides their servants and their maids, of whom *there were* seven thou-

sand three hundred thirty and seven: and *there were* among them two hundred sing-
66 ing men and singing women. Their horses *were* seven hundred thirty and six;
67 their mules, two hundred forty and five; Their camels, four hundred thirty and
five; *their* asses, six thousand seven hundred and twenty.

V. *Contributions for the Building of the Temple, and Closing Remarks.* Vers. 68–70.

68 And *some* of the chief of the fathers, when they came to the house of the Lord
which *is* at Jerusalem, offered freely for the house of God to set it up in his place:
69 They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work threescore and one thou-
sand drams of gold, and five thousand pounds of silver, and one hundred priests'
70 garments. So the priests, and the Levites, and *some* of the people, and the singers,
and the porters, and the Nethinim, dwelt in their cities, and all Israel in their cities.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The same catalogue as that here given is likewise found in Neh. vii. 6–73. The two texts differ, to some extent, in the names, and especially in numbers. This is not so remarkable, considering the long list; at the bottom these differences are insignificant enough. This is clear from the notes made in connection with the translation. We have passed over some very trifling deviations, which are manifestly to be regarded as due to oversight of the copyist. The peculiarities of Esdras are scarcely anywhere of such a character that we can find in them an evidence of the original reading. This catalogue of the constituents of the new community may be placed in parallelism with that of the constituents of the ancient community, Num. i. 5 sq.

Verses 1 and 2 give the individual members connected with the names of their heads.—**And these are the children of the province,** *etc.* מְדִינָה, from דִּין, properly, judicial or official district, is here the province given in charge to the judge or governor of Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 3), just as in chap. v. 8; Neh. i. 2. ["The children of the province are the Israelites who returned to Palestine, as distinct from those who remained in Babylon or Persia" (Rawlinson).—Tr.] Instead of the usual form Nebuchadnezzar (with *a* in the last syllable), the Kethib has Nebuchadnezzor (with *o*), a form which, to a certain extent, is nearer to the Chaldee pronunciation of the name. Another approximation is the form Nebuchadrezzar (with *r* in the penult) in Jer. xxi. 2, 7; xxxii. 1; xxxv. 11; xxxix. 11, *etc.*; Ezek. xxvi. 7; xxix. 18 sq.; xxx. 10,—and both approximations are combined in that of Nebuchadrezzor. The name in Chaldee, according to Ménant, *Grammaire Assyrienne*, 1868, p. 327, is *nabu kadurri usur;* according to Schrader, *die Keilinschriften, etc.*, S. 285, is *Nabiuvkudurrinsur* and means "*Nebo protect*, or protect the crown." That in Hebrew a נ is usual in the penult. instead of ר is connected with the fact that the primitive form of *usur* is *nasar*.—**Every one unto his city.**—אִישׁ לְעִירוֹ is apparently used from the subsequent standpoint of the author of the document. It certainly does not mean, according to the city, which was already theirs from the time of the fathers—for only a small portion of the former southern kingdom was taken possession of by the new community. Thus many did not return to the cities where their ancestors had dwelt, but to the city which subsequently was their own when this catalogue was prepared (with Bertheau against Keil [Rawlinson]). Comp. v. 70.

Ver. 2. **Which came with Zerubbabel.**—Whilst וַיָּשׁוּבוּ in ver. 1 is conceived as merely a continuation of אֲשֶׁר הֶגְלָה, אֲשֶׁר בָּאוּ is in ver. 2, a parallel, co-ordinate clause. Hence it again has the preterite. Nehemiah in ver. 1 uses the participle בָּאִים corresponding with the הָעֹלִים in ver. 1.—Zerubbabel, now זְרֻבָּבֶל, and sometimes זְרֻבָּבֶל is formed not from זְרוּי (scattered), as would seem at first sight, but from זְרוּעַ (sowed) and בָּבֶל (that is born in Babylon). Comp. also chap. i. 11. **Jeshua**—יֵשׁוּעַ (later form of יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, comp. Neh. viii. 17) is here the first high-priest of the new community, the son of Jehozadak, the grandson of the high-priest Seraiah, 1 Chron. vi. 14, whom Nebuchadnezzar put to death at Riblah, in the land of Hamath, 2 Kings xxv. 18 sq. Comp. chap. iii. 2, and chap. v. 2. In Hag. i. 2 and 14, and Zech. iii. 1, we find the older form of his name Jehoshua. The other men here named who come into consideration as chiefs are unknown to us. For Nehemiah and Mordecai are not at all to be identified with the later persons who bore these names. Instead of Seraiah, Neh. vii. gives Azariah; but in Neh. x. 2 both names are found alongside of one another as names of families of priests in the time of Nehemiah, so that we may conjecture that both names were then favorites and in frequent use in the families of the priests, and therefore would be easily interchanged. If we count here the name of *Nahamani*, who is named in Neh. vii. 7, but is missing here, we have just twelve heads which, without doubt, refers to a new division of the community into twelve divisions. That the idea at the basis of this catalogue was that the new community represented entire Israel and its twelve tribes, is clear from the title that directly follows—**number of the men of the people of Israel**—especially however from the twelve sin-offerings in chap. vi. 1. Notwithstanding this fact it may be that the twelve were all from the three tribes to which almost all those that returned belonged, Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. The last words of the verse, "the number of the men of the people of Israel," constitute

the special title of the first section of the catalogue after the analogy of vers. 36, 40, 43 and 55.

Vers. 3-35. The families and households of the people. Many of the names mentioned in vers. 3-19 and ver. 32 meet us again in the register of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, thus the children Parosh, Pahath-Moab, Adin, Elam, Shephatiah, Joab, Bebai, Azgad, Adonikam, Bigvai, and according to the original reading, the children of Zattu and Bani, in ch. viii., in the catalogue of those returning with Ezra; so likewise men of the sons of Parosh, Elam, Zattu, *etc.*, in ch. x., among these, who had strange wives, and also in Neh. x. 15 sq., "from which we see, *a*) that of many families only a part returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua; another part followed under Ezra; *b*) that heads of the fathers' houses are not mentioned for the sake of their personal names, but for the names of the houses of which they were fathers originating without doubt from more ancient times" (Keil). Since in vers, 30-35 the inhabitants of the other cities are mentioned according to the names of their localities, so probably the most or all which bear the names of their fathers' houses are to be regarded as inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The names in vers. 3-19 are beyond question names of families or households, and those in vers. 20-29 and 33-35 are just as surely names of cities. This order seems, however, to be interrupted by vers. 30-32, in that perhaps Harim, according to ch. x. 21, the other Elam, after the analogy of ver. 7, and perhaps also Magbish, are names of persons, not of places. Yet Ezra x. 21 is not entirely decisive for Harim as the name of a person, since in Neh. x. 15 sq., likewise, names of places, as for example Anathoth, occur in ver. 19 in the middle among names of families. Besides it is possible that the text in vers. 30-32 may have been corrupted; it seems strange that with the other Elam here the same number, 1254, occurs as with the Elam of ver. 8, and that the name Magbish is not found either in Nehemiah or Esdras. In Esdras the other Elam is passed over, and instead of the children of Harim three hundred and twenty, there is (ch. v. 16) in the corresponding place, that is, among the names of families, υἱοὶ Ἀρόμ, thirty-two. The cities mentioned in vers. 20-35 occur for the most part in other parts of the Old Testament: Gibeon, which, according to Neh. vii. 25, is to be read for Gibbah, already in Josh. ix. 3; Bethlehem in Ruth i. 2; Mic. v. 1; Netopha (apparently in the vicinity of Bethlehem) in 2 Sam. xxiii. 38 sq.; 2 Kings xxv. 23; 1 Chron. ii. 54; Anathoth in Josh. xxi. 18; Jer. i. 1; Kirjath-arim, Chephira and Beeroth as cities of the Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 17; Rama and Geba already in Josh. ix. 25 sq., and then especially in the history of Samuel and Saul; Michmas in 1 Sam. xiii. 25; Isa. x. 28; Bethel and Ai in Josh. vii. 2 and Jericho in Josh. v. 13, *etc.;* all situated in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and first of all taken possession of by those who returned. On the other hand Azmaveth or Bethazmaveth, Neh. vii. 28, occurs besides only in Neh. xii. 29. Accordingly it was situated apparently in the neighborhood of Geba. It has not yet been discovered. Ritter's conjecture (*Erdk.* xvi. S. 519) that it is El-Hizme in the vicinity of Anata has nothing in its favor. Nebo, which has nothing to do with the mountain of this name, Num. xxxii. 32, has been identified with Nob, or Nobe, 1 Sam. xxi. 2, whose situation would certainly suit, especially as in Neh. xi. 31 sq., among many other places named here Nob, but not Nebo, is mentioned. Besides the sons of Nebo occur again in Ezra x. 43. Bertheau thinks of Nuba or Beit-Nuba (Robinson, *New Biblical Researches*, III. page 144). Lod is Lydda, where Peter healed the paralytic (Acts ix. 32 sq.), at present Ludd, comp. 1 Chron. viii. 12. Ono, which occurs again in Neh. xi. 35 and 1 Chron. viii. 12, must have been situated in the vicinity of Lydda. There also we must seek Hadid, now El Haditheh (Robinson, *B. R.*, p. 143), according to 1 Macc. xii. 38; xiii. 13. Senaah was regarded by the more ancient interpreters as Σεννὰ νῦν Μαγδαλσεννά, which, according to Jerome, was situated as *terminus Judæ in septimo lapide Jerichus contra septentrionalem plagam* (*Onom. ed. Lars. et Parth.*, p. 332), and which is hardly to be identified, as Robinson (*B. R.* III. p. 295), with Mejdel, which is too far distant, four German miles north of Jericho, situated on a lofty mountain-top. At the building of the walls of the city, Neh. iii., there are mentioned besides the men of Jericho, Senaah and Gibeon, inhabitants also of Tekoah, Zanoah, Bethhaccerem, Mizpah, Bethsur and Keilah, and a still greater number of cities occurs in Neh. xi. 25-35. From this it is clear that gradually the cities of Judah and Benjamin were taken possession of, and more and more of them inhabited.

Vers. 36-39. The priest-classes. Of the four names mentioned here three agree with the names of three classes of priests, which were among the twenty-four classes introduced by David, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 sq.; Jedaiah was the second, Immer the sixteenth, Harim the third class. It is very probable, therefore, that the divisions here are connected with such classes. For additional remarks upon this subject, *vid.* notes upon Neh. xii. 1 sq. The house of Jeshua, however, may very properly refer to the house of the high-priest Jeshua, to which the children of Jedaiah belonged. This view is favored by the fact that among those who returned, in all probability, this family was more numerously represented perhaps by a class of priests belonging to it. It is true the high-priest Jeshua belonged to the line of Eleazar; the class of Jedaiah, on the other hand, it is supposed, we must seek as the second in the line of Ithamar, and yet the order of classes was determined by lot, 1 Chron. xxiv., and it is a very natural supposition, since there is some uncertainty in the passage as to the method of the lot, that the second class was of Eleazar's line. Else Jeshua might also be the name of an ancient head of the family; in 1 Chron. xxiv. 11 it is the name of the ninth class of priests.—The children of Pashur constitute a new class, which does not occur in 1 Chron. xxiv. as a class of priests, and this name does not occur among the nine classes subsequent to the exile, Neh. xii. They occur again, however, in Ezra x. 18-22 among the priests who had married strange wives, alongside of the sons of Jeshua, Immer and Harim.

The name Pashur is besides found even in more ancient times, 1 Chron. ix. 12; Nehem. xi. 12; Jer. xx., xxi.

Vers. 40–58. The Levites, servants of the temple (Nethinim), and servants of Solomon: The Levites fall into three divisions according to their different official duties; the first was the Levites in the narrower sense, the assistants of the priests in the divine worship, the second was the singers, the third the porters, 1 Chron. xxiv. 20–31; xxv. and xxvi. 1–19. The children of Jeshua and Kadmiel are mentioned in ver. 40 as Levites in the narrower sense. The additional clause: **of the children of Hodaviah,** belongs probably only to the last family, the children of Kadmiel, comp. notes on iii. 9; the name is not found in the lists of Levites in Chronicles.—Of the singers (ver. 41) only the members of the choir of Asaph returned with the first company. Yet in Neh. xi. 17 three classes are mentioned again as in times before the exile.—Of the six classes of porters (ver. 42) three, Shallum, Talmon and Akkub, are mentioned 1 Chron. ix. 17 as those who dwelt in Jerusalem already before the exile. Thirty-five families of the Nethinim are mentioned (vers. 43–54), of the servants of Solomon ten families (vers. 55–57). In Nehemiah the children of Akkub, Hagab and Asnah have fallen out, and some names are written differently, partly through oversight, partly on account of another method of writing them. The most of the families of the Nethinim may have descended from the Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 21–27. The children of Mehunim, however, in ver. 50, belonged, as the plural form of the name shows, to the tribe or people of the Mehunim, and were probably prisoners of war,—perhaps after the victory of the king Uzziah over that people (2 Chron. xxvi. 7) they had been given to the sanctuary as bondsmen. The children of Nephusim might have been prisoners of war from the Ishmaelite tribe of נָפִישׁ, Gen. xxv. 15. The children of the servants of Solomon, who are mentioned again in Neh. xi. 3, elsewhere connected with the Nethinim, with whom they are here arranged in the enumeration, were certainly not the descendants of those Amorites, Hethites, *etc.*, whom Solomon, 1 Kings ix. 20 sq.; 2 Chron. viii. 7 sq., had made tributary and bondsmen [Rawlinson], but apparently prisoners of war from tribes that were not Canaanites. The name פֹּכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִים in ver. 57 probably denotes: catcher of gazelles.

Vers. 59, 60. Fellow-countrymen, who could not show their ancestry. They went up from Tel Melah (salt-hill), Tel Harsa (bush or wood-hill), Cherub, Addan and Immer. The last three words are probably not names of persons, they are first mentioned in ver. 60, but still as names of places. Like Tel Harsa, they might likewise be connected without מִן. Perhaps they may designate *one* district, that is, three places situated close to one another in the same district. We have then perhaps three districts for the three families named in ver. 60.—[Rawlinson regards these as villages of Babylonia, at which the Jews here spoken of had been settled. The first and third he regards as really identified with the Thelmé and Chiripha of Ptolemy.—Tr.]—**They could not show their fathers' house,** that is, could not prove to which of the fathers' houses of Israel their forefathers, after whom they were called. Delaiah, Tobiah and Nekoda, belonged.—**And their seed,** that is, their family-line, whether they were of Israelite origin or not. Clericus properly remarks: *Judaicam religionem dudum sequebantur, quamobrem se Judæos censebant: quamvis non possent genealogicus tabulas ostendere, ex quibus constaret, ex Hebræis oriundos esse.* It is possible that there was a doubt whether the children of Nekoda here mentioned did not belong to the Nethinim family of the same name in ver. 48, and with respect to the other two families, there were similar doubts (Bertheau). Since we do not find any of these names again in the enumeration of the heads of the people and fathers' houses in Neh. x. 15–28, or in the list of Ezra x. 25–43, it seems that although they were not expelled, yet the right of citizenship was withheld from them.

Vers. 61–63. Priests who could not show that they belonged to the priesthood, the children of Habaiah, Hakkoz and Barzillai. Whether these children of Hakkoz claimed to belong to the seventh class of priests of the same name, 1 Chron. xxiv. 10, is uncertain. The name occurs also elsewhere, comp. Neh. iii. 4.—The children of Barzillai were descended from a priest who properly bore another name, but who married a daughter of the Gileadite Barzillai, well-known in the history of David (2 Sam. xvii. 27; xix. 32–39; 1 Kings ii. 7). It is conjectured that she was an heiress (Num. xxxvi.), and to obtain possession of her inheritance, he assumed her name. Comp. Num. xxvii. 4. The name Barzillai and membership in a family of Gilead might have subsequently rendered the priestly origin of his posterity doubtful, although they would by no means have lost the right of the priesthood, if they could have proved in any way their priestly origin. The suffix with שְׁמָם must be referred back to בָּנוֹת. For the masc. form for the fem., comp. Gesen., § 121, *Anmerk.* 1. Their register in ver. 62 is their סֵפֶר הַיַּחַשׂ, Neh. vii. 5, their writing of genealogy, their register of their descent; this writing had the title of הַמִּתְיַחְשִׂים, those registered as to genealogy; for this word is in apposition with כְּתָבָם, and נִמְצָאוּ refers back to this plural, for which in Neh. vii. 64 the sing., נִמְצָא, referring back to כְּתָבָם, is found, as we say in Germany, not to be able to find their forefathers, instead of the register of their forefathers.—**They were as polluted put from the priesthood.**—וַיְגֹאֲלוּ is a pregnant term=they were declared polluted, so that they were excluded from the priesthood. The more definite decision respecting them was given according to ver. 63 by the *Tirshatha*, the civil governor of the community, according to Neh. vii. 65, comp. with ver. 70, Zerubbabel, who, Hag. i. 1, 14; ii. 2, 21, is called פַּחַת יְהוּדָה. In Neh. viii. 9 and x. 2 Nehemiah bears this title, who besides in Neh.

xii. 26 likewise has the title תִּרְשָׁתָא, Tirshatha is without doubt the Persian designation of the governor. It is probably not connected with *taras*, fear = the one feared [Rawlinson, who regards it as the Persian *tarsata*, past part. of tars = to fear = the feared, a title which well might be given to one in authority. He compares the German *gestrenger Herr* and our title of "Reverend."—Tr.], or with *tarash*, *acer*, *auster* = the severe lord, but is from the Zend *thuorestar* (nom. *thuoresta*) = *præfectus, penes quem est imperium*, Gesen., *Thes.*, p. 1521; Benfey, *die Monatsnamen*, S. 196. The reason why the name of Zerubbabel is not added, and why he is not mentioned in Neh. vii. 65–70 in connection with this title, is that there is no importance to be ascribed here to the person, but only to the position expressed by the title. It is not strange that the civil governor made this decision with reference to the priesthood, because of the close connection between the civil and religious affairs of the community at Jerusalem. Their prohibition from eating of the most holy things, that is, of those that were consecrated to the Lord, of which none but the priests could partake, and these only of certain prescribed parts in the holy place (comp. Lev. ii. 3), excluded them from participation in those revenues that were immediately connected with priestly occupations, and therefore without doubt likewise from the priestly occupations themselves. The children of Habaiah, *etc.*, were not to come near the most holy things, *e. g.* the altar of burnt-offerings (Ex. xxix. 37; xxx. 10), and especially were not to enter the most holy places (Num. xviii. 10). A portion of the general fees which were offered to the priests was not denied them, since their right to the priesthood was not expressly denied, but left *in suspenso*.—**Till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim.**—עָמַד is according to later usage for קוּם (comp. Dan. viii. 23; xi. 2, *etc.*). The question arises why the high-priest Jeshua could not have given the desired decision by means of Urim and Thummim, for the use of which we are to compare Ex. xxviii. 30. The reason could hardly have been of such a personal and external character as Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* IV. 95 conjectures, as if Jeshua was perhaps not the eldest son of his father, and therefore not entirely suited to the high-priesthood. It is probable that in the times subsequent to the exile there was no longer as formerly any more decisions by means of Urim and Thummim. Little importance is to be given to the opinion of Josephus *Arch.* III. 8, 9, that its use had not ceased till two hundred years before his time, since he acts upon the opinion that it had been used for the purpose of predicting victory. The Rabbins reckon this method of divine revelation among the five things which from the beginning were lacking in the second temple. Comp. Buxtorf, *exercitt. ad historiam Urim et Thummim*, cap. V., and Vitringa *observatt.*, *s.* VI., cap. VI., p. 324 sq. We are rather to suppose that they believed that they must wait until such a time when the high-priest would again be able to fulfil his entire calling. The temple must first arise again, and the Lord must declare His presence again in some special practical and unmistakable manner, without which indeed a revelation through Urim and Thummim was inconceivable.

Vers. 64–67. The sum-total of those that returned, their servants and maid-servants and beasts of burden. The sum of 42,360 is given in our passage in Nehemiah and Esdras, for the whole congregation together (so manifestly here כְּאֶחָד, (it is otherwise in chap. iii. 9; vi. 20); a number which is not gained by adding the detailed numbers together, either here or in Neh. or Esdras, for the sum total is much too great for the detailed numbers, which amount to only 29,818 here, in Nehemiah 31,089, in Esdras 30,143. How then did this difference arise? Even Keil is convinced that it is due only to mistakes of copyists. "Any attempt to explain them (the differences) in any other way cannot be justified." But if this were really so, there would be greater differences between the detailed numbers as they are given here and in Nehemiah; and reckoned together they would, in accordance with one or the other texts, approximately make out the sum total of 42,360. If such essential mistakes as these occurred in copying, then the fact that the result of reckoning together the numbers agrees, at least in the main, and that each text is about the same number behind the sum total of 42,360, could not be possible unless the mistakes were above all in this sum total, which however is inconceivable in connection with the exact agreement which everywhere prevails. It is certainly clear that the sum total was not meant to embrace any others, such as those who returned of the ten tribes (*Seder Olam*, Raschi, Usserius, J. H. Mich., *et al.*) but only the constituent parts contained in the previous verses. But perhaps it was understood of itself according to the fundamental notions and ideas of the time that there were others still belonging to the 2172 sons of Parosh, *etc.*, who properly were not reckoned with them, but who yet united with them in constituting the "entire congregation," כָּל־הַקָּהָל, and were given with them in summing it up. It depends upon the idea of כָּל־הַקָּהָל. Possibly if the number of the children of Parosh, *etc.*, were to be given, only the independent people, especially the heads of families, came into consideration; whilst in the "entire congregation" there were, counted perhaps likewise the larger sons, who had reached the age of discretion, Neh. viii. 2, 3. If in Esdras v. 41 our ver. 64 reads "all of Israel from twelve years old and upwards, besides the servants and maid-servants, were 42,360," this addition, "from twelve years and upward," is indeed critically worthless, yet it might rest upon a correct knowledge of ancient customs, although perhaps the age of twelve years corresponds only with latter circumstances. If the servants and maid-servants were reckoned to the כָּל־הַקָּהָל, whose number is given in ver. 65, they might have been counted in the sum total, although they were not taken into consideration in the detailed numbers.

Ver. 65. **Besides their servants and**

**maids.**—אֵלֶּה, which is properly connected with the subsequent words by the accents, is explained as referring to the following sum, 7337 = besides their servants, *etc.*, who make out the following numbers. The additional clause: **And they had two hundred singing men and women,** can only mean: and they who returned—for the suffix לָהֶם, certainly refers to those to whom the suffix of עַבְדֵיהֶם, *etc.*, also refers,—had singing men and women, who because they were hired and paid, stood upon the same footing as the servants and maids, and since they were probably not of Israelite origin, did not belong to the congregation. They served, however, doubtless to increase the joy of the feasts, and for singing dirges in connection with sorrowful events, comp. Eccl. ii. 8; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. At any rate these singing people are to be distinguished from the Levitical singers and musicians who took part in divine worship. J. D. Mich. would change these singing men and women into oxen and cows (as if מְשֹׁרְרִים were for שְׁוָרִים) since we would rather expect these here, after the domestics, and in connection with the horses, mules, camels, and asses. But it may be that the returning exiles only took with them beasts of burden, or at least chiefly of these, and obtained their cattle rather on their arrival in Canaan. If animals were intended here, we would not have לָהֶם, but the suffix as in the following verse.

Vers. 68–70. Contributions for the building of the temple and closing remarks.—Ver. 68. **And of the heads of the people** = some of them. Comp. וּמִן־הָעָם in ver. 70. Neh. uses instead וּמִקְצָת, a part, as Dan. i. 2, *etc.*. הִתְנַדְּבוּ they freely offered gifts, and indeed for the house of God. Comp. notes upon chap. i. 6. לְהַעֲמִידוֹ, = in order to erect it, rebuild it=לַהֲקִימוֹ, comp. ver. 68.

Ver. 69. **They gave to the treasure of the work,** that is, into the treasure that was collected for the work of the temple 61,000 darics of gold, (דַּרְכְּמוֹן here and Neh. vii. 70 sq., for which אֲדַרְכֹּן, with א, prosthetic. 1 Chron. xxix. 7, and Ezra viii. 27, the Greek δαρεικός, a Persian gold coin worth twenty-two German marks, [shillings, English] or seven and a half German thalers [five and a half American dollars], comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 7) = 457,500 German thalers, and 5,000 pounds of silver (above 200,000 German thalers) and 100 priests' garments. It seems that our author has here abbreviated the list that was before him, and given the figures in round numbers. We recognize here, as Bertheau properly points out, expressions peculiar to the author: "house of Jehovah, which is in Jerusalem," comp. chapter i. 4; iii. 8; הִתְנַדֵּב, comp. chapter i. 6; iii. 5; 1 Chr. xxix. 5, 6; לְהַעֲמִיד, comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 16; 2 Chron. ix. 8; Ezra ix. 9; כְּכֹחָם, comp. 1 Chr. xxix. 2; "they gave into the treasure," comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 8, *etc.* In Nehemiah the text of the document has been more faithfully retained.—In accordance with this some of the heads of fathers' houses contributed to the work, *viz.*, the Tirshatha (who comes into consideration as the first of these heads, and is mentioned by himself, with his contribution, which was probably especially large) gave to the treasure 1000 darics of gold, 50 sacrificial bowls, and 30 priests' garments, and 500. probably pounds, of silver). It cannot mean 530 priests' garments, for then the hundreds should stand first. Perhaps the things numbered have fallen away before the 500, in all, probably, וְכֶסֶף מָנִים. Some (*viz.*, others besides the Tirshatha) heads of fathers' houses gave 20,000 darics of gold, 2200 pounds of silver, and the rest of the people gave 20,000 darics of silver, 2000 pounds of silver, and 67 priests' garments. Accordingly the sum total amounted to 41,000 darics of gold, 4700 pounds of silver, 97 priests' garments, and 50 sacrificial bowls. An important difference between these statements and our text of the book of Ezra is found in 41,000 darics, for which Ezra has 61,000. Since this cannot be balanced by the 50 sacrificial bowls, which are passed over in our text, the 61,000 must be ascribed to a copyist's error.

Ver. 70. Here, in the closing remarks, the hand of our author may be recognized. The original text read somewhat thus: **And the priests and Levites and some of the people and entire Israel dwelt in their cities.**—But the author would in his own way specify the persons who took part in the divine worship, and adds therefore after those of the people, **the singers and door-keepers and temple servants.** and in connection therewith perhaps also that which directly followed the former, **in their cities,** which is missing in Nehemiah. In Nehemiah this statement is improved in this way, that he lets the Levitical singers and porters follow immediately after the Levites, and indeed the porters first, notwithstanding their office was less honorable than that of the singers, because he is not concerned with the dignity of their office, but with their membership among the Levites. It is true he had the disadvantage of being obliged to separate the Nethinim, whom he could not very well place "before those of the people," by וּמִן הָעָם from the porters and singers. וּמִן הָעָם at any rate does not mean "some," "many of the people;" the meaning cannot be that at first only some of them took possession of their cities, against which is the concluding statement "and all Israel were in their cities,"* but the others of the people, besides the priests and Levites. Respecting the **in their cities,** comp. remarks on ver. 1. Our author in a similar manner, as in the closing verse of the first chapter, passes over many things that would have seemed worthy of mention under other circumstances, as in what condition they found the cities, where they settled, whether they contended with the inhabitants of the land for them, how they accomplished their organization and the like. The reason is the same as that adduced in our notes upon chap. i. 11.

* ["All Israel" is interpreted by Rawlinson as referring to representatives of the ten tribes.—Tr.]

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Ver. 2. Since the people formed the new congregation no longer as a nation, or according to their external membership in the nation,—since all depended upon the free choice of particular families,—there is no longer any mention of the ancient distinction of tribes which was based on merely natural laws. But the congregation, notwithstanding, again has its heads, and indeed again exactly twelve, as the people in the times before the exile had had twelve elders of tribes. Doubtless they needed them still just as much, if not even still more, since indeed the Persian king and his officers did not occupy themselves so immediately, and in so many ways, in their affairs as the previous royal government had done. The restoration of the temple and its worship was imposed directly and pre-eminently upon them, and they certainly had pre-eminently to take care that the law of God should prevail as thoroughly as possible in the life of the congregation. Hence there is sufficient reason that they should be placed foremost here just as the twelve elders of tribes had been in the time of Moses, Num. i. 15, 16. There must always be office-holders, ranks, and a corresponding subordination in the congregation of God, as surely as it ever needs guidance and training. And if the officials are no longer given by natural rank, or appointed by the state, if the relation to them is thus a more tender one, then they ought to meet them as those who have been freely chosen to positions of trust, with all the more respect, yea, reverence.

Vers. 36-39. The priests were disproportionately numerous in the new congregation. They made up about the seventh part of the whole. If in consequence of this they were obliged to be all the more discreet to maintain themselves, since the offerings falling to them hardly sufficed for their support,—if therefore it could not be permitted them to acquire land for themselves, work them, or to learn trades and practice them, then it was without doubt the very reverse of what they ought to have done, when they, in consequence of this, became conformed to the world and helped to favor the mingling with heathenism, as we observe to be the case even in the high priestly family itself. Comp. chap. x. 18. They ought, owing to their great numbers, to have offered to the congregation all the greater support against the worship of idols and apostasy from the law, and at any rate they should have been a living, practical reminder of their most appropriate and highest tasks. They should have more and more impressed upon the entire congregation a priestly, spiritual character. The universal priesthood, which the worldly Christians claim, in a false sense, should be imparted more and more decidedly to the true congregation in the true sense.

Vers. 64-67. The new congregation must have appeared to themselves extraordinarily small and weak, when they compared themselves with the first beginnings in the time of Moses, when the men of war were about 600,000. (Comp. Numb. i. 46 and xxvi. 51.) It was all the more incumbent upon them to maintain themselves as far as possible in unity with those who remained behind in exile, and cultivate the bond of communion with them, accordingly widen their views, and keep themselves from narrow-heartedness,—or, if their relation to them proved again to be only a loose one, to consider themselves as a mere remnant, that had been preserved from the divine judgment by grace, accordingly to let themselves be reminded by their weakness of the divine holiness as well as compassion. The weaker they were in themselves, the more were they prompted, at all events, to seek their strength in the Lord, and expect their help from Him. Moreover we may conclude from their small numbers that it is not the great multitude to which the development of the church leads; rather those by whom God's thoughts of redemption are to realize themselves chiefly and most immediately, constitute naturally only a small minority. Besides, we may conclude from vers. 65-67 that among those who returned there were likewise men who were quite wealthy, that therefore the idea is not at all correct that only those had sought out Jerusalem again who had nothing to lose in Chaldea (*Talm. bab. tract. Kidduschim*). Without doubt God was able already in the Old Testament times to awaken a living zeal for His cause, not only among the poorer, but also, at the least, of making here and there also the rich, with their possessions, serviceable to His cause.

Vers. 68-69. By offering gold and the other gifts which had reference to the restoration of worship, the new congregation showed their earnest desire to really become what was incumbent upon them to be. Christianity should never fall behind them; but although its task is mainly the internal and spiritual offerings, they should be ready to prove the truth of their spirituality, where it is necessary, by external offerings likewise.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1, 2. Take care that thou and thy house above all belong to those who constitute the congregation of the Lord. Only they are named and numbered in the book of life.

Vers. 68, 69. Let not thy house, but God's house, be thy chief care. With reference to the statements respecting the riches of the returned exiles in ver. 65 sq. BRENTIUS appropriately remarks: *Ejecti erant Judæi e Hierusalem propter scelera sua. Nihilominus fovit eos inter gentes et locupletavet eos. Unde Jeremiæ vigesimo nono dicitur: Ego scio cogitationes, quas cogito super vos, cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis, ut dem vobis finem.* With the same appropriateness STARKE: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive, leadeth into Sheol and again out of it, 1 Sam. ii. 6. Let no one, therefore, utterly lose courage in enduring crosses, suffering, poverty and misery, persecution and imprisonment. God extends His church amidst crosses and persecutions all the more, and causes it to bloom as a palm-tree, Psalm xcii. 13; Matth. xvi. 18; Acts xi. 19-21." Upon ver. 68: "Whatever we give to the glory of God, we should give willingly, for God loveth a cheerful giver." Upon ver. 70: "My God, if Thou wilt redeem me some day out of this body

in the world, then remove me likewise to the eternal and true fatherland and Canaan, the right to which our first parents lost by their disobedience for themselves and all men, but which Christ has regained for us." [SCOTT: Our gracious Lord will carry us through those undertakings which are entered on according to His will with an aim to His glory, and in dependence on His assistance: and then we shall be made superior to all difficulties, hardships and dangers.—HENRY: 'Tis an honor to belong to God's house, though in the meanest office there.—Let none complain of the necessary expenses of their religion, but believe that when they come to balance the account, they will find it *quit cost.* —TR.]

# SECOND SECTION.

## The First Effort.

CHAPS. III. IV.

### A.—THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALTAR AND THE PREPARATION FOR BUILDING THE TEMPLE.

CHAP. III. 1–13.

I. *Building of the Altar, Feast of Tabernacles, and anxiety for the Building of the Temple.* Vers. 1–7.

1 AND when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel *were* in the
2 cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem. Then
stood up Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel
the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel,
to offer burnt offerings thereon, as *it is* written in the law of Moses the man of God.
3 And they set the altar upon his bases; for fear *was* upon them because of the people of those countries: and they offered burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD, *even*
4 burnt offerings morning and evening. They kept also the feast of tabernacles, as
*it is* written, and *offered* the daily burnt offerings by number, according to the cus-
5 tom, as the duty of every day required; And afterward *offered* the continual burnt
offering, both of the new moons, and of all the set feasts of the LORD that were con-
secrated, and of every one that willingly offered a freewill offering unto the LORD.
6 From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt offerings unto the
7 LORD. But the foundation of the temple of the LORD was not *yet* laid. They gave
money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil,
unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the
sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia.

II. *Laying of the Corner-stone of the New Temple.* Vers. 8–13.

8 Now in the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem, in
the second month, began Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of
Jozadak, and the remnant of their brethren the priests and the Levites, and all they
that were come out of the captivity unto Jerusalem; and appointed the Levites,
from twenty years old and upward, to set forward the work of the house of the
9 LORD. Then stood Jeshua *with* his sons and his brethren, Kadmiel and his sons,
the sons of Judah, together, to set forward the workmen in the house of God: the
10 sons of Henadad, *with* their sons and their brethren the Levites. And when the
builders laid the foundation of the temple of the LORD, they set the priests in their
apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise
11 the LORD, after the ordinance of David king of Israel. And they sang together by
course in praising and giving thanks unto the LORD; because *he is* good, for his
mercy *endureth* for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great
shout, when they praised the LORD, because the foundation of the house of the

12 LORD was laid. But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, *who were* ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy:
13 So that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The history itself now follows the historical foundations. The most prominent and interesting feature of the narrative is the readiness and zeal of the new congregation, with reference to the temple and its worship, the re-establishment of which was their proper work, and indeed first of all in vers. 1–8 in the building of the altar.

Ver. 1. **And when the seventh month was come.**—The author calls attention to the zeal of all, without exception; especially also of those dwelling outside of Jerusalem. He means, of course, the seventh month of the same year in which the returning exiles arrived in Jerusalem, else he would have been obliged to define it more closely. Besides, it is clear from ver. 8, that the following year was the second after their arrival. The seventh month was properly the festival month, and accordingly the time in which it must be shown how zealous the new congregation was with reference to the service of God. The new year's day, the atonement day and feast of tabernacles fell on this month.—**And the children of Israel were in the cities.**—This clause is meant to indicate that they had already attained a certain degree of rest, but at the same time they had obtained a possession and a labor therein, which might have readily detained them; at any rate that they were again obliged to leave their own affairs and assemble together,—this, however, merely for the purpose of at once uniting in showing that they would not now allow themselves to be detained by anything from the celebration of the feasts of the law. It is clear from verse 6 that they did not wait until the feast of tabernacles, the 15th of the month, as it was prescribed in the law, but already on the day of the new moon came together, yea, in part already some days earlier, so that the building of the altar, which was for the first time undertaken on their coming together, might be ready for the day of the new moon.—**The people gathered themselves together as one man.**—This primarily means "as if inspired by *one* will," thus, "with one spirit" (Keil) *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, 1 Esdras v. 46, thence also as much as to say "entirely" (Berth.). For the verbal repetition of this verse in Neh. vii. 73, and chap. viii. 1, where an entirely different event was thereby to be introduced, and for the additional clause, which Esdras improperly has appended here, after Neh. viii. 1, see note on Neh. viii. 1.

Ver. 2. **Jeshua,** *etc.*, **stood up and built the altar,** *etc.*—This clause indicates the zeal of the heads of the congregation at Jerusalem, which very well corresponded with that of the people as a whole, but which yet has something striking in it, if as is the most natural interpretation, the future, with ו consec., expresses chronological sequence. We are to suppose that they had not first caused the people to come together, but already before had gone to work in building the altar.

Ver. 3. This verse more closely defines the previous one, and in its first half is designed for an explanation of the hesitation of Jeshua and the rest, in its second half for an explanation of what was meant by offering offerings according to the law.—**And they set the altar upon his base**—that is, on the foundation that was present long before for it. The sense of עַל מְכוֹנֹתָיו is without doubt essentially the same as עַל מְכוֹנוֹ in chap. ii. 68. The qeri of the punctators has the more usual plural of the masculine form, which occurs also in Ps. civ. 5; the plural, however, is unsuitable here, because there can be no reference to different foundations, and still less to different pedestals for the altar. Comp. מְכֻנָתָהּ, Zech. v. 11. It is manifest that there is here an indication that they made their work as easy as possible, and sought to finish it as soon as they could. For if it was also natural that they should re-erect the temple on its old foundations, partly because the place could not be arbitrarily changed, partly because the difficult substructures might still, without doubt, be very well made use of, yet with the altar it might easily have been entirely different. Under favorable circumstances they might have been obliged to re-establish it on an entirely new foundation, since the old foundation, probably, was no longer intact. Hence the explanatory clause is added: why they had not previously gone to work:—**For** (they did it) **because fear was upon them, because of the people of those countries**; properly fear or terror, which was on them. The בְּ here expresses the condition in which they were (comp. Ewald, § 217 *f*, and § 299 *b*); or more accurately, it states under what circumstances the action proceeded. At any rate it can also be explained with Ewald, § 295 *f*: in anxiety it was incumbent upon them (עֲלֵיהֶם) namely, to build. The conjecture of Ewald (*Gesch.* IV., S. 181), that the suffix of עֲלֵיהֶם refers to the people of the lands and the reference is to their coming together to Israel in a friendly spirit, in accordance with Esdras v. 49, is entirely inadmissible. Accordingly they had not ventured to undertake anything greater or more public, because they feared the hostility of the surrounding nations, so long as the congregation was not assembled in greater numbers, and they had even now to fear hostile interruption in a greater undertaking. The explanation of J. H. Mich. and Keil: They re-established altar and worship in order to secure for themselves the divine protection against the peoples, of whom they were afraid, not only requires us to supply too much, but also is opposed by the fact that

we should expect, if this view were correct, that they already previously would have gone to work upon the erection of the altar, and have offered sacrifices, especially those of the daily sacrifice. The peoples are certainly the neighboring peoples, comp. chap. ix. 1; x. 2.—**And offered thereon burnt offerings,** *etc.*—They sought to act in accordance with the law before all in offering the daily sacrifices. The sing. וַיַּעַל is to be referred to the one upon whom the offering of the sacrifice was chiefly incumbent, the priest in service at the time,—it is the indefinite subject. Perhaps however the plural of the qeri is more appropriate. The burnt offerings for the morning and evening are those belonging to every morning and evening. Those on the weekly Sabbath and feast days were required to be offered in various numbers. Comp. Ex. xxix. 38 sq.; Numb. xxviii. 3 sq. The prominence given to the burnt offering alone is to be explained from the fact that these chiefly came into consideration, since the daily sacrifices, as well as those of the feasts, were chiefly burnt offerings, as then the burnt offering was regarded in general as the principal sacrifice. But at any rate they were entirely appropriate, in as much as they were the sacrifices of homage, through which the congregation might best express what they now above all had to confess, that they had Jehovah for their Lord, and prayed to Him as such.

In vers. 4, 5 the congregation attests its sacred zeal by the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and by other ceremonies of worship. The burnt offering of the "day by day," or "every day" is that prescribed for the various days of the feast of tabernacles. בְּמִסְפָּר = numbered, *pro numero in singulos dies definito* (J. H. Mich.), comp. 1 Chron. ix. 28; xxiii. 31; Ezra viii. 34. כַּמִּשְׁפָּט = according to law; in Num. xxix. 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, to which passages there is a reference here, it is somewhat more definite, in *their* number, according to the law בְּמִסְפָּרָם כַּמִּשְׁפָּט. דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ is in apposition = the matter of the day in its day, *opus dies in die suo* (Vulg. and J. H. Michaelis), comp. Nehem. xi. 23. Bertheau explains this expression as in accordance with יוֹם בְּיוֹם (vi. 9) as the duty to be done day by day, but this is opposed by the fact that בְּיוֹמוֹ has the suffix. Compare for these prescribed sacrifices Num. xxviii. and xxix., in accordance with which there must be offered on the first day of the feast of tabernacles thirteen bullocks, on the second day twelve, and so on.

Ver. 5. **And afterward** (they offered) **the daily burnt offering.**—Here we must supply the verb, they offered. Since according to ver. 6 they began to offer burnt offerings on the first day of the seventh month, the meaning cannot be that they did not begin with the daily burnt offerings until after the feast of tabernacles (against Berth.), as if on the first day they had merely offered the offerings of the new moon, and on the feast of tabernacles the offerings of the feast; but had not yet on the ordinary days offered the daily sacrifices. That is inconceivable, or at least highly improbable. Moreover, the words do not imply that until the feast of tabernacles only the chief offerings had been offered, but not the offerings of the new moon, and as little the offerings of the atonement day (against Keil). Rather it is merely said, that after the sacrifices of the feast of tabernacles the usual order of offerings was again continued, which included the daily offerings, and then also those of the new moon and other feasts.—**And of the new moons,** is briefly, what was proper for the new moons, *etc.*—**And of every one that willingly offered a free-will offering unto the Lord.**—These words refer to all the other free-will offerings brought by the people which were offered, especially on the feast-days (comp. Deut. xvi. 2, 10, 16, 17), but also on other occasions. Moreover, among these offerings the sin offering is certainly included, as it belonged to the new moons, *etc.*, and was necessarily attached to the burnt offerings (comp. Num. xxviii. 15 sq.). We are to supply to לֶחֳדָשִׁים first of all עֹלָה, instead of עֹלַת תָּמִיד. Even the נְדָבָה might also be a burnt offering, Lev. xxii. 18, and especially Ex. xlvi. 12; it only depended upon the form of the offering, namely, whether the gift was entirely consecrated to the Lord, or a festival meal was taken from it for the offerer and his family. Perhaps, however, we are to think finally of the offerings in general, instead of the burnt offering, also of the bloody offering, of which the נְדָבָה was usually a subordinate class (Lev. vii. 16).

Vers. 6, 7. Here begins the anxiety for the building of the temple. From the first day of the seventh month on, they did not lack in zeal in offering burnt offerings, although the foundation of the temple had not yet been laid,—this for an introduction. They now, however, did their best (ver. 7) henceforth towards laying the foundation of the temple. They gave money to the חֹצְבִים, who hewed stones, or even cut timber, and to the חָרָשִׁים, who prepared the stones and the timber, accordingly the workmen, without doubt, from the contributions mentioned in ii. 68 sq. To the Sidonians and Tyrians, however, who are always referred to in connection with the products of Canaan, they gave in return for their cedar wood, food and drink, that is, grain, wine, and oil, just as Solomon also had paid them with the produce of the earth, 1 Kings v. 21-25; 2 Chron. ii. 10-15. Accordingly they had already found or cultivated something in the land which they practically had taken possession of in the spring, from which they had been able to secure a harvest.—**To bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa** = to Joppa on the sea, as 1 Kings v. 23 and 2 Chron. ii. 15. Bertheau understands by it not exactly Joppa itself, but merely the vicinity, but there certainly was nothing in the way of their landing at Joppa itself. The sand drifts which now render it impossible for ships to approach nearer the coast than half an hour's sail, and the earthquake that seems to have occurred, were probably then not in the way, and by no means hindered the landing from rafts. At other points of that coast the difficulties would have been still greater.—**According to the grant,** *etc.* The permission

given them by Cyrus, which to a certain extent rendered the work obligatory to them, was the general permission to build the temple; *implicite* it involved also special permission to put themselves in connection with the Phœnicians for the accomplishment of this purpose. רִשְׁיוֹן is an ἅπ. λεγ., whose meaning is derived from the Aramaic and Rabbinical רְשָׁא, רְשִׁי, *facultatem habere*, and רְשׁוּ, *facultas*.

Vers. 8-13. The sacred zeal of the congregation showed itself above all at the laying of the foundation of the temple. In the next year the preparation previously necessary had been so far completed, that now they could think of the building itself. When Theophilus (*ad. Antol., Lib.* III.), according to Berosus, designates this second year after the return as the second year of Cyrus, it is perhaps only in consequence of a sort of carelessness. Cyrus had, it is true, given the permission to return already in his first year, but before the return itself could have taken place the necessary consultations and preparations required a considerable time, during which Cyrus' second year already approached. After that they had first allowed the passover feast to pass by, and perhaps also already the grain harvest had been quite well advanced; they proceeded in the second month to lay the foundation.—**Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the remnant of their brethren.** By these we must understand the entire congregation, at least so far as they were settled in Jerusalem; the remnant of their brethren are brethren in the wider sense, who are immediately more closely defined on the one side as priests and Levites, who at once follow after the high-priest Jeshua, and on the other side all who had come out of the captivity to Jerusalem, having joined Zerubbabel. Accordingly the entire congregation, as well in their leaders as in their multitude, took part in the work.—**Began and appointed the Levites, who were twenty years old and upward.** This might mean, they began to appoint, according to Gesen., § 142, 8 *a*. But according to the context the sense is: they began the building of the temple, in that they appointed the Levite. הֶעֱמִיד is used, especially by our author, in the sense of "appointing to an office." Comp. 1 Chron. xv. 17. *etc*. That they also appointed the Levites at the age of twenty years with the rest, was in accordance with the rule of David, 1 Chron. xxiii. 24 sq., and after the example of Moses (Numb. viii. 24). נִצַּח, in the sense of "direct," with עַל, is, with the exception of the titles of the Psalms and Hab. iii. 19, peculiar to our author. Gusset improperly asserts, with reference to 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, that נִצַּח may also mean "unite with one in a work," but it can only mean to preside over an affair, sometimes also accomplish it.

Ver. 9. The Levites at once gladly did their part in the work entrusted to them by the congregation. The sing. וַיַּעֲמֹד is here hardly to be explained from the fact that the verb, when it precedes, is not so strongly bound to the number of the subject. The sense is rather: Jeshua through his sons and brethren stood. בָּנָיו and also אֶחָיו are not merely used without connectives, which would here be unusual, but are in explanatory apposition with Jeshua. The names designating the fathers' houses are the names of ancient, and, for the most part, fathers of the times before the exile, who now existed only in their sons and brethren; that is, as well in their own posterity as also in that of their younger brothers. Comp. notes on ii. 8. Jeshua and also Kadmiel are, according to ii. 40, two such names, comp. also Neh. x. 10, according to which even in the time of Nehemiah, Jeshua and Kadmiel still existed. This view is not opposed by the fact that "and his sons" is connected by conjunction with Kadmiel. We may understand thereby the older men of this family and their sons. Instead of בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה we are to read, according to ii. 40, without doubt, בְּנֵי־הוֹדַוְיָה. Whether this is in apposition with the two families of Jeshua and Kadmiel, or merely refers to the latter, is as doubtful here as in ii. 40. Probably it is the latter (with Keil against Bertheau). That both, however, had a common ancestor, who was not Hodaviah, but Henadad, may be regarded as resulting from the last words of our verse. It is highly improbable that the clause **as one** (so united and entirely one were they) **to set forward the workman in the house of God** should be followed by the last words of the verse: **the sons of Henadad, their sons and their brethren, the Levites**, with the intention of naming still another third additional family; for they would not have been added on here without connection and without any predicate. Probably they are in apposition to both, to Jeshua and Kadmiel, with their sons. The relationship and connection of both would thus be indicated. In favor of this view is the comprehensive conclusion: their sons and brethren, the Levites, which does not suit a third particular class, but only the Levites in question as a whole. This also explains the reason why in chap. ii. 40 Henadad is not mentioned among the returned exiles alongside of Jeshua and Kadmiel. That in Neh. iii. 24 and x. 10 Binnui is at once designated as a son of Henadad, may rest upon the fact that he belonged neither to Jeshua nor to Kadmiel, but to Henadad, constituting a family of his own, which was sufficiently well represented, and hence not especially named. That no force is to be given to Esdras v. 56 (against Bertheau), where the sons of Henadad are adduced as a special class and are placed before the predicate, is sufficiently clear from the fact that there the sons of Judah (Hodaviah) are likewise treated as a special class (υἱοὶ Ἰωδᾶ τοῦ Ἠλιαδοὺδ). Moreover עֹשֵׂה is a rare form, which is peculiar to our author for עֹשֶׂה. Comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, *etc*.

Vers. 10, 11. The laying of the foundation was accomplished with solemnity and festivity. The perf. with the simple copula וְיִסְּדוּ does not in itself carry on the narrative, but serves, as if the subject preceded and the preterite followed, to give the circumstances of the subsequent statement, so that the sense is: **And when the builders laid the foundations of the tem-**

**ple, they appointed the priests,** *etc.*—The subjects of יַעֲמִידוּ are Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the congregation with them. The Kal., the priests stood, which is in Esdras, Sept., and Vulg., instead of the Hiphil, would not be better (Bertheau), unless we should regard this verse as well as the ninth, as carrying on the eighth verse; in other words, if it were parallel with the ninth, which is not the case. Rather it is parallel with the eighth verse, and contains a new appointment, that of the priests and musicians, and then ver. 11 parallel with ver. 9 narrates the activity of those who had been appointed.—**In their apparel.**—We must supply בּוּץ (Byssus) with מְלֻבָּשִׁים, comp. 2 Chron. v. 12: at any rate, the sense is: clothed with official robes. The following "**with trumpets**" does depend upon it. The trumpets, which do not properly have music in view, were entrusted to the priests (Num. x. 10). The music proper was from the time of David incumbent upon particular families of the Levites, especially that of Asaph (1 Chron. xiii. 8; xv. 16, 19). עַל־יְדֵי is, according to the appointment, institution, 1 Chron. xxv. 2.

Ver. 11. **And they sang together by course in praising,** *etc.*—We may take וַיַּעֲנוּ in the usual sense: they began with praising, *etc.*; but may likewise, with the older interpreters, as Clericus and J. H. Michaelis, explain: they responded to one another in responsive songs. Whilst the one choir sang: "Praise the Lord, for He is good," the other answered: "For His mercy endureth forever." They were songs of praise, as Ps. cvi. and cvii., cxviii. and cxxxvi., that they struck up, comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. v. 13; vii. 3, *etc.* עַל הוּסַד, "over the being founded"=on account of the laying of the foundation. Comp. 2 Chron. iii. 3.

Vers. 12, 13. It is true that strong expressions of sorrow mingled with the joy, yet both sorrow and joy showed equally well the sacred zeal of the congregation in the worship of God. If the exile had begun in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and the temple had not been destroyed till eighteen years later in 588 B. C., there might now very well be old men present,—since only seventy-two years had passed since that beginning of the exile,—who had seen the old temple, and had still a lively remembrance of it. Even Haggai, in the second year of Darius, when some seventy years (more accurately sixty-six) had passed since the destruction of the temple itself presupposes that one and another had still a remembrance of the old temple. Comp. Hag. ii. 3. בְּיָסְדוֹ is attached by the accents to the previous words, as if יְסֹד were a noun, which meant founding, then permanence. But this noun nowhere else occurs; besides, בְּיָסְדוֹ, as an infin., seems to be connected with the words that follow thus: **When the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes.**—With this interpretation, it is true, the suffix is pleonastic, but in other passages of this author the suffix anticipates with emphasis the subject following it in apposition, comp. chap. ix. 1; 2 Chron. xxvi. 14, *etc.*; Ewald, § 209 *c.* [This is a late Hebrew usage, an Aramaism; so also זֶה without the article and before its noun is emphatic=this same, this very.—Tr.]—**Many old people wept with a loud voice.**—Not, as it were, tears of joy, because they could now again see the house of God arise; so also not merely with tears of emotion, because they on this occasion were again vividly reminded of the evils they had passed through. The relative clause: **that had seen the first house** gives the sense very decidedly: they wept tears of sorrow, because they could not conceal from themselves the fact that the new work, in accordance with all the prevailing circumstances, promised but little to attain unto the glory of the old. In favor of this is also Hag. ii. 3 and Zech. iv. 10. These tears were thus a proof that if only it had been in any way possible, they would gladly have made the new house as glorious as the old. The second clause is then antithetical: **but many shouted aloud for joy**—that is, were in such a joyful condition that they could not but be loud in their expression of joy.

Ver. 13. The meaning of the words: **the people could not discern the noise of the shouts of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people,** can only be that both those who rejoiced and those who wept were alike zealous to express their feelings—so much so indeed that the words which were sung could not be understood.—**For the people shouted with a loud shout and the noise was heard afar off.**—תְּרוּעָה and קוֹל in this clause in distinction from תְּרוּעַת הַשִּׂמְחָה in the first clause, can only mean the cry in general. This confused cry would be to the blame of the new congregation, if the confusion itself had not been the result of sacred enthusiasm for the cause of the Lord. עַד־לְמֵרָחוֹק stands for the more simple לְמֵרָחוֹק as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

### THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Our chapter presents a beautiful picture of the sacred enthusiasm of the new congregation for the glory of God, and especially of their commendable zeal for the restoration of the temple. In former times pious kings had provided in this way for the worthy worship of God; but now here for the first time we see the congregation as a whole of their own accord stepping forward in this manner. Such an inspiration of heart had without doubt from the first been rendered possible and brought about by the severe judgment which God had sent upon them, and by the hard oppression connected therewith. It was like the break of a lovely spring day, full of new life, after a storm. It did not by any means secure them a result that must be secured by them, without trials and hinderances; but yet they were finally to have a noble and great success, yea, they gained a great importance for the entire subsequent development of the congregation and of the kingdom of God.

Vers. 1–3. That the congregation, as soon as they could be assembled together as such, should

feel above all impelled to build the Lord an altar and offer burnt-offerings, was in accordance with the command which Moses had once given to the people to set up on Ebal, the navel of the land, stones and inscribe thereon the law of the Lord (Deut. xxvii. 1-8), and even so with the other command to proclaim on this mountain the curse for the transgressor, and on Gerizim the blessing for the obedient, Deut. xi. 29-32; xxvii. 9-26. If the ancient congregation had by that act placed the land under the divine commandment, and marked it as under the Lord's jurisdiction, and put it under the obligation to obey Him, so the new congregation consecrated themselves by this worship unto Him, as entirely belonging to Him; they confessed by the burnt-offering in a symbolical manner, that what they have, they have from the Lord, and what they are, they are through Him, that thus they must be entirely devoted to Him. As offerings of homage, the burnt-offerings were better calculated than others to inaugurate the new beginning, the spring, which now broke forth for the congregation after the long night of winter.

Ver. 4. It was because of the season of the year in which the congregation had arrived in Canaan that the first feast which they could again celebrate in accordance with the law was the feast of tabernacles. At the same time, however, we may see therein a special providence of God, which was at once lovely and significant to the congregation. The booths adorned with foliage and fruits had previously represented as well the gracious help in the times of the wilderness as also the gracious blessings of harvest in the present (not the tent-life in the wilderness as such, comp. my *Abh. in der deutschen Zeitschrift*, 1857, and my *Komm. zu V. Mos.* XVI., and Keil's *Archäol.* I., S. 412 sqq.); corresponding with this, the booths now gained of themselves a reference, on the one side, to the exhibition of grace during the new prolonged wilderness-time of the exile, which had entered with so much gloom into the midst of the history of Israel; so to speak to the booths of protection and defiance which had arisen for the people by the grace of the Lord even in the heathen world, and on the other side to the new regaining of Canaan, which, to a certain extent, was a security and a pledge of all the further blessings in store for them in this land. They expressed the thanks which they owed to the Lord for both of these blessings in an especially lively and internal manner. This feast of tabernacles was a festal and joyous conclusion of all the preservations, consolations and blessings that were behind them, connected with a joyous glance into the future; it was an evidence that a height had been reached upon which finally even the last height might be attained, an indication that some day, after all their struggles and all their labors, a still more glorious feast of tabernacles, the Messianic, the eternal and truly blessed one, would come. Comp. Zech. xiv.

Vers. 6, 7. The celebration of the feast of tabernacles was followed by the preparation for building the temple in an especially appropriate and beautiful manner. If the Lord had provided His congregation with booths of preservation, of consolation, and of joy, not only now in Canaan, but even also in the times of the wilderness of the exile, how ought they now to have felt impelled from the heart to build Him a tabernacle also, in which His honor might dwell, a tabernacle of God with men, at least with and among His people! The communion with the Lord, which they had already enjoyed, would have been no true one, if it had not been connected with the desire that it should become strengthened and made more intimate, and if this desire had not now engaged in building the temple. That is the great end of all providential guidances, that communion between Himself and men, as it was prepared on His part by His condescension, should become established and enlivened more and more also on the part of men; for the most part naturally through the communion of the heart with Him, but also in order that it might be cherished in the heart, by the establishment, enlargement and completion of the external means and institutions which have been provided by God Himself for the purpose. The blessings and gifts with which He has blessed us should always be employed first and chiefly for this purpose. And how greatly are we shamed in this respect by this weak congregation of returned exiles, who were scarcely able to sow and reap, and who yet had so much left for the building of the temple.

Ver. 7. It was significant also that at this building of the temple again it was not Canaan proper, but the Phœnician Lebanon, that provided the building-material and that corresponding with this heathen workmen and artists also took part in erecting the house of God. It indicates that the rest of the earth also, and corresponding thereto, the rest of mankind, are to render their gifts and capacities, which are more and more to take part in the complete and true worship of the Lord, that the Lord by no means regards them as profane. The rest of the earth and mankind became thereby, to a certain extent, consecrated in advance and designated as one who, if now already in the Old Testament economy, yet still more some day in the fulness of time, would take part in the highest destiny of Israel. Comp. the beautiful remarks of Bähr on 1 Kings v.

Vers. 8, 9. It was not a single head, as once with Solomon, from whom now the building of the temple proceeded; with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, at the same time all the returned exiles equally took part, as it is expressly said. That the entire congregation should take part freely in the highest work of humanity is the great object in view in all the divine providential guidances. Connected with this, however, the congregation gave a Levitical family the charge of conducting the work of building, accordingly in their choice of officers fell in with the regulations made and sanctified by God already long before, and thus certainly took the best action, since indeed in the tribe of Levi the interest in the house of God was still cherished in the most lively manner, and the understanding of what was necessary or appropriate was most surely preserved. That is always the most salutary and beautiful when the free recognition or choice on the part of the congrega-

tion and the arrangements objectively present on the part of God harmoniously combine.

Vers. 12, 13. With respect to the expressions of joy and sorrow at the laying of the foundation of the temple, every step by which we attempt to draw near to our highest end, the confirmation of our communion with God, should become a joyous feast. For the nearer we approach this end, the more there comes into view not only the true reverence of the Lord, but also the fulness of redemption and life, of righteousness, of peace, and of joy, involved therein. The farther off we remain therefrom, the more do unrighteousness, discord and mischief threaten to prevail. In fact nothing is so well calculated to exalt the hearts of the children of God from within outward, to fill them with sacred joy and attune them to festivity, as the coming of the kingdom of God. Ewald properly conjectures that at the time of the laying of the foundation (we must understand the times of the building of the temple and those that immediately followed as included therein), many a grand song resounded afresh, as the 118th Psalm, a song of festivity and sacrifice expressing the feelings of that period with such wonderful depth; and that they soon, as they again made pilgrimages to the ancient seat of true religion and the Davidic sovereignty, as well as the sanctuary itself (so Psalm lxxxvii.), as also on the joyous pilgrim-march, sang a rich abundance of new songs of great power and enchanting inwardness, such as had hardly arisen since the time of David in such streaming fullness and creative life (so Ps. cxx.–cxxxiv.). Comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* IV., S. 131, 133. In the profound 116th Psalm: "I love the Lord because he hath heard my voice and my supplications," the voice of joy mingled with sorrow, then so general, has found an appropriate and particular expression, which is so beautiful, that the pious king Fred. William IV. of Prussia, in his last severe affliction, chose it for his prayer. In the cxiii. Psalm, however, "Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord —the Lord is high above all nations, and His glory above the heavens," there is combined, in the same characteristic manner, the thought of the lowliness and poverty that they then so severely felt, and the praise for the exaltation which had now taken place. Especially, however, Psalm cvii. belongs here with its remembrance of all the different afflictions and dangers through which they had passed with God's help and with its constantly recurring refrain: "O that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men;" and probably also Psalm cvi., with its prayer that the Lord would still further gather them from among the heathen and redeem them from trouble. If we still so often, on our part, have a lack of joy and suffer from depression of spirits, and if even in better hours a pressure remains upon the soul, of which we are at times scarcely clearly conscious, then even this sadness may redound to the glory of God, that is, be a divine sorrow, which has its ground in the fact that we cannot serve God as we would wish, and as would be really worthy of Him. Under such circumstances we should not lack beams of hope, or rather of promise, that would be able to transfigure them.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–6. The feast of the redeemed: 1) They present their offerings to God; *a*) for the redemption for which they are thankful to the Lord, and for which they owe all to Him; *b*) notwithstanding the hostility of the world, which indeed grieves them and hinders them in many ways externally, but cannot hold them back from that which is essential; *c*) they consecrate themselves by a daily dedication of themselves. 2) They celebrate especially a feast of tabernacles; *a*) as preserved in the desert of the world and delivered therefrom; *b*) as richly blessed in the land of the Lord; *c*) as called to the eternal tabernacles of joy. 3) They advance the building of the house and kingdom of God; *a*) they consecrate for this purpose their possessions and gifts; *b*) they seek therefore also to add thereto that which is suitable in the world—all (1, 2 and 3) on the ground of and according to the prescriptions of the word of God.—Brentius: *Nobis quotidie hoc festum celebrandum est, quod tum celebratur, dum docemus et sentimus, nos esse peregrinos in hoc mundo et in tabernaculis corporis nostri brevi durantibus, nostrum politeuma esse in cœlo.* Starke: How lovely and necessary is brotherly love among the children of God! Especially in the building of the spiritual temple under Christ should there be one heart and one soul, and each one should stand as all and all as one man, Acts ii. 44; iv. 32; Ps. cxxxiii. 2. If we would again properly reform and re-establish the worship of God, God's word must be the law, rule, lamp, and guiding star, Ps. xix. 5; xxiii. 4; cxix. 105. Although believers have the commandment and promise of God before them, yet the human heart is often so weak that it is easily frightened; but we should here be at the same time blind and dumb, and not look to the present state of affairs, but rely upon God's word alone, Prov. xviii. 10.

Vers. 6–10. How the house (kingdom) of God is built: 1) by the offerings of men; *a*) by the possessions and gifts of the congregation; *b*) by appropriating and using that which is useful in the world; *c*) under the protection of the civil authorities ("according to the permission of Cyrus"). 2) By the activity not only of the heads but also of the other members. The heads have their work to do as leaders, but the rest have freely to co-operate, they have to assist those who according to the divine arrangement have the charge of affairs, encourage them and strengthen them. 3) By the faithfulness of officers to their duties. God has ordained officers for the sake of order. There is not only the office of priests, but also that of their helpers, the teachers, and especially also fathers and mothers. —Starke: God distributes His gifts in many ways; to one He gives talents for one work, to another for another, 1 Cor. xii. 7 sq. The spiritual temple should also be urged on in all ranks of society with all energy, in order that the people may be built up into an holy temple in the Lord, Ez. ii. 22. Preachers and magistrates, instructors also, and parents, thus build a temple when they properly teach and preach, preserve

discipline and honesty, and bring up the youth to piety.

Vers. 11-13. The joy of the congregation of the Lord: 1) *Its ground*—the laying of the foundation of the house of God; God on His part would have a dwelling among men, for this He has accomplished the work of redemption, especially the incarnation, the atonement, and the establishment of the Church; the congregation on their part constitute ever some part of the beginning of the house of God. 2) *Its kind*—it is a festive joy, and expresses itself accordingly in music and songs in praise of the Lord, but is still saddened, because the house of God still continues to lack the true glory. 3) *Its significance*,—its incompleteness of itself, points to its fulfilment.—STARKE: Christ is the true foundation and corner-stone of His church (Ps. cxviii. 22; Isa. xxviii. 16; 1 Cor. iii. 11), in whom we highly rejoice, and on whose account we have to praise God. Experience of previous times often gives an impulse to correct judgment; sometimes however unbelief derives an evil example and support therefrom. The inward joy of the Spirit should suppress all temporal sorrows, so that we should not hear the weeping for the joy.

[SCOTT: The greater difficulties and the more formidable enemies we are exposed to, the more we need the friendship and assistance of God.—In this world joys and sorrows will be blended, for it is a mixed state; hereafter there will be a complete separation.—HENRY: Let worldly business be postponed to the business of religion and it will prosper the better.—They that do not work themselves may yet do good service by quickening and encouraging those that do work.—TR.]

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## B.—THE INTERRUPTION AND AN ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RESPECTING THE MACHINATIONS OF THE ENEMIES.

### CHAPTER IV. 1-24.

### I. *The Interruption of the Building of the Temple.* Vers. 1-5.

1 Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of
2 the captivity builded the temple unto the LORD God of Israel; Then they came to
Zerubbabel, and to the chief of the fathers, and said unto them, Let us build with
you: for we seek your God, as ye *do;* and we do sacrifice unto him since the days
3 of Esar-haddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither. But Zerubbabel, and
Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, Ye have
nothing to do with us to build a house unto our God; but we ourselves together
will build unto the LORD God of Israel, as king Cyrus the king of Persia hath com-
4 manded us. Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Ju-
5 dah, and troubled them in building, And hired counsellors against them, to frus-
trate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of
Darius king of Persia.

### II. *An Original Document respecting the Hostile Machinations.* Vers. 6-24.

6 And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they *unto him*
7 an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the days
of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions,
unto Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the writing of the letter *was* written in the
8 Syrian tongue, and interpreted in the Syrian tongue. Rehum the chancellor and
Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this
9 sort: Then *wrote* Rehum the chancellor, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of
their companions; the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Aphar-
sites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, *and* the
10 Elamites, And the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought
over, and set in the cities of Samaria, and the rest *that are* on this side the river,
11 and at such a time. This *is* the copy of the letter that they sent unto him, *even*
unto Artaxerxes the king; Thy servants the men on this side the river, and at such
12 a time. Be it known unto the king, that the Jews which came up from thee to us
are come unto Jerusalem, building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up

13 the walls *thereof*, and joined the foundations. Be it known now unto the king, that
if this city be builded, and the walls set up *again*, then will they not pay toll,
14 tribute, and custom, and *so* thou shalt endamage the revenue of the kings. Now
because we have maintenance from *the king's* palace, and it was not meet for us to
15 see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king; That search
may be made in the book of the records of thy fathers: so shalt thou find in the
book of the records, and know that this city *is* a rebellious city, and hurtful unto
kings and provinces, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old
16 time: for which cause was this city destroyed. We certify the king that, if this
city be builded *again*, and the walls thereof set up, by this means thou shalt have
17 no portion on this side the river. *Then* sent the king an answer unto Rehum the
chancellor, and *to* Shimshai the scribe, and *to* the rest of their companions that
dwell in Samaria, and *unto* the rest beyond the river, Peace, and at such a time.
18, 19 The letter which ye sent unto us hath been plainly read before me. And I
commanded, and search hath been made, and it is found that this city of old time
hath made insurrection against kings, and *that* rebellion and sedition have been
20 made therein. There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem, which have
ruled over all *countries* beyond the river; and toll, tribute, and custom was paid
21 unto them. Give ye now commandment to cause these men to cease, and that this
22 city be not builded, until *another* commandment shall be given from me. Take
heed now that ye fail not to do this: why should damage grow to the hurt of the
23 kings? Now when the copy of king Artaxerxes' letter *was* read before Rehum,
and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went up in haste to Jerusalem
24 unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power. Then ceased the work
of the house of God which *is* at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of
the reign of Darius king of Persia.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–5. *The interruption.* Vers. 1–3 first give its occasion. When the enemies of Judah and Benjamin heard of the undertaking in Jerusalem, they wished to unite with them in building. They are called **the adversaries**, not of the children of the captivity, but of **Judah and Benjamin**, because their opposition and hostility had arisen already in pre-exile times, and indeed against the southern kingdom, which was then most suitably called that of Judah and Benjamin. בְּנֵי הַגּוֹלָה—children or members of the captivity, is the name given to the returned exiles in chap. vi. 19 sq.; viii. 35; x. 7, 16, *etc.;* so also briefly הַגּוֹלָה—*e. g.*, chap. i. 11. In order to establish their claim they maintain: **We seek your God as ye** (do).—דָּרַשׁ with לְ or אֶל, also with the simple accusative, is the constant expression for our somewhat colorless expression worship God; properly it is to turn to God with petition or questions, or with desires in general, to apply to Him.—**And sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon,** *etc.*—The *Kethib:* "we do not offer" cannot well mean: we do not offer to other gods, for then it would be necessary to mention expressly these other gods. If it were original to the text it might perhaps simply have the sense we did not offer at all, not even to Jehovah, since we well knew that Jehovah would accept offering only at the one legitimate place of worship at Jerusalem. Then it would involve the meaning that they would gladly sacrifice to Jehovah, and on this very account desired to take part in building the temple at Jerusalem. But this view is opposed by the fact that they then would without doubt have too openly and boldly gone in the face of all truth, since they certainly had very many altars and sacrificed often enough. Moreover the emphatic position of אֲנַחְנוּ does not accord with this view; besides, in such a case we would expect the perf. זָבַחְנוּ instead of the part. זֹבְחִים. It is very probable that לֹא here, as in fifteen other passages (comp. *e. g.* Ex. xxi. 8; 1 Sam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. xvi. 18; 2 Kings viii. 10) is for לוֹ, in consequence of a mistake, or of design, in that they would state that their sacrifices did not properly deserve the name of sacrifices, as then לוֹ likewise is found in Qeri, and is read by Esdras (αὐτῷ), by Sept., Syriac, and also indeed by the Vulg., which at least does not have the negative. Since the speakers designate themselves as those whom Esar-haddon had brought into their present abode (comp. Bähr on 2 Kings xiv. 37), we have to identify them beyond question with those colonists referred to in 2 Kings xvii., with the Samaritans so-called, whom the king of Assyria, 2 Kings xvii. 24, had brought up out of Babylon, Cutha, and other eastern countries, into the cities of Samaria. These colonists, when they first settled in Canaan, it is true, did not fear Jehovah; it was not till a considerable later period that they asked for an Israelite priest out of Assyria, in order to be instructed by him in the worship of Jehovah; but the words: since the days when Esar-haddon brought us up, are either a somewhat inexact statement, or are to be explained from their efforts to date their wor-

ship of Jehovah as far back as possible. Knobel (*Zur Geschichte der Samaritaner, Denkschr. der Gesellsch. für Wissensch. und Kunst in Giessen*, I. 1, S. 147 sqq.), on account of these words, improperly holds them for those who had emigrated from Assyria with the Israelite priests. It is clear from our passage that the colonization spoken of in 2 Kings xvii., if it perhaps had already begun under Sargon and Sennacherib, yet chiefly took place under Esar-haddon. With this agree the cuneiform inscriptions, in accordance with which Esar-haddon had despoiled, not expressly, it is true, the land of the ten tribes, but yet Syria and Phœnicia of their ancient inhabitants, and provided them with new ones, comp. Schrader, *l. c.*, upon our passage.* The occasion of this request of the Samaritans, was the correct recognition of the fact that those who should have the temple at Jerusalem, would be regarded as the leading nation, whilst those who should be excluded from this central point of the worship of the land would appear as less authorized, as intrusive; they likewise no doubt expected, if they were admitted to participation in the building of the temple, as well as to consultation with reference to it, to gain thereby influence in shaping the affairs of the congregation in general. If in addition to this they had also a religious interest in the matter, it was only in order to secure for themselves the favor of the God of the land, whom they recognised as Jehovah, and then therewith also the same possessions and blessings in their new home as the Jews designed for themselves. We cannot regard them as actuated by any higher and purer motive,—for their entire subsequent behaviour, which makes them appear as quite indifferent to religious affairs, and also that which we elsewhere learn of their religion, is opposed to that view. That which is said in 2 Kings xvii. on this subject cannot be understood (as Bähr on that chap.) as stating that they only in part retained their heathen gods, that many had already worshipped Jehovah only, that these latter had worshipped Him, if indeed in the form of a bull, yet, as the only God. There is no distinction between the different classes; for ver. 33 is not, as Bähr translates, "there were *also* worshippers of Jehovah,"—but it is said of all; they feared Jehovah, and served their own gods, and of all it is then likewise said in ver. 34: "they feared not Jehovah;" they prayed to Jehovah only as one of many, only as a limited being, only as an idol, not as the only true God. It is true the question then arises whether this syncretistic stand-point that in no respect can be regarded as even an approximative worship of Jehovah, that in truth was only ordinary heathenism, was still maintained by them in the times subsequent to the exile, whether they had not made an advance in religion beyond it. The question is, how the remnant of the ten tribes, who had maintained themselves in their habitations in the midst of the colonists, especially according to Jer. xli. 4 sq.; and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, 10 (comp. Bähr on 2 Kings xvii., S. 401, and Nägelsbach on Jer. xli. 4 sq.), acted both with reference to these colonists in general, and to the claim here made by them. But if the long prevailing opinion were correct that the Samaritans for the most part consisted of the Israelites who remained in the land at the exile, so that they might be regarded as an actual continuation of the people of the ten tribes, and the heathen elements among them had become more and more conformed to the Israelites, we cannot conceive why they did not maintain already now this their external and internal connection with Israel as well as on later occasions when it suited them so to do. That would have been the strongest reason that could have influenced the Jews to admit their claim. For great and respected predecessors, as Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxx.; and Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 56, had expressly occupied themselves in attracting the remnants of Israel to the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem. At first the remnant may have kept themselves concealed from the new comers and the masters of the land, by contenting themselves with the more distant regions and lurking-places of the mountains. They certainly constituted merely despised and scattered bands, which neither sought nor offered any communication, whom therefore the colonists could not trust. Otherwise they would not have had a priest sent to them from Assyria, when they wished to worship Jehovah as the god of the land, comp. 2 Kings xvii. 2. Very soon, it is true, many of them approached the colonists, and mixed with them by marriage; but instead of exerting any influence in shaping them, they rather subordinated themselves—of themselves having quite a strong inclination to heathenism—to the colonists as the more powerful and more favored on the part of the government and united with them in their manners and customs, and also in their religion, so that they more and more disappeared among them. This is very clear partly from the way in which the Samaritans here speak of themselves, partly from their subsequent actions, in that they in contrast to the Jews still preferred to be the representatives of the royal prerogatives of Persia, and designate themselves after their Assyrian places of origin (comp. ver. 7 sq.), but give not the slightest hint of a connection with the ancient Israelites, or of having been in any way modified by them.* Therefore it is improbable that they should have been influenced by these latter in making their claim upon the new congregation, as Berth. and after him Keil supposes. If they subsequently more and more decidedly went over to monotheism and the observa-

* [Also Smith, *the Assyrian Canon*, p. 138, and Rawlinson *in loco*, who says: "There appear to have been at least three colonizations of Samaria by the Assyrian kings. Sargon, soon after his conquest, replaced the captives whom he had carried off by colonists from Babylonia and from Hamath (2 Kings xvii. 24). Later in his reign he added to these first settlers an Arabian element (*Ancient Monarchies*, II., p. 415). Some thirty or forty years afterwards, Esar-haddon, his grandson, largely augmented the population of colonists drawn from various parts of the empire, but especially from the southeast, Susiana, Elymais, and Persia. Thus the later Samaritans were an exceedingly mixed race."—Tr.]

* It was not until very late that their historians invented a return of three hundred thousand men from the Assyrian banishment, and a new establishment of ancient Israel in the midst of the land by this great band, and especially on Mt. Gerizim. (Comp. Abulfatah's *Arab. Chronik*, in Paulus' *Memorabilien*, II., S. 54-100, and in the Samaritan book of Joshua, published at Leyden, in 1848. *Vid.* Ewald IV., S. 125.)

tion of the Mosaic law, they were moved thereto, not by the remnants of Israel, which had blended with them, but by the Jews themselves. They would not remain behind the new congregation in Jerusalem, for they could not conceal from themselves on reflection that the stand-point of the religion of Jehovah, as it was represented in Jerusalem, was higher than their own. And it was for this reason that they then accepted the first Manasseh, and under his direction built the temple on Gerizim, by which circumstance the transformation was as a matter of course still further favored. Besides this there was the entire tendency of those times that was decidedly towards a higher and more spiritual worship of God. Moreover, in addition to such fragments of Israel as were lost among the Samaritans, others still were left in the land who sought to preserve their independence. It is probable that these, who were of themselves more devoted to the religion of Jehovah, let themselves be directed by the judgments that passed over their kingdom, and the contrast that was exhibited between themselves and the colonists, still more decidedly to Jerusalem and the worship there conducted. In favor of this view is the fact that some of them already in the time of Josiah contributed to the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, 10), and that still after the destruction of the temple eighty men of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria came in mourning to bring their gifts to the place where up to this time they had worshipped, Jer. xli. 5, 6. In accordance with some other evidence, there were still at the time such better elements in the northern region of the land. Among those who had separated themselves from the impurities of the nations to unite with the returned exiles in seeking Jehovah (ch. vi. 21) belonged probably at least remnants of Israel as well as of Judah. And this sheds light upon the obscure question, how we are to account for the origin of the Jewish population in Galilee. Bertheau properly remarks with reference to such better elements: "They are the ancestors of a great part of the Jews whom we meet in subsequent times in northern Palestine." There in northern Palestine they had not been dislodged by the colonists, who occupied the cities of Samaria. There, as to their old ancestral abodes, and to their kindred, must those return who now and subsequently gradually returned from any of the ten tribes. It is possible, indeed, that this better remnant of the northern kingdom soon still more decidedly than the Samaritans directed their attention to the temple at Jerusalem. But perhaps they had not yet concluded what relation they should assume to the congregation at Jerusalem; we may suppose that it was in consequence of the impulse that went forth from Jerusalem for them certainly much more than for the Samaritans, that they reflected more deeply upon themselves, and finally attached themselves to the worship at Jerusalem.

Ver. 3. The Jews refused the Samaritans. The sing. וַיֹּאמֶר is used not only because the number of the verb is freer when it precedes the subject, but because Zerubbabel was the chief person who gave the answer; *e. g.* Zerubbabel spake in agreement with Jeshua, *etc.* Jeshua and the heads of the fathers of Israel had united in the answer. יִשְׂרָאֵל is used with לְ, and accordingly is not the *stat. abs.* of the foregoing הָאָבוֹת, for otherwise this would not have the article, according to the usual combination with רָאשֵׁי.—**Ye have nothing to do with us to build**, that is, it is not for you and us in common; comp. the expression "what is to me and thee," namely, in common, Jos. xx. 24; Judges xi. 12; 2 Kings iii. 13. In that they say: **house**—not unto God, as chap. i. 4, but **unto our God**, they mean that Jehovah belongs to them more than to the Samaritans, yea, to them alone.—**But we ourselves together**=we as a compact unity, excluding others. They might appeal to the decree of Cyrus in this refusal, since if they were obliged to admit the Samaritans, they would not have gained, according to their feelings and knowledge, that which they had the right to expect from it, namely, an undisturbed worship of Jehovah in all its truth, free from all dangers. It is true it could not escape the congregation, that it was a very serious matter to make those their enemies who had probably connections, consideration and influence at the seat of government, and who naturally regarded themselves as the outposts and guardians of the sovereignty of Persia in Canaan. But nevertheless the dangers to which they would have exposed themselves by a union with these Samaritans who appeared so objectionable, especially in a religious point of view, would have been far greater, and they should not be charged with too great anxiety, or one that cannot be entirely approved (against Ewald, *Gesch.* IV., S. 125, 135). Those who gradually imitated them when they kept themselves pure from their mixed religion, and through them were impelled to a monotheistic development, would, if they had gained an influence and rightful position in Jerusalem from the beginning, have involved them in their heathen doubt and obscurity. Their renunciation of the external advantages which were set before them by the proffered alliance was the result, on the one side, of a correct appreciation of that which they must regard as of the most importance, and on the other side of a candid and humble recognition of their weakness. As a matter of course they were obliged to take an entirely different course with reference to the remnants of the northern kingdom, when these in another way began to seek Jehovah again in sincerity, and on this account desired to be admitted into Jerusalem. That they did not fail in this particular we see in the circumstance that the Galilean ever had an undisputed admission.

Vers. 4, 5. The consequence of this refusal was the interruption of the building of the temple. The Samaritans are called the people of the land in ver. 4 because they, at least until this time had been the proper inhabitants of the land, and at all events constituted the chief part of the population. As such they were strong enough to slacken the hands of the people of Judah, that is, the people now inhabiting Judah.

יְהוּדָה, already in pre-exile times the name of the southern kingdom is used here also as the name of the country (comp. ver. 6). הָיָה with the part. (slackening and affrighting) expresses the continuance of the action; the second participle is explanatory of the first, מְבַלְּהִים לִבְנוֹת, affrighting with reference to building=from building. The *Kethib* מְבַלְּהִים is sufficiently established by the noun בַּלָּהָה (Isa. xvii. 14) and by the Syriac; the *Qeri*, מְבַהֲלִים, prefers the usual form בָּהַל.—Without doubt they threatened the Jews with violence, and with punishment on the part of the government, as soon as they had frustrated the edict of Cyrus.—**They hired counsellors against them**—for a cancelling of the edict according to ver. 5, in that they were able to influence probably the ministers to whom chap. vii. 28 and viii. 25 refer, or other influential persons, to give advice to Cyrus unfavorable to the Jews. At court they naturally did not understand how it could be that those who were as much the inhabitants of the land as the returned exiles, and therefore seemed entitled to the God of the land, should be excluded. If Cyrus had seen in Jehovah his own supreme God, it must have been all the more annoying to him that those who apparently had the best intentions of worshipping Him, should be rejected. It would seem as if the reason why the Jews opposed the union could only be a national and political one, and the suspicion was quite natural, that they already designed to form not merely a religious community, but also had national and political designs, that they thus gave an entirely false interpretation to the decree of Cyrus. The part. סֹכְרִים is in continuation of the part. of the previous verse; סָכַר is a later form of שָׂכַר. The time during which they succeeded in frustrating the purposes of the Jews, (for which הָפֵר is to a certain extext the *term. techn.*), consisted of about fourteen years—from about the third year of Cyrus in Babylon (comp. Dan. x. 2 sq.) until the second of Darius, comp. Hag. i. 1.

Vers. 6–22 contains the original document respecting the hostile efforts of the Samaritans. The author adds what the Samaritans did and accomplished in the time of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, and the question arises first of all, what kings were meant under these names?* Most ancient and modern interpreters, (comp. J. H. Michaelis, *in loco*.) had supposed that the author from ver. 6 onward would explain why the building of the temple was discontinued for so long a time, as stated in ver. 5, that he then entered into the period between Cyrus and Darius. They were led to this opinion by ver. 24, which leads over to Darius, and what happened under him, in such a manner that it seems certainly, at first, as if the kings mentioned here in vers. 6 and 7 had ruled before him. Luther, from this point of view, united this 6th verse by "for" to the previous verse, instead of by the conjunction "and," and some, as Hartmann in the *Chron. bibl.*, have appealed to this "for" as if it stood in the original text. Ahasuerus must, accordingly, have been Cambyses, Artaxerxes, Pseudo-Smerdis (so still Ewald, *Gesch.* IV., S. 137, and Köhler in *Komm. zu. den. nachexil. Proph.**). But the strongest objections at once arise against this view. How is it that these two kings should have names given them that they bear no where else? How can we suppose that whilst all other Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian kings bear essentially the same names among the Israelites with which they elsewhere appear, these two kings on one occasion should have had entirely different names among the Jews from those among their own people; for among the Persians Cambyses, so far as we know, only bore the name of Cambyses (old Persian *Kambudschja*), Smerdis however, after whom the Ps. Smerdis named himself, had only that of Tanyoxares or Tanyoxarkes (*Cyrop.* VIII. 7, and Ctesias, *Pers. fr.* 8–13), or also Orapastes (Justin. *Hist.* I. 9), which name cannot be identified with אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא. This supposition is still less admissible, in that both these names every where else in the Old Test. designate other kings, and the same as those who had the corresponding names among the Persians. Ahasuerus, in the book of Esther, as is now generally recognized, is Xerxes; in Dan. ix. 1, the Median king Cyaxares. These two Greek terms, Xerxes and Cyaxares, may be readily derived from the Persian fundamental forms of these names, which we find in the cuneiform inscriptions, *Khsay* or *Khsay-arsa*, by modification of vowels. So also the Hebrew term אחשורוש. However ארתחשסתא is in Ezra vii. and viii. and so also in the book of Nehemiah, without question, Artaxerxes (Machrochir). It is true that it is there written ארתחשסתא (with שׂס), in our passage, however, תרתחששתא (with שש); but a different person cannot be inferred from this difference in writing. This is clear from vi. 14, where the name is written as it is here, and yet must be referred to a Persian king ruling subsequently to Darius—certainly, therefore, to Artaxerxes Machrochir. In connection with these names that are used in our section, some other marks beside which point beyond Darius, gain importance. If the sixth verse really came as is supposed to speak explanatory of the previous interval of time, it would at least have been more natural to connect with the conjunct, "for," as indeed Luther, without reason, has supplied it, rather than by "and." At the outset it is improbable that Pseudo-Smerdis should have had time during his brief reign (only seven months) to reply to his officers in the manner narrated in vers. 7–23; namely, after an accurate investigation with reference to the previous conduct of the Jews. In the letter of the Samaritans, or rather of the Persian officers among them, to the king, it no longer has to do with the building

* Kleinert already in the *Beitragen der Dorp. Professoren Theol.*, 1832, Bd. 1, had to a certain extent pointed to the correct opinion, which has been commonly recognized, as in my article "*Cyrus der Grosse*" *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, S. 624 sqq.; by Baihinger. *Stud. u. Krit.* 1857, S. 87 sqq.; by Hengst., *Christologie* II., S. 143; by Berth. and Keil in their Commentaries, *et al.*

* [So also Rawlinson *in loco*, who refers to the "well-known fact of history," that Persian kings had often two names.—Tr.]

of the temple, but only with that of the city and its walls, which is all the more remarkable, as in the letter to Darius in chap. v. 6 sq. the temple throughout is in the foreground. Furthermore Bertheau properly reminds us in notes on ver. 4 that if the transaction with these kings had already previously transpired, the question of the Persian officers in the time of Darius, who had given the Jews commandment to build the house of God, would not have been very appropriate. Moreover the Jews would have spoken of the steps of the Samaritans and the prohibition of ארתחששתא when it must have been obligatory upon them to explain to the Persian officers in chap. v. 16 why the building already begun under Cyrus had not been completed. By all these circumstances we are compelled to understand by אחשורוש really Xerxes, and by ארתחששתא really Artaxerxes, and to refer our section accordingly to the period subsequent to Darius. If it is objected to this view that the answer of ארתחששתא does not accord with the sending of Ezra under Artaxerxes in chap. vii.; so far as the one was unfavorable to the Jews and the other favorable, the fact is overlooked that in his answer (ver. 21) the king expressly reserves another command, which possibly would ordain the building of the city and its walls. When, however, Ewald (*Gesch.* IV. S. 138) asserts that in the time of Artaxerxes no intelligent person could any longer speak thus of the building of the city and its walls, as is the case in the letter of the Samaritans, the book of Nehemiah shows how very necessary it still was that the city should be built up, and the walls re-established even after Ezra. That which really appears to be against the view here advocated, is the manner in which ver. 24 passes over from this king to Darius. By the use of one and the same verb in ver. 21 (give ye now commandment to *cause* these men to *cease*), in ver. 23 (they went up to Jerusalem and *made them cease*) and in ver. 24 (then *ceased* the work) and apparently also by the use of בֵּאדַיִן at the beginning of ver. 24, the twenty-fourth verse is so closely united to the previous context, that it in fact seems to contain the result of that which immediately precedes. Hence then Herzfeld also (*Gesch. Israels* I., S. 303) and Schrader (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1867, S. 469) have supposed that our section, if it indeed originally extended to the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, must be referred by the author of our book, notwithstanding all, to Cambyses and Pseudo Smerdis, who placed it here under an error. But no real necessity for such a doubtful supposition can be found. The verb בטל might be written by the author again, in ver. 24, after that he had used it in vers. 21–23, notwithstanding he was here treating of a previous time. The temporal particle בֵּאדַיִן, moreover, which in itself has the indefinite meaning of "*illo tempore*" can just as well refer to the beginning as to the middle or the end of the time spoken of before. If the twenty-fourth verse had been placed at the beginning of the fifth chapter instead of at the end of the fourth chapter, it would apparently occasion us no difficulty at all in giving it its proper reference. Should it be objected that such an anticipation of later events as the view here advocated involves in vers. 6–23, is in itself improbable, this objection is removed to a certain extent by chap. vi. 14, from which it results that our author was readily inclined to connect together in the closest way Artaxerxes and his time with Darius and the previous times. In this passage, where the elders of Judah in the time of Darius are spoken of, and where it is said of them, they built and completed in consequence of the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, and on the commandment of the God of Israel, and on the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, the additional clause "and Artaxerxes" is still more singular than in our passage. As the author there would embrace all who had afforded the congregation justice, protection, and help up to the time of Ezra, so here he might have very well had the intention of at once putting together summarily all the interruptions that were occasioned by the Samaritans. In as much as here the narrative was of their operations, it was really the best place for this purpose. Besides, another reason probably co-operated. The author probably had at his command no other document respecting the machinations of the Samaritans and their success at the court of Persia than this one of the time of Artaxerxes. Since now, as we have shown in the introduction, it was his method to accompany everything as far as possible with original documents, since moreover besides it was of the highest importance to justify by such a document the behaviour of the Jewish congregation towards the Samaritans, which had such great, severe, and long-lasting consequences, he here inserted it, after that he had made the transition through ver. 6 to the latter period, since the disposition of the Samaritans in the somewhat later period here meeting us, was, to a certain extent, an evidence likewise of their previous hostility; and the disturbing interference which they occasioned according to the letter of Artaxerxes, was only the continuation of previous interruptions.

Ver. 6. **And in the reign of Ahasuerus in the beginning of his reign, wrote they an accusation,** *etc.*—This shows the zeal of the Samaritans; at once and at the very outset they sought to prejudice this king against the Jews. If the time of Darius, which had been favorable to the Jews, during which the Samaritans had impatiently waited for a change of affairs, had passed, this zeal can the more readily be explained. שִׂטְנָה, hostility (comp. Gen. xxvi. 21) has here the special meaning of accusation, just as שָׂטָן readily gains the special meaning of accuser. Since the author does not enter into particulars with reference to this writing of accusation, or even say whether it had any results at all, it seems here to be mentioned only in order briefly to show that the Samaritans, even in the subsequent period, were still active, and in order thus to give a transition to the following narrative as the principal thing.

Ver. 7. **And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam,** *etc.*—The Jewish congregation probably increased from the time of the building of the temple onward, and under Artaxerxes thought more seriously of re-establishing the walls of the city, which then likewise through

Nehemiah actually took place. Bislam, Mithredath, Tabeel, *etc.*, accordingly went to work anew against them. These names certainly indicate Samaritans who, without being Persian officials, enjoyed just as Sanballat subsequently, a certain degree of consequence. The pure Persian name Mithredath need not astonish us, since even Zerubbabel had a similar one (Sheshbazzar). We should expect instead of כְּנָוָתוֹ, for which the qeri has the usual form כְּנָוָתֵיהּ, in accordance with vers. 9, 17, 23; chap. v. 3, *etc.*, כְּנָוָתְהוֹן. To whom the sing. suffix properly refers, whether to the first named Bislam or to the last named Tabeel is doubtful, is yet without any real importance. כְּנָת, from which our plural is to be derived (comp. Ewald, § 187 *d*) is contracted from כְּנָוֹת as פֹּרָת, Gen. xlix. 22 from פֹּרִית and אָחוֹת for אָחָת from אַחְיַת or אַחְוַת (comp. Olsh. § 198 *c*). It is not found elsewhere in Hebrew, and was here without doubt chosen simply with reference to ver. 9; in Aramaic it is more frequent. Formed from כְּנָה it designates those *qui eodem cognomine, sive titulo utitur, sive eodem munere fungitur*, according to Gesen., *Thes.;* in the Peschito it is more frequently employed for σύνδουλος.—**And the rest of their companions.**—This is according to ver. 9 sq.: the others who were their companions.—**And the writing of the letter was written in Aramaic.**—כְּתָב is no more here than in Esther iv. 8, to be taken in the improved meaning of copy, (against Berth.) as if the author would say, that only the copy was in Chaldee, but the letter itself in another language. It means only writing, and the sense is, that the writers translated into Aramaic what they had thought in Samaritan or any other language, and therefore also at the same time wrote down in Aramaic, without doubt, for the reason that in Babylon at court, and among the Persian officials in anterior Asia the Aramaic language was the usual one, so to say, the official language, which otherwise would not have been employed in the letter of authority given to Ezra in chap. vii. 12 sq. נִשְׁתְּוָן is of Arian origin, to be compared with the new Persian *nuwischten*, to write, and means letter. Comp. ver. 18. מְתַרְגָּם is part. pass. of תַּרְגֵּם, interpret, translate into another language.

Ver. 8. **Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe, wrote a letter in this sort.**—Although other authors of a letter are adduced here, yet it is impossible that another third letter should be introduced (against Berth.); for 1) it is inconceivable that the author should have left the contents of the letter referred to in ver. 7 so entirely undetermined. The contents of the letter mentioned in ver. 6 he has at least characterized as an accusation. It is all the more inconceivable since the author has expressly designated the language of the letter mentioned in ver. 17. Without doubt he regarded this as of especial importance. 2) Already the fact that the remark that the letter in ver. 7 was written in Aramaic, is immediately followed by a section in Aramaic, and so also the fact that in accordance with ver. 7, where Samaritans are designated at the outset as authors of the letter; again after the Persian officials in ver. 9, Samaritan tribes are mentioned as taking part in the letter —all this is in favor of the view that it is only the contents of that letter which now follow (comp. Köhler, *Nachexil. Proph.* S. 21). 3) The word כְּנָוָתוֹ in ver. 7, which is found nowhere else in Hebrew, looks evidently forward to the same word in ver. 9. 4) If another letter were referred to in ver. 8, a connecting copula could no more be lacking here than at the beginning of ver. 7, (Keil). Without doubt the Samaritans mentioned in ver. 7, who had become known to the author elsewhere, had been the proper instigators of the letter, the Persian officials mentioned in ver. 8 merely their instruments. The verb כְּתַב which is likewise used of the former, does not by any means always mean: to write with one's own hand. That the Persian officers had written the letter in combination with the Samaritans is besides expressly declared in a short introduction which had been given to it probably at Jerusalem, when they there added it to other important documents, in the form of an explanatory superscription. This introduction, which so to say had grown together with the document, the author has for accuracy and perspicuity taken up in vers. 8–11, leaving it to the reader to put together correctly the different statements respecting the authorship in the manner indicated. Other interpreters, as Keil and Köhler (*l. c.*) suppose that he found the verses 8–11 *a*, and so also then the following letter itself in the history of the building of the temple written in Chaldee, which he used in vers. 5 and 6. Whether however he really had before him such a document is doubtful, as we have shown in the Introduction, § 2. Besides the abbreviation וּכְעֶנֶת and the like, which stands at the end of ver. 10, is found only in the superscriptions of letters, where things that are self-understood may be omitted (comp. vers. 11, 17), not in a historical narrative.—בְּעֵל טְעֵם = lord of understanding, counsellor, is not a proper name (Esdras, Alex., Syr., Vulg.), but a designation of the office of Rehum [the title apparently of the Persian governor of the Samaritan province. Rawlinson *in loco*.—Tr.], as סָפְרָא, scribe, chancellor, is the designation of the office of Shimshai. ["According to Herodotus (III. 128) every Persian governor was accompanied to his province by a 'royal scribe' or 'secretary' (γραμματεύς), who had a separate and independent authority," Rawlinson *in loco*.—Tr.]. אִגְּרָא = אִגֶּרֶת, in later Hebrew. חֲדָא is used as an indef. article, as in the later Hebrew אֶחָד. כְּנֵמָא has, according to Raschi and Ab. Ezra, arisen from כְּ and נֵמָא = נֵאמַר = נֵימָא, comp. in the Talmud אֵימָא, I say תֵּימָא, thou sayest; thus literally: as we say,—then: in the following manner, or also, according as has been stated.

Vers. 9, 10 add to the summary statement of authorship a closer explanation: **Then Rehum . . . . . and the rest of their companions.**—The verb "write" is to be supplied from the previous verse. Then the sense is, when

they wrote the letter in question, they were active in common with their companions. As their companions, the communities transplanted to Palestine are then adduced according to their native lands in East rn Asia. The **Dinaites** were perhaps from the Median city Deinaver, which still had this name in a quite late period (Abulf. *Geogr. ed. Par.*, p. 414). Schrader would find it as Da-ya-a-ni, also Da-ya-i-ni in the inscription of the older Tiglath Pileser, who reckons them among the Nahiri, that is, to the Armenians, *l. c.*, S. 246. The **Apharsathchites**, perhaps identical with the Apharsachites in ch. v. 6, were compared by Hiller (*Onom.* p. 655, 745) with the robber Parætakites (Herod. I. 101; Strabo xv. 3, 12), on the boundary of Media and Persia; Rawlinson regards the Apharsachites as the Afar-Sittaces, according to the inscriptions, and the Apharsachites as the Afar-Sacæ (comp. Rœd. in Gesen. *Thes.*, *app.* p. 107). [But in his Com., *in loco*, Rawlinson regards these two names as only variations of the third form Apharsites, all referring to the same people, the Persians.—Tr.].—The **Tarpelites** remind us of the *τάπουροι* (*Ptol.* VI. 2, 6) dwelling on the East of Elymais.* The **Apharsites** are identified with the Persians, whose name is here provided with א prosthetic; Hiller (*Onom.* p. 655) thought of the *Parrhasians* in Eastern Media. The **Archevites** had their name probably from אֶרֶךְ (Gen. x. 10), Arku in the inscriptions, the present Warka on the left bank of the Euphrates, southeast of Babylon (comp. Schrad. *l. c.*, S. 18). The **Babylonians** are the inhabitants of Babylon, the **Susanchites** those of Susa, the **Dehavites** (*Qeri* דֶּהָיֵא), the *Δάοι* of the Greeks (Herod. I. 125), the **Elamites**, those of Elam or Elymais.

Ver. 10. **And the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over.**—Since the author adds these words as a summing up, it is clear that he could not or would not enumerate all in detail, that he would represent them as all taking part together, and indeed not only so far as they dwelt in Samaria, but further than this also those **in the other lands on this side of the river.**—Thus did all these colonists here act in common, even those who dwelt as it were in Phœnicia and Syria, because they perhaps under all circumstances as foreigners over against the natives felt themselves united by the bond of a common situation, because they perhaps all feared also for their territory, if the Jews should grow into a power, upon which the Israelites dwelling at a greater distance round about might lean. Since here all the colonists are to be mentioned in entirely general terms, we cannot regard it as singular that at this time on the one side entirely different names are mentioned from those in 2 Kings xvii. 24, where only those transported to Samaria are mentioned, that moreover on the other side the Samaritan nations are not so particularly mentioned as in that passage, where instead of the Babylonians in general, people from Babylon, Cuthah, *etc.*, are named. *Asnapper* here might be regarded as another name of Esar-haddon, in ver. 2, and indeed the more as we here have a Chaldee document; yet the supposition of different names for one and the same person is ever a doubtful one. It is not suitable, however, to understand thereby the commander-in-chief of Esar-Haddon [Rawlinson], for the *epith. orn.* "great and noble" are in favor of a king, although the title of king is not expressly added. It is probable therefore that a mutilation of the name Esar-Haddon has taken place.* After the designation of the place: **in the city of Samaria**, the following וּשְׁאָר, *etc.*, may also be merely a designation of place; accordingly the ב, which is before קִרְיָה is to be supplied before it, and שְׁאָר is to be taken as neuter of the land or places. עֲבַר־נַהֲרָה, on that side of the river, of the land to the west of the Euphrates, is explained as a now universally prevailing geographical expression. וּכְעֶנֶת contracted into כְּעֶת (comp. ver. 17) = *etc.*, or "the like." Perhaps the author himself already placed this expression of abbreviation at the introduction of the letter, in order to indicate that still other designations of lands are to be thought of as a matter of course; perhaps, however, it is derived from the author of our book, who would not copy that which was to be understood of itself.

Ver. 11. **These are the contents of the letter which they sent.**—Here we have at once announced in the first half of the verse the contents of the letter. It seems that already the beginning of the letter itself was used for this announcement, since it was certainly the style for the letter-writer to designate more closely in a superscription as well himself—which is now no longer the case here—as also the receiver of the letter. For only from such superscriptions can it be explained how at the beginning of every letter in our book almost the same formula occurs, comp. ver. 17; v. 6; vii. 11.—פַּרְשֶׁגֶן, in the book of Esther thrice פַּתְשֶׁגֶן, which two forms are likewise used interchangeably in the Targums, is translated by many after the Sept., Vulg., which, however, are not uniform in their usage, and the rabbin. interpreters as *copy* [so A. V.]. But very properly Benfey (*Monatsnamen*, p. 193 sq.) rendered this meaning doubtful. In ver. 23 it does not suit, since the Persian officers had not received a copy, but the letter itself; and it is no more appropriate to E ther iii. 14; viii. 13, and in Esther iv. 8 another meaning suits at least as well. Accordingly the word seems to have rather the meaning of contents, as then indeed the Vulg. in Esther iii. 14 has rendered it *summa*. Gildermeister (*D. M. Zeitschr.* IV., S. 210) and Haug (Ewald's *bibl. Jahrb.* V., S. 163 sq.) conjectures in the syllable פַּר the Persian *fra*, the Sanscrit *pra*=*πρό*, pro, the new Persian *far*, in the corresponding פַּת the Zend *paiti* (Sanscrit *prati*)=*προτί* and *ποτί*, *πρός*; in שֶׁגֶן a word like *çenghana*, old Persian *thanhana*, from *cenghdicere*, *prædicare*.—In the second half of the verse, the

* [Rawlinson *in loco* regards them as colonists from the nation which the Assyrians called *Tuplai*, the Greeks "Tibareni," and the Hebrews generally "Tabal."—Tr.]

* According to Hitzig's faithful disciple Egli, it would be an appellative, that would show us the relationship of the Assyrian with the German and would be essentially the same as the German "*Schnapper*."

letter begins: **thy servants, the men on this side of the river,** *etc.*—Here also there has been left off what usually stands at the beginning of a letter; the sense is: thy servants wish thee, O king, peace, comp. ver. 17. Alongside of the form of the *Qeri*, עַבְדָךְ, that of the *Kethib*, עַבְדַיִךְ, is also justified.

Vers. 12–16. The information given to the king: **Be it known unto the king.**—לֶהֱוֵא for יְהוֵא as לֶהֱוֹן for יֶהֱוֹן, and לֶהֶוְיָן for יֶהֶוְיָן, vii. 25, 26; Dan. ii. 20, 28, 29, 45, *etc.* ל has in Bib. Chald., occasionally also in the Targums, more frequently in the Talmuds, vindicated itself as preformative like נ in Syriac. Comp. Zöck., Dan. ii. 20.*—**That the Jews——unto us have come.**—אֲתוֹ, they have come, is certainly more closely defined by the following participle "building." But yet it is singular that in the time of Artaxerxes there was still mention made of coming. It seems that the coming of the Jews, even after the time of Cyrus, still went on; with the close connection, which those who remained behind maintained with the returned (comp. Zech. vi. 9 sq.; Neh. i. 2 sq.), this might indeed have been pre-supposed as a matter of course.—**Building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations.** מָרָדְתָּא, with metheg in the second syllable, and so with kametz under ר, is hardly a correct reading. We should read either מָרָדְתָּא (so Norzi) with short *o* sound in the second syll. from the form מָרוֹד, which occurs in the Targums, and is given by the Peschito—an intensive formation like Hebrew קַנָּא; or מְרַדְתָּא (J. H. Mich.) as *stat. emphat.* of the *stat. abs.*, מָרָדָא (comp. ver. 15). We must certainly prefer the *Qeri* וְשׁוּרַיָּא שַׁכְלִלוּ to וּשׁוּרֵי אשכללו. A similar false separation of words is found in 2 Sam. xxi. 12. שכלל is shaphel of כלל, and means to make ready. That the perf. שַׁכְלִלוּ should follow the part., is in historical narrative not unusual; here, however, it has its special reason perhaps in the fact that the Samaritans would co-ordinate this expression: and they have made the walls ready, to the first and principal statement (אֲתוֹ), in order to bring it into suitable prominence. Besides they may be charged in all probability with a kind of exaggeration, even if the perfect was not meant to be taken strictly. If the Jews had now really brought the walls so near to completion, Nehemiah would not have found them still under this same king in the condition described in Neh. ii. Since they yet let an imperfect follow the perfect, they indicate of themselves, as it were involuntarily, that the work still continued; otherwise the transition to the imperfect would be without any reason. יַחִיטוּ might be the imperf. Aphel of חטט, dig, dig out, which is also found in Syriac, since יְחִיט would be for יְחֻט; to dig out the foundations would then be simply=make excavations for the foundations; it might, however, still easier be taken as imperf. Aphel of חוט, properly sew together, then heal, improve; alongside of יָקִים the sharper. form יְקִים is to be maintained, after the analogy of which under the influence of the guttural we have יַחִיט.

Ver. 13. **Be it known now unto the king that they will not pay toll, tribute and custom.**—The three usual kinds of taxes are here meant, comp. ver. 20 and vii. 24. מִנְדָּה, for which vi. 8 has מִדָּה, which expression is also usual in Syriac, is etymologically=measure; here, however, the appointed general tax. בְּלוֹ after בלה is perhaps the consumption tax, and הֲלָךְ the toll for highways.—**And that it finally will prepare damage to the king.**—The meaning of אַפְּתֹם, which is entirely disregarded by the ancient versions, is entirely uncertain. The meaning "income" is simply invented by the Jewish interpreters of the middle ages, and is not recommended by vers. 15 and 22 in so far as the kings themselves are those who are there injured. Haug (*l. c.*) compares אורום in the Pehlewi language, which=the last, hindermost, Sansc. *apa*, superl. *apama*, and thus gains for our word the meaning of "finally, at last," which certainly is entirely appropriate. מַלְכִים is a Hebraism, or perhaps only a copyist's mistake for מַלְכִין. תְּהַנְזִק is *tert. fem.* in Aphel, in which conjugation the Bib. Chald. sometimes chooses the prefix ה, which it preserves even in the imperf. and part., comp. תְּהַשְׁכַּח in ver. 15. The subj. is the city of Jerusalem, or the indef. subject, referring to the design of Jerusalem.

Ver. 14. **Now because we have maintenance from the king's palace.**—The writers would here at any rate state a reason for the following statement, that it was not meet for them to see the injury of the king. The rabbinical explanation followed by Luther: "we all, who have destroyed the temple," is therefore not recommended; besides we would then have to expect at least instead of: salt the salt of the temple, scatter salt on the temple, comp. Judges ix. 45; Jer. xvii. 6; Isa. li. 6. To salt the salt of any one probably means to live through any one's bounty, perhaps pay, and therefore be obligated to him, stand in his service. Syriac and Persian expressions accord with this, comp. Gesen., *Thes.*, p. 790. We may also compare *salarium*. Whether the writer as an official really received pay from the palace of the king, or speaks figuratively, we cannot say.* עֲרְוַת מַלְכָּא is according to the analogy of the Heb., עֶרְוַת, the uncovering, not in the sense of deprivation, but of dishonoring; the Sept. has properly ἀσχημοσύνη, whilst the Vulg. employs *læsiones.*

* [More properly it is the characteristic of the subjunctive or optative force of the verb. See Luzatto's *Gram. der bib. Chald.*, § 109, and Rigg's *Manual of Chaldee*, p. 65.—Tr.]

* ["The Persian satraps had no salaries, but taxed the provinces for the support of themselves and their courts." Rawlinson *in loco*.—Tr.]

It would be a dishonoring of a great king if the Jews should throw off their allegiance (refuse to fulfil their duties). אַרִיךְ, also in the Talmud=appropriate, fitting, is connected with עֲרַךְ, arrange.—**Therefore have we sent**, namely, this letter, **and made known to the king**, namely, the following.

Ver. 15. **That search may be made in the book of the records of thy fathers.**—Subj. of יְבַקַּר is he whose duty it is to search, the keeper of the archives, properly indef. subj.—דָּכְרָנַיָּא and דִּכְרוֹנָה (comp. vi. 2) is the memorable occurrence from דְּכַר=זְכַר. In Esther vi. 1; this book is called more completely: the book of the memorable events of the day. The fathers of Artaxerxes are here his predecessors on the throne, and indeed including also those not Medo-Persian, especially the Chaldean, who in this connection come very particularly into consideration. For the rebellions that follow must mean above all those under Jehoiachim and Zedekiah. The manner of expression is properly explained from an inclination of the inhabitants of Western Asia to assume a connection of families between the dynasties that succeeded one another, but also from figurative language, which was all the more natural if Artaxerxes already had had many real ancestors for predecessors on the throne.—**So shalt thou find.**—These words may be taken as depending upon the verb make known in the previous verse, but yet really contains the consequence of the investigation. אֶשְׁתַּדּוּר is *nom. verb.* of Ithpaal of the verb שְׁדַר, uproar; it is found elsewhere only in ver. 19. עָבְדִין, they make (continually) uproar, indefin. subject, they make; in ver. 19 there is made. מִן יוֹמָת עָלְמָא, from the days of old. The fem. form יוֹמָת is also found in Syriac alongside of the masc.; otherwise in Bib. Chald. the masc. יוֹמִי is used, as then in Heb. likewise the masc. is throughout the usual form, the fem. only occurring in poetry. With the clause: **For which cause was this city destroyed**, we certainly are to look back to the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. הָחָרְבַת is Hoph., which is used throughout in Bib. Chaldee for the Ittaphal.

Ver. 16. **We certify the king, that if—by this means thou shalt have no portion on this side the river.**—The verse concludes with this inference and summing up. לָקֳבֵל דְּנָה=on this account, in consequence of this circumstance as in Dan. ii. 12. They supposed that the fortified Jerusalem would not merely free itself from taxes, but also appropriate to itself all the territory on the west of the Euphrates, so that the great king would have nothing left, comp. Eccl. ix. 6; 2 Chron. x. 16; Jos. xx. 25, 27.

Vers. 17–22. The writers of the letter had manifestly desired to obtain by means of their information authoritative measures, authorizing them to restrain the Jews. These they obtained. —**The king sent an edict.**—The abrupt way in which the letter of the king is mentioned may be explained from the fact that the same address as in ver. 11 is here used, even if with slight differences. פִּתְגָמָה from the Zend. *patigama* (modern Persian *paigam*. Armenian *pattkam*) is the command, and in this sense has even passed over into the Hebrew, comp. Eccl. viii. 11; Esther i. 20. At its root is the word *paiti* (πρός) and *gam*=go, accordingly=the approaching message (comp. Keil on Dan. iii. 16). Moreover, comp. notes on ver. 10.

Ver. 18. **The letter which ye sent unto us hath been plainly read before me.**—מְפָרַשׁ, Pael part. passive, means here, since the Aramaic without doubt was chosen only because it was used at court, not translated, but explained, or adverbially, plainly, comp. the Pual part. in this sense in Neh. viii. 8, as then this word has the same meaning also in the Talmud.*

Ver. 19. **And I commanded**—שִׂים properly, Kal passive part.; in Bib. Chaldee is used instead of a *tertia pers. praet. pass.* accordingly, instead of the Ithpael (comp. v. 17; Dan. iv. 3); moreover the Peil part. in Bib. Chald. usually gives a new preterite passive, and is for this purpose conjugated throughout with the afformatives of the verb. Alongside of שִׂים, the form שׂוּם also occurs, in fem שׂוּמַת, Dan. vi. 18.—**Search hath been made, and it is found that this city—hath made insurrection.**—הִתְנַשְּׂא is here used as in 1 Kings i. 5 in Hebrew, of rising up in rebellion. Comp. ver. 15.

Ver. 20. **There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem which have ruled.**—The reference is to Uzziah, Jotham, and perhaps David and Solomon, if in any way a rumor of them had come to Babylon and to the Persians.† Since these kings had subjugated the land to the west of the Euphrates, especially the territory of the Moabites and Ammonites and similar tribes, the suspicion was quite natural that Jerusalem would again strive for such a supremacy. בְּ before כֹּל depends upon the previous שַׁלִּיטִין: ruling over all on that side of the river. With reference to the following clause comp. ver. 18.

Ver. 21. **Give ye now commandment**, namely, to those who are building in Jerusalem. טְעֵם is here as in ver. 19, not in the sense of investigation, observation, as in Dan. iii. 12, in connection with שׂוּם עַל, but in the sense of decision, command, לְבַטָּלָא = that you cause to cease by your command. From this infinitive, as frequently in Hebrew, the construction passes over into the finite verb: **and that this city be not built.** The additional clause: **until a command shall be given from me**, namely, that defined by the context, for building, hence the *stat. emph.* טַעְמָא. This is not a mere phrase,

* ["It is doubtful if the Persian monarchs could ordinarily read (*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV., p. 185). At any rate it was not their habit to read, but to have documents read to them (comp. Esther vi. 1)." Rawlinson *in loco*. —Tr.]

† [Rawlinson *in loco* doubts the reference to David and Solomon, and thinks the reference more probable to Menahem (2 Kings xv. 16), and Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 7; xxxv. 18).—Tr.]

that would make all things dependent upon himself and his words, but a product of his prudence, since he really had in view the possibility of a change. With this agrees very well the earnestness and severity with which in

Ver. 22 he sharpens the previous command: **and be careful**—so זְהִירִ, which is especially frequent in Syriac,—**to make a mistake** = that you may not make a mistake with reference to this matter. לְמָה properly "to what" = that not, comp. vii. 23, so also in Syriac. Accordingly the meaning is, that חֲבָלָה, damage, which easily grows as a pest, may not become great.

Ver. 23. The consequences of the royal edict are now added, probably by the same hand, that had added the introductory address of the original document.—**Now when the contents of the letter . . . were read.** A parenthetical clause begins with מִן־דִּי. It is not until אֲזַלוּ that the principal clause continues.—**They went up to Jerusalem, unto the Jews.**—אֲזַל may be connected with לְ and עַל in the sense of "going to or unto" (comp. v. 8 Dan. ii. 24); here both prepositions follow. The subject is supplied from the parenthetical clause. בְּאֶדְרָע, properly, "with arm," or "the power of the arm," but this could not be the meaning here, were it not for וְחָיִל = troops, which is accordingly added. The Sept. renders freely, but not incorrectly (against Keil): *ἐν ἵπποις κάι δυνάμει*, comp. the Hebrew זְרוֹעַ, Ezra xvii. 9, and זְרוֹעוֹת, or זְרוֹעִים, Dan. xi. 15, 31, where also Keil explains the meaning as warlike powers. Instead of אדרע, almost always דרע occurs without the prosthetic א.

Ver. 24. **Then ceased the work of the house of God.**—This verse already begins the continuation of vers. 1–5, the further history of the building of the temple; at least it is introductory thereto. Our author himself (comp. notes on ver. 6) here gives the results of the hostile effort, but not those of the last struggle, but those of the first under Cyrus, which already results from the idea of בטל, if it is taken in the strict sense. The author would not have gone back to the cessation, were it not that he would come to something that had already connected itself with the first intimation which had occasioned the cessation.*

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–3. (1) The release of Israel and the re-establishment of Jerusalem and the temple connected therewith was a beginning of the fulfilment of the great prophetic promises. Among these promises were those that said that the heathen would come near, to walk in the light of the Lord (especially Mic. iv. 1 sq.; Isa. ii. 2, 24; lx. 1 sq.); they were to take part in the communion with Him, and accordingly in His worship and kingdom, and rejoice in His blessings. When now the Samaritans drew nigh with the request that they might help in building the temple, was not their claim sustained by these prophets? Should not Israel have been ready gladly to contribute their part for the accomplishment of the prophecy, even if it should for the moment be burdensome to them? Did they not have to fear lest they should by a refusal strive against God's own great thoughts and designs which had been expressed long before? If the one prophecy is compared and explained by the other, then it follows, certainly, that this conversion of the heathen was not to be expected until the appearance of the Messiah. But if the Lord had given the one thing that was to come with the better and Messianic times, namely the return to the land of their fathers, could He not then very soon also afford them the other, the appearance of the Messiah itself? At present, indeed, Israel had no other prince than Zerubbabel, who did not even have the majesty of an ordinary king, not to speak of Messianic majesty and glory. But if now the congregation had gained in strength and numbers by the reception of the Samaritans, would it not thereby have also gradually advanced an important stage, and would not other tribes and families also have gradually followed the Samaritans? The congregation was obliged in those times, when so much was but feeble, and began to have but little prospect of improvement (comp. Zech. iv. 10), to look at so many things with the eye of faith, if they would make no mistakes; and grasp them in faith, if they would not lack courage for them from the outset—should they not then have seen here also in faith a beginning, that would have its continuation and completion; should they not have covered over with the veil of mildness and forbearance the many weaknesses which might still adhere to the Samaritans, and have excused them with the hope of better things? They felt themselves too weak to overcome the heathen elements that were natural to them, and to meet the influences which they would exert in case of a union. But should they not have overcome their feeling of weakness in the power of the enthusiasm of their faith? They were obliged to recognise likewise that something of good was in the Samaritans, and were in duty bound to God to trust in Him that He would make the good to prevail over the evil and secure the victory to the truth. Was it not, if they rejected the Samaritans, looking deeper, a lack of faith, unnecessary anxiety, and was not national narrow-mindedness, and uncharitableness mingled therewith? There are many who take this view of it, and are very much inclined to make use of such thoughts with reference to similar things, which are not entirely lacking at present. But however difficult it may appear to take a safe course in such a state of affairs, one thing is sure: The Samaritans had no right to an entrance into the congregation on their assertion that they had already always and from the beginning worshipped the Lord, for on the contrary this could have been the case only in that they

* ["The stoppage of the building by the Pseudo Smerdis is in complete harmony with his character. He was a Magus, devoted to the Magian elemental worship, and opposed to belief in a personal god. His religion did not approve of temples (*Herod.* I., 130); and as he persecuted the Zoroastrian (*Behist. Inscr.*, col. i., par. 14), so would he naturally be inimical to the Jewish faith (comp. *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV., pp. 347, 398)" Rawlinson *in loco*.—Tr.]

could have shown at some period of their history a decisive break with their previous heathenism and a real conversion to Jehovah. Such a conversion, however, of a true and hearty character, such as the prophets had prophesied as taking place in the Messianic time (comp. Isa. xix. 16 sq ) was not at all possible on their part. They needed first for this a turning unto them, a change *on the part of the Lord.* Israel was what it was in consequence of the divine election. The Samaritans also, and indeed all other nations, can become God's people only when God extends His election clearly and effectually unto them likewise. They cannot choose Him, but He must choose them. It was His prerogative in this as in all other things, to take the initiative, if indeed He was the God of revelation, and was to be honored as such. It was necessary that He should reveal Himself in some manner, that He should draw near them and become apprehensible; He must send a mediator, under whom they likewise might find themselves, and in whom there should be a righteousness, a perfection and glory which would be undoubtedly for them, yea, overpowering them, and above all, likewise rendering satisfaction for them, and of a sufficiently representative character; He must do a redemptive act, by which He should purchase and take them to Himself. It was necessary that there should first be a new manifestation, which should lay a new foundation, and even on this account also another instrument than Zerubbabel and Jeshua, coming from heaven, the appearance of the Sun of righteousness itself, with healing in its beams even for the heathen. That the congregation in Jerusalem rightly judged the Samaritans has been attested by the Lord Himself in John iv. 22, as Hengstenberg has well shown in his *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes* ("ye worship ye know not what") and the history itself has shown that they justly estimated that the hour of God had not yet come. This hour did not strike until Christ the Lord authoritatively removed the fence that had been erected between Israel and the heathen.

(2) The congregation had at first for their own sake as well as for the sake of the Samaritans, to adopt an exclusive policy. Whilst, if they had taken the Samaritans into their membership they would have been ruined by the latter through their worldly conformity, now they remained a salt, that in good time might become useful even to them, yea, they became already in advance a warning and an impulse to them, in consequence of which they gradually turned to better things. The good Samaritan in the gospel makes it probable that the Lord found here and there among them, hearts that were less hard than those of the priests and Levites in Jerusalem. The story of the Samaritan who was healed of leprosy, who alone rendered thanks to the Lord, is an evidence that the noblest virtue might easily thrive among them better than among the Jews. The Samaritan woman at Jacob's well and the people of Sychar, then those in Samaria itself (Acts viii.) show a susceptibility for the Saviour, by which they might become true members of the people of God before many in the ancient congregation. Would that those, who as the Samaritans do not worship the true and holy God who does not allow His people to be put to shame, but only their own idols who are easily satisfied, might have a clearer and stronger conception of the chasm that separates them from the true congregation of the Lord! It would be a help for them that they need first of all.

(3) The congregation had to do without an increase such as would have come through the Samaritan element; they must rather remain small and suffer persecutions than abandon unto corruption the blessings entrusted to them. But after that Jesus Christ has come into the world and redemption has been made for all, so that only the innermost inclination of the heart need be brought into consideration, it is much more difficult to properly recognize the Samaritan influence that would press into the Church, and there is need in this respect of a very great and especial care. Above all we must take this to heart, that no one has to be converted *to us*, to *our* opinions and methods, but that every one is to be converted to *Jesus Christ* alone. The two do not coincide as long as we are still in an imperfect state. But at all events *conversion* is the decisive thing. How necessary this is and how fundamental it must be has now become still clearer in the light of Jesus Christ. He who now without conversion thinks that he can take part in the kingdom of God, who disputes the necessity of conversion, the depth of human sinfulness, the strictness of the divine holiness, in that he sets before him the grand aim of humanizing Christianity, reconciling it with culture, would set aside the opposition of the world against the Church, the Church's rigor, narrowness, lack of culture, whilst in truth he seeks to make the Church conformable unto the world—such an one is in fact to be placed on a par with the Samaritans: he is, indeed, because he is more accountable, worse than a Samaritan.—The state of affairs, however, to-day is an entirely different one, inasmuch as Samaritanism is not without, but within the congregation [that is, in the State Churches especially; to a limited extent in the free evangelical churches —TR.], yea, at times indeed is to be found in those who govern the congregation, where then at any rate the parable of the wheat and tares comes into consideration with reference to the way of judging it and treating it.

Vers. 4, 5. The Samaritans were able for a time to prevent the building of the house of God. But what God would have, must finally come to pass. Just as at a previous time when David could not at once and himself execute his design of building a temple to the Lord (2 Sam. vii.), so the Lord now showed that He did not require under all circumstances that which the world was still able to take away from Him and His people. Thus then the Church should never be discouraged when their enemies triumph for a season, and when it is as if they accomplished nothing, as if they lacked the most necessary things, and walked in a way that is not good. When the progress of their work is rendered more difficult by a thousand persecutions, by the spread of many calumnies and the like, then is the time, as Starke says, to pray the third petition that God would prevent all and every wicked counsel and purpose. But we should

not judge by success whether we have chosen the right or the wrong way, but only by God's word and truth. We should not find it too hard to be miserable and poor so long as it pleases God. It so easily happens, as it is elsewhere said, that the better the work, the greater hindrances are found, and that where God proposes something good, the devil does not rest, but sows tares with it (Starke).

Vers. 7–16. It was calumniation when the Samaritans charged the Jews behind their back at the Persian court with pursuing political ends, although in Artaxerxes' time the question was no longer of the temple, but of the city and its walls. The Jews had nothing to do with political deliverance and independence, but with securing their existence and freedom of worship which could hardly be refused them by the Persians. But such slanders were almost a necessity. The Church must ever be prepared for them. The world knows only worldly motives, worldly aims, and cannot but ascribe them also to the Church; with all things that they allow themselves, they make a crime for the Church. But all the more care must the Church take that such calumniations may not gain ground; all the more carefully accordingly must it hold itself aloof from the world and its aims. Otherwise it not only injures itself for the present, but also for the future; it makes itself suspected. For their accusers already, to gain credence for their word, refer to the fact that the Jews had already in former times snatched to themselves a great worldly power. O that the congregation might not be so much defiled by their own and their forefathers' sins! how much more irreproachably, powerfully and charmingly would they be able to carry out their work of missions in the world.

Vers. 17–23. The Persian king Artaxerxes commanded that the building of the walls of Jerusalem should cease. We might ask how it was possible that the only true God, the Lord of heaven and earth, should make the lot of His people, and accordingly the history of His kingdom dependent upon the command of the king of Persia; that He should allow His people, and indeed His cause in general, to fall into such dependence upon men, and indeed heathen? But this is indeed His method. Even the individual is allowed a free and determining influence upon his action. And in the very fact that He limits Himself, makes Himself dependent, lets Himself be satisfied, so that the world may enjoy an independent, true existence, and men may have a real freedom, He shows His highest and best greatness. Only the false God, the one merely conceived, is the entirely unlimited one who takes away every freedom of the creature, who wills and does everything himself, and thereby becomes of the nature of the creature and sinful. It is shown here so truly how that which is truly great and important may be externally weak and inversely.

Ver. 24. When Cyrus had given the congregation permission to return and build the temple of the Lord, it almost appeared as if already heathenism was capable and ready under the circumstances to establish a free church in a free state. But when afterwards the building was obliged to stop and remain so long unfinished, when so to speak the Church must lie down in chains, the saying of the free church in the free state became a fable, and as such must it ever anew prove itself to be. The interests and also the callings of the State and the Church are involved in too many ways and in too close relations for the former not to claim when it has the power an oversight of the latter and an influence upon it. The most favorable thing for the Church is ever the Christian State, which really wishes the Church well and ministers to it; as the last thing, however, it has to expect the antichristian state, which restrains it, persecutes it, and where it is possible, enchains and destroys it.

[The author's view of the relations between Church and State are the usual ones prevailing on the continent of Europe and among State-church men in Great Britain. It has been sufficiently proved, however, in the United States and the British colonies that a free Church in a free State is no fable, but a historical fact, and a condition in which the Church is purest, strongest and most dominant in the land through the Christianizing influence that it freely exerts on all classes of the community. And whilst Church and State are closely related in many questions of morals and religion, in education, in marriage and divorce, the observance of the Sabbath, questions of property, individual rights, *etc.*, and conflict will more or less arise, yet the relations will become more and more accurately defined without interfering with the prerogatives of either. Comp. the section on Church and State in the Evangelical Alliance proceedings, N. Y., 1873.—Tr.]

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–3. The Church cannot receive every one into her communion or suffer all to remain therein. Her duty to excommunicate is shown: 1) From what would happen if she excluded none—they would be made to conform to the world by the worldly-minded; 2) From what happens when they do exclude them—they manifest the worldly disposition in their hearts, and do much damage by their hostility; but they cannot ruin the congregation: the possibility remains that they themselves may be the subjects of saving influences.—Starke: No one should enter into communion in religious matters with strange and false religious opinions, 2 Cor. vi. 14; Tit. iii. 10. Tale-bearers and false and wicked talkers are cursed; for they perplex those who enjoy good peace (Sir. xxviii. 15), and invent villany, Ps. lxiv. 7; cxl. 4. The Church of God and its members suffer greater injury by false friends than by open enemies, Ps. xli. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 26.

Vers. 1–5. The duty of the congregation to be apparently intolerant: 1) Towards whom—even against many who would enjoy its communion; 2) how—excluding that which is excluded by its entire character and then bearing whatever evil is ascribed to them on account of this; 3) for what purpose—in order to preserve its best things and thereby at the proper time likewise offer salvation to their enemies.—Brentius: *Ejusdem farinæ sunt, qui nunc hujus nunc*

*illius religionis sunt. Injustum est; qui fides est persuasio certa de divinis promissionibus. Hi autem, cum hinc inde fluctuent, non habent fidem.*—The foolish behaviour of the world towards the Lord's people: 1) The world would belong to the Lord's people, and yet not be converted unto God; 2) They seek to set aside the worship of the true God, and yet can prosper only in the light that streams forth from it.

Vers. 7–16. The charges raised by the world against the people of God; their apparent justice and their lack of grounds. 1) The congregation builds itself at present not with peaceful, but rebellious disposition: in fact, it must obey God rather than men; but they know also how falsely this word is applied by those who have forgotten that the kingdom of the Lord is not of this world. 2) They have in past times constantly sought after worldly power, and have been guilty of manifold encroachments; in fact, the Church has at first more and more taken a political form and equipped itself with external worldly power; but the consciousness that according to its own idea something different was more appropriate has never been able to be entirely suppressed. 3) The church will, if it have its own way, in future endanger the existence of the state; in fact, it cannot acquiesce in the state as it is; the church must seek to gain power over the king, but in a spiritual sense; not with power, but kindness; not from without, but from within. It would not oppress, but change, transform, glorify.—Brentius: *Vide, mirabilem piorum sortem in hoc sæculo. Pii sunt, propter quos omnia bona hominibus hujus seculi eveniunt. Attamen accusantur, quod soli hi sint, propter quos omnia mala, bella, fames et seditiones eveniant.*—Starke: God's church has at all times been subjected to false accusations. Christ and His apostles could give sufficient witness of this. Let us only avoid the doing, the lie is good counsel, Acts xxiv. 5 sq.

Vers. 14–24. The church's independence of the state. God makes His church dependent on the world: 1) on its own account to glorify its faith and to exercise its patience; 2) for His own sake in order to bring it to a proper conception of the fact that it does not need external majesty and power, a magnificent cultus, *etc.;* 3) for the sake of the world—that it may learn to see that the church cannot be suppressed by it, that there is something higher than it can reach with all its power.—Starke: God often lets it happen that a good intention is interrupted by the craft of enemies, in order to try His believers. Magistrates are God's officers. If, however, they do not properly fulfil their office, a severe judgment will pass over them, Wisd. vi. 5, 6. God is a long-suffering God who allows Himself to be interfered with and presents Himself as a hero who is faint-hearted (Jer. xiv. 9), but He will wake up some time, Sir. xvii. 19.

[Scott: Every vigorous and successful attempt to revive true religion will excite the opposition of Satan and of the children of disobedience in whom he worketh.—Henry: The worst enemies Judah and Benjamin had were those that said they were Jews and were not, Rev. iii. 9.—Take heed who we go partners with, and on whose hand we lean. While we trust God with a pious confidence, we must trust men with a prudent jealousy and caution.—See how watchful the church's enemies are to take the first opportunity of doing it a mischief. Let not its friends be less careful to do it a kindness.—A secret enmity to Christ and His gospel is oft gilded over with a pretended affection to Cæsar and his power.—At some times the church has suffered more by the coldness of its friends than by the heat of its enemies; but both together commonly make church work slow work.—Tr.]

# THIRD SECTION.

## The Resumption of the Work of Building the Temple and its completion.

### Chapters V. VI.

### A.—THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORK AND THE REPORT OF THE OFFICIALS TO DARIUS.

### Chapter V. 1–17.

I. *The Resumption of the Work of Building the Temple.* Vers. 1–5.

1 Then the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophe-
sied unto the Jews that *were* in Judah and Jerusalem in the name of the God of
2 Israel, *even* unto them. Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua
son of Jozadak, and began to build the house of God which *is* at Jerusalem: and
3 with them *were* the prophets of God helping them. At the same time came to them
Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shethar-boznai, and their companions,

and said thus unto them, Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to
4 make up this wall? Then said we unto them after this manner, What are the
5 names of the men that make this building? But the eye of their God was upon
the elders of the Jews, that they could not cause them to cease, till the matter came
to Darius: and then they returned answer by letter concerning this *matter*.

II. *The Report of the officials.* Vers. 6–17.

6 The copy of the letter that Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shethar-
boznai, and his companions the Apharsachites, which *were* on this side the river,
7 sent unto Darius the king: They sent a letter unto him, wherein was written thus;
8 Unto Darius the king, all peace. Be it known unto the king, that we went into the
province of Judea, to the house of the great God, which is builded with great stones,
and timber is laid in the walls, and this work goeth fast on, and prospereth in their
9 hands. Then asked we those elders, *and* said unto them thus, Who commanded
10 you to build this house, and to make up these walls? We asked their names also,
to certify thee, that we might write the names of the men that *were* the chief of
11 them. And thus they returned us answer, saying, We are the servants of the God
of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago,
12 which a great king of Israel builded and set up. But after that our fathers had
provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchad-
nezzar the king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house, and carried
13 the people away into Babylon. But in the first year of Cyrus the king of Babylon,
14 *the same* king Cyrus made a decree to build this house of God. And the vessels
also of gold and silver of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the
temple that *was* in Jerusalem, and brought them into the temple of Babylon, those
did Cyrus the king take out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered unto
15 *one*, whose name *was* Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor; And said unto
him, Take these vessels, go, carry them into the temple that *is* in Jerusalem, and
16 let the house of God be builded in his place. Then came the same Sheshbazzar,
*and* laid the foundation of the house of God which *is* in Jerusalem: and since that
17 time even until now hath it been in building, and *yet* it is not finished. Now there-
fore, if *it seem* good to the king, let there be search made in the king's treasure
house, which *is* there at Babylon, whether it be *so*, that a decree was made of Cyrus
the king to build this house of God at Jerusalem, and let the king send his plea-
sure to us concerning this matter.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–5. The author now narrates in the closest connection with the last verse of the previous chapter how it came to pass that the work of building, which had been interrupted, was resumed.

Ver. 1. **Then the prophets, Haggai, the prophet and Zechariah.**—We learn also from Haggai himself that the congregation at that time needed prophetic admonition. At first the most of them had, without doubt, with great reluctance allowed the building to remain unfinished, but gradually had lost the desire thereto, caring only for their own interests, such as the erection of their own houses in as beautiful a manner as possible. Notwithstanding this, however, some of them had still such devotion to the Lord and zeal for His worship, that the prophetic office was possible, and there was relatively a great susceptibility for it. נְבִיאָה in Hebrew הַנָּבִיא, seems to have been almost a surname of Haggai, chap. vi. 14; Hag. i. 1. The plural "the prophets," which in the Hebrew text follows Zechariah son of Iddo, as if Haggai had not yet been called prophet, is in favor of this view. The preposition עַל after "prophesied," does not denote hostility, but simply the direction of the address, "unto" (comp. 2 Chron. xx. 37; 1 Kings xxii. 8, *etc.*), as is sufficiently clear from the contents of the prophecies.—**The Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem.**—Thus they are designated to distinguish them from those who remained behind in Chaldea. At the same time it indicates those who had undertaken the task of building the temple. עֲלֵיהוֹן is a closer designation of the name of God, so that the relative might be supplied before it: **Who was over them** (comp. chap. iii. 8, *etc.*). which characterizes them as those who belonged to God. (Isa. iv. 1 and Jer. iv. 16), who leads them, urges them on and encourages them.*

Ver. 2. **Then rose up Zerubbabel.**—They now had an express command of God, which already in itself was an advantage; now moreover they could no longer doubt that the building

* [Rawlinson *in loco* more properly renders in accordance with the current Hebrew phrase "which was upon them," that is, having God's name called upon them. —Tr.]

4

would succeed.—**And began to build.**—Properly it should have been: They re-commenced, but we might disregard the fact that בְּנָה readily =rebuild, for the first beginning was so long before, and had had such little success, that it no longer came into consideration.

Ver. 3. **At the same time.**—Now again they were threatened with interruption. בֵּהּ זִמְנָא, at it, the time, = at the same time. Comp. Dan. iii. 7, 9; iv. 33.* Again Persian officials arrive, but at this time only do their duty.—**Tatnai, governor on this side the river,** of the entire province to the west of the Euphrates, outranked Zerubbabel, whom Cyrus had appointed governor of Judah (comp. ver. 14). He was perhaps unacquainted with the mission of Zerubbabel, because he had come into his office at a subsequent period to him.—**Shethar Boznai** who accompanied him, is not designated indeed as Shimshai (chap. iv. 8 sq.), *e. g.*, as scribe or chancellor, but the entire appearance is in favor of his being likewise a magistrate.—**Their companions,** however, who in ver. 6 are especially called his companions, that is, Shethar-Boznai's companions, and are named the Apharsachites, are according to ver. 6 likewise government officials, probably of a lower grade. At this time also the Samaritans may have been at work in that they had called attention to the building of the temple in Jerusalem, but now they were no longer able to fill the officials with hostile sentiments. They simply inquire **who hath commanded you to build this house?**—לִבְנֵא here and in ver. 13 is a singular form, since the infin. in Chald. is מִבְנֵא (comp. vers. 2, 17; ch. vi. 8), or מִבְנְיָה, comp. chapter v. 9. R. Norzi has here and in ver. 13 a dagesh in the ב, but there cannot be an assimilation of the מ because it has a vowel. It may be that the language was not entirely fixed in its usage of מ in the infin., as it is here absent from the infin. in Peal., to which elsewhere it is peculiar, so it has been at times prefixed to the Pael and Aphel, before which it is usually absent, and always to the infinitive of the passive conjugations in the later Targums. Comp. Winer, *Gram.*, § 12. [Luzzatto *Gram.*, § 88.—Tr.]. [Rawlinson, *in loco*. "There was no doubt a formal illegality in the conduct of Zerubbabel and Jeshua; since all edicts of Persian kings continued in force unless revoked by their successors. But they felt justified in disobeying the decree of the Pseudo-Smerdis, because the opposition between his religious views and those of his successors was a matter of notoriety. (See *Ancient Monarchies*, IV. p. 405)."—Tr.]. אֻשַּׁרְנָא, a word of doubtful etymology, is in Esdras rendered by τὴν στέγην ταύτην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα (the beams and all the rest), in the Sept. on the other hand by τὴν χορηγίαν ταύτην (this sacred service = this building). These derivations in the versions makes it probable that there was no fixed tradition respecting the meaning; the one rendering being as much guess work as the other. The Vulg., Syriac and the Rabbins have explained it as "walls," which might well be the most suitable and correct, having as its root not אשר (Gesen.), but אשן more properly אֻשַּׁן (firm, strong).

Ver. 4. **Then said we unto them.**—Here the Masoretic text gives at once the answer of the Jews. But this text is in more than one respect singular. The first person might be explained, it is true, very well as having come from the use of an ancient document, whose author had taken part in the building. But אמר should be followed by the direct discourse, whilst the indirect is used, so that we must translate, not, then we said, but then said we to them, what the names of the men were. Besides, if the Jews here spake, that is, answered to the question in ver. 3, instead of referring to the names of the men, we should expect another answer. It is natural therefore with Bertheau to conjecture that the text has been corrupted in some way, that is to say that the first person is incorrect, as it were, has come over from ver. 9, instead of which we must read here the third person, so that the Persian officials still continue: *then said they to them, what are the names of the men, etc.*, as from the start we might expect, according to vers. 9 and 10. It is possible then that likewise אֱדַיִן, which would separate almost too much the second part of the address from the first in ver. 3, is a mistake likewise. The Sept. and Esdras already have regarded the verse as a question of the Persian officials, the former translating: τότε ταῦτα εἴποσαν, the latter, in that it passes over entirely the first four words. It is true that the objection might be raised, that then there is no answer on the part of the Jews. But this might have been omitted with reference to ver. 11. The names of the men were important to the officials, for they had to know whom the king was to hold responsible. Instead of שְׁמָהַת the more accurate editions have שְׁמָהָת.

Ver. 5. **The eye of their God was upon the elders of the Jews.**—This is the preliminary result, producing for them mildness on the part of the officials, and securing them from interruption. The eye is used instead of the hand, because the Providence and Wisdom of God above all came into consideration. Comp. Ps. xxxiv. 16; Zech. iv. 10; 1 Peter iii. 2. The שָׂבִין, corresponding with the זְקֵנִים in Hebrew, are at the same time the שָׂרִים chap. x. 8.—**Until the report came to Darius, and they then brought back a letter concerning the matter.**—Bertheau understood it as: Until a command arrived from Darius, *etc.* But טְעֵם need not be the royal decree. Although this word does not assume the wider sense of *causa* (Keil), it yet has the meaning of *ratio*, and indeed also in the sense of account (or likewise of consideration) יָהֲבִין טַעְמָא, Dan. vi. 3 = give account. Thus it may be used here for a report, by which officers would give their king an account of an important occurrence, and their observation of it. The לְ before Darius cannot be a circumlocution of the genitive—it is thus used only in designations of time. On the other hand

* [Suffix with prep. before its noun has this form in Aramaic, Riggs' *Manual*, § 49, 3. Comp. Cowper, *Syriac Gram.*, § 203, 5.—Tr.]

its use with הָלֵךְ to give the end, is entirely assured. Comp. chap. vii. 13, *etc.* Finally, if it did not mean "to Darius," the הָלֵךְ alone would be too indefinite. As well Esdras as the Septuagint also has, therefore, although rendering freely, properly understood it as a report to Darius. Naturally, however, these words are only preparatory for the following clause: "Until they bring back a letter, *etc.*", which really for the first expresses the limit of time meant. יְהָךְ imperf. of הלך (comp. chap. vi. 5; vii. 13) is referred by Winer, § 25, to a special root הוּךְ. It is possible, however, that as usually the ה is absorbed at the beginning, so here the ל of הלך and thus we have יְהָךְ for יְהַלֵּךְ.* The letter to be brought back, was certainly to come from Darius, there is no occasion to think of one from Tatnai, *etc.*, unless it is already supposed that there is a royal command in טְעֵם. The subject of יְתִיבוּן is indefinite "they."

Vers. 6–17. The report of the officers to Cyrus in vers. 6, 7, at first, precisely like chap. iv. 8–11, has the superscription which this letter probably received already in the collection of documents at Jerusalem.—**These are the contents of the letter that Tatnai.—Shethar-boznai and his companions the Apharsachites.**—We must leave in doubt the question why the Apharsachites (comp. iv. 9) are especially mentioned as the companions of Shethar-boznai, which here means either lower officials or as it were men of the same race, or else people especially attached to him.†

Ver. 7. **They sent a report.**—פִּתְגָמָא according to its etymology (comp. iv. 17) is used in the same sense as טְעֵם in ver. 5, *e. g.*, report, message. כֹּלָּא is loosely connected with שְׁלָמָא = peace, hence peace universally = peace in its fulness.

Ver. 8. **Be it known unto the king.**—The letter in iv. 12 began in the same way. The present letter however is distinguished by the fact that it gives first of all a simple objective report. Judah is called a מְדִינָה (see ii. 1), the god of the Jews, **the great God.**—It is not probable however that they, like the Samaritans (iv. 1) actually paid a certain degree of reverence to him, rather the deep reverence of the Jews made such an impression upon them that they supposed He must be an especially great God (namely, for His worshippers). What they say respecting the building, is manifestly to show that the work was well-done, in a strong, stately manner.—**Of great stones.**—אֶבֶן גְּלָל here the accusative of material is the stone which was too heavy to lift, and which could only be rolled along; thus very heavy and large stones (as chap. vi. 4), which were only taken for great buildings, designed to last a very long time. The Sept. emphasizes by its translation λίθοι ἐκλεκτοί, the excellence of the material; Esdras vi. 9, by its translation λίθοι ξεστοὶ πολυτελεῖς at the same time the labor applied to them, as well as their costliness.—**And timber is laid in the walls.**—Berth. understands by this the placing of beams in the walls, that is, in the partitions, [Rawlinson, *in loco*, "party walls"], or likewise the erection of the scaffolding on the outer walls. But the expressions indicate rather the inlaying of the walls with wood work artistically finished (comp. פִּתּוּחֶיהָ Ps. lxxiv. 6), thus according to the view of the writer represent the building as one erected with great care. It is true the work had not made such progress, in fact that the walls, which themselves were first built of the great stones, could have been already inlaid. But it is probable that the zeal, which is clearly enough attested by Haggai, manifested itself likewise in this way, that those skilled in wainscoting went at once to work, since moreover it was necessary to make as great haste as possible on account of the threatened interruption. The haste is expressly referred to by the officials in the last words—**and this work goeth fast on**—אָסְפַּרְנָא (comp. vi. 8, 12, 13; vii. 17, 21, 26) is explained from the Persian, and means properly, very active. אס is probably the ancient Persian *us* or *os*, Sanscrit *ut*, which expresses intensity; as our "very" and *parna* is an adjective from the ancient Persian *par*, Zend *pere* = do, complete. Comp. Haug. a. a. O. The subject of מַצְלַח, **it prospereth** is not the form עֲבִידְתָּא (comp. vi. 14; Dan. vi. 29), but "it."

Vers. 9, 10 then give an account at first of their question.—**Then asked we those elders.**—אִלֵּךְ, those who, as a matter of course, were in Jerusalem at the head, ver. 10, **at their head.**—בְּרָאשֵׁיהֹם is more naturally explained as at their head (comp. 2 Chron. xx. 2), than: in their capacity as their heads (Berth., Keil). [A. V., "*that were the chief of them*"]. The latter interpretation of בְּ is in itself doubtful, especially moreover, since no verb is given with it. The plural, expressed by the vowels, may be explained by the fact that they worked in different groups, namely, by families (comp. Neh. iii.)

Ver. 11 sq. gives the answer of the heads of the Jews.—**And thus they made us the report**, namely, the one required. לֵאמֹר = לְמֵימַר—**We are the servants of the God of heaven.**—The pleonastic suffix of עַבְדוֹהִי emphasizes very strongly the fact, not that *they* above all others and alone are servants of God (Berth.) but that they above all others are servants of the God of heaven, and not of any lower being. They therefore expressly designate God as the God of heaven and earth, that is, the highest; yea, properly the only true God. They would without doubt show the officers that they had good grounds and were very well entitled to build their temple, and that those would do wrong who should oppose their undertaking. On this account therefore they add that their God had had this house long ago, and in it had long ago possessed a worthy place of worship.—**And we**

* [So Lusatto *Gram.*, § 104. This is the better interpretation of the form.—Tr.]

† [Rawlinson, *in loco*, regards them as Persians or foreign settlers in Samaria generally.—Tr.]

**build the house that was built.**—not הִתְבְּנָא, it was once built, but הוּא בְּנֵא, it was built and continued to be a place of worship—**these many years ago.**—מִקַּדְמַת דְּנָה = before this (present) time.—**A great king of Israel built and completed it.**—It would have been an evidence against their God if He had not provided Himself with a worthy place of worship in ancient times, and had not made the king of his people great and mighty. They say intentionally not the great king Solomon, but a great king (the genitive relation being expressed by לְ); they thus emphasize better the idea itself, that the king was a great one.

Ver. 12. It is true the temple has been destroyed, but this does not show any weakness in their God, but rather His holiness.—**On this account, because our fathers provoked.**—לָהֵן does not refer to that which precedes, but to what follows, for it is used in its usual sense of "on this account," and is here really = only on this account. It does not follow from the fact that it sometimes has the sense of "but" after negative expressions, that it may also be an adversative particle, and mean "nevertheless," "however," "yet." מִן־דִּי, however, is here not in the temporal sense, [A. V. *after that*], for then it would express very vaguely the idea: since that the fathers had already provoked God long before He abandoned His temple; but it is here in its usual causal sense "because." מִן may be very properly used in this sense, comp. Hebrew כַּאֲשֶׁר, Isa. xliii. 4. כַּתַּר = to conceal, then like the Hebrew הִכְחִיד, to destroy. It is true it is only used here in the Bible in this sense, but in the Targums occurs quite frequently. עַמָּה might, if it had the suffix, that is, if the ה were pointed with mappiq, mean simply, "the people of the land;" ארעא is often to be supplied. Yet the Massora remarks, that mappiq is not to be written, and R. Norzai and J. H. Mich. have left it out, so that the ה is to be taken as a representative of the א, as is often the case in this book.

Ver. 13. **But in the first year of Cyrus.**—When the predestined time of chastisement had passed the Lord Himself was able to gain recognition from Cyrus, so that now the restoration of His temple has a good and assured foundation. Comp. chaps. i. 2; vi. 3. לִבְנֵא, as chap. v. 3.

Ver. 14. **And the vessels also—did Cyrus the king take.**—So great was the recognition that Cyrus gave to the true God, that he not only allowed His veneration, but furthered it with offerings, so that the building of the temple, unless the vessels were to remain without a suitable place, became so much the more necessary. הֵיכְלָא is here used as at the first, so naturally also the second and third time in the sense of temple. Comp. בֵּית אֱלָהִין, chap. ii. 7. וִיהִיבוּ is probably the conjugated passive participle = and they were given, not the active preterite = they gave, for the indefin. subject with sing. (against Berth.). In the last case we would expect הִמּוֹ after the object, which is not elsewhere in such cases omitted: moreover, the yod in the second syllable has usually only an intrans. or passive signification.—**Whose name is Sheshbazzar**—thus indefinitely, as we would say, to Sheshbazzar, as he is called. For this name see chap. i. 8. As in Hag. i. 1, *etc.*, so here Zerubbabel is designated as Pechah, whilst in chap. i. 8 as prince of Judah, נְשִׂיא.

Ver. 15. **And he said unto him, Take these vessels.**—In connection with giving out the vessels Cyrus expressly ordained the building of the temple. Instead of אֵלֶּה, the *Qeri* is here as in 1 Chron. xx. 8, אֵל. The three unconnected imperatives, "take, go forth, lay down," comprehend the three acts, to a certain extent, in *one*, thus expressing likewise the zeal of Cyrus, and the zeal that Sheshbazzar was expected to exhibit. אֲחֵת, notwithstanding the Chateph Pathah, may be merely the imper. Aphel of נחת, of which we have the part. in chap. vi. 1, and the imperf. in chap. vi. 5.—**And let the house of God be built.**—These words are connected with the words **lay them down in the temple** as a necessary complement, by the copula וְ.

Ver. 16. **Then came this Sheshbazzar,** namely from Babylon to Jerusalem, **and laid the foundations,** *etc.*—The copula is also lacking before יְהַב, because the two acts are connected together in the closest way. אֻשַּׁיָּא, as in chap. iv. 12. Here it can only mean the laying of the foundations in chap. iii. 8-10.—**Since that time even until now hath it been in building, and is not yet finished.**—These words were probably designed to let the present activity appear as a simple continuation of the building, ordained by Cyrus, thus also as something entirely justified. At any rate it was entirely in the interest of the Jews to be silent respecting the fact that Cyrus had allowed an interruption to take place, and there is nothing in our representation of the subject opposed to its reality. But had the express prohibition of the Artaxerxes in chap. iv. 17 sq. already preceded, yet the Jews might well have said that it had been occasioned only by the entirely groundless slanders of the Samaritans. Hence they must regard it as their absolute duty to contradict these slanders. שְׁלִם occurs only here in Bib. Chaldee, yet often enough in the Targums and Syriac, and indeed in the sense of "complete and ready."

Ver. 17. **And now, if it seem good to the king, let there be search made in the treasure-house.**—טָב עַל, comp. vii. 18; Dan. vi. 24, as in later Hebrew, טוֹב עַל, Esther i. 19, good according to any one's judgment. גִּנְזַיָּא, Heb. גְּנָזִים (Esth. iii. 9; iv. 7), are the treasures, probably from כנס — גנז, collect, and *dshanasa*, conceal, but at the same time in accordance with the Arian *gaza*, comp. גִּזְבָּר, Ezr. i. 8; on the other hand, גַּנְזַךְ, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11. It is clear from this passage and chap. vi. 1, that written

documents were likewise preserved in the treasure-house. —**Whether a command was given by king Cyrus.**—הֵן = whether, as likewise Jer. ii. 10. For שֵׂים, *vid.* chap. iv. 19. רְעוּת, comp. chap. vii. 18, from רעה = רעת, *voluntas*, opinion.

### THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Ver. 1. Notwithstanding the great readiness which distinguished the new congregation at first (comp. notes upon chap. iii.), they yet fell into indolence and worldliness as soon as difficulties were placed in the way of their work, comp. Haggai's prophecy. It was even necessary that again God's word should arouse, encourage, strengthen them, and fill them with joy. And indeed the Lord does not fail on His part: wherever any powers whatever are present; if slumbering, He awakens them. The more we need His all-awakening call, and the more that is the result of undeserved grace and faithfulness that shames us, the more willing should we be to hear and follow Him.

Vers. 1–5. Although the new congregation, when they were called upon by the prophets and strengthened by their prophecies, might have readily supposed that the building of the temple would now be finished without stumbling upon difficulties, they were yet obliged presently to submit to an inquiry on the part of the Persian officials, that might again easily result in an interruption. Such trials the Lord Himself sends at the time,—and then often very properly,—when His own word has given the impulse to an undertaking or action. Even then, and then particularly, faith must be strengthened by trials. The congregation at this time did not allow the interference of the Persian officials to surprise them too much; they were not faint-hearted on this account, and did not allow themselves to be deterred thereby from building; in the careful hesitancy of the officials they saw rather the influence and protection of God. Thus is it ever for the church, so long as it is in covenant with the Lord, to regard the hinderances, even if they seem threatening, and easily might be destructive, as yet trifling; and things favorable, even, if they seem at first insignificant, as great and important. We must be inclined thereto by the contentment with which one feels impelled to thankfulness for the little, and the faith in Him who has all things in His hand. It is the very reverse with the world.

Vers. 6–17. The magistracy often, as is clear from chap. iv., allows itself to use calumniators as its instruments. But without regard to the fact that they are obliged to help in realizing the design of God even in such a case, they are easily preserved by their office and their duties from such errors, even if they are worldly and heathen in their character. In our present chapter they act as true magistrates; they quietly listen to the report of the Jews, and bring it without misrepresentation before the king. Brentius rightly remarks: "*vides differentiam inter calumniatores et bonos ac probos viros. Una eademque causa erat ædificii templi, unus idemque populus Judæorum: attamen hujus populi causa aliter refertur ab impiis calumniatoribus aliter a bonis viris.* How much worse off the Jewish congregation would have been, if the Samaritans had had to do with them without the Persian officials! Hence the church should never forget, even if at times it has had to suffer injustice from worldly authorities, to be thankful from the heart to God that there are magistrates after all, comp. Rom. xiii. 1 sq., *etc.*

Vers. 11, 12. The congregation did not keep back their faith, when it came to the point of rendering account of their designs before the magistrates, rather did they lay down an open confession, even before the heathen, without fearing to be laughed at for their assertion that they served the only true God. In order to ward off the objection that their Lord had been without power, they confessed the sinfulness of their fathers, and praised the holiness of God. God's honor was for them more important than the honor of their fathers or of the nation. Well for the church, when the world itself is obliged to give testimony to it, as it here gives to the Jewish congregation, that it has made such a good confession as this. If with such a confession heart and hand accord, it has the power that overcomes the world.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–5. How does the Lord prevent our being conformed to the world? 1) By His warning word.—STARKE: It is the office of faithful teachers to strengthen the faint hands and feeble knees (Isa. xxxv. 3). 2) By the trials that He sends, especially by making the accomplishment of His own word difficult. 3) By providential care and preservation (ver. 5).—BRENTIUS: *Multa hic notanda. Primum, quod Deus sæpenumero nos a bono proposito impedit, non ut non exequamur, sed ut clarius et illustrius exequamur. Deinde, quod sit ingenium vulgi: mox enim putat, numquam fore, ut promoveat* (sc. *Deus opus suum, si aliquamdiu intermittatur*).—The movements that the development and advance of the kingdom of God call forth: 1) The congregation is agitated by the overwhelming voice of God; it gives new courage, and lays hold of the work of building obligatory upon it with new joy.—STARKE: Although it involves not a little danger for awhile to accomplish with obedience that which God commands in His word, yet we should obey notwithstanding, and not allow ourselves to be frightened off by any danger. 2) The world is agitated, for it cannot quietly see the events in the kingdom of God, especially when the congregation is subordinated to its civil authority, but it is obliged to assist in furthering the cause of God in its own way. 3) God Himself is agitated. He directs His eye with especial care and wisdom upon the leaders of the congregation, and stretches forth His hand to give protection and help.

Vers. 11, 12. The true confession. 1) The occasion of it—the magistrates call to account,—2) its contents, God's grace and truth and our own sins,—3) its aim, the establishment of a tabernacle of God among men. The true contents of a believing confession. 1) God's gracious acts—He has by them from the most ancient times obtained worship. STARKE: If we purify the doc-

trines with which Christ and His apostles have erected a spiritual temple to God, from human ordinances, we start no new doctrine, but erect again the marred temple of God. 2) Exhibition of the divine holiness. He has imposed upon His church dependence and deficiencies on account of its sins.—STARKE: Even the sins of our forefathers we should not cloak, but where they have erred, confess it. 3) God's assertions of power.—He has wrung a recognition from even a Cyrus, even the mightiest worldly power, and made them serviceable for the re-establishment of His worship.

[SCOTT: Whilst we continue in this world, we shall always have to confess that our sins have provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, and that all our sufferings spring from this source, and all our comforts from His unmerited mercy.—HENRY: Our eye upon God, observing His eye upon us, will keep us to our duty, and encourage us in it when difficulties are never so discouraging. Let the cause of God, and Truth, be fairly stated, and fairly heard, and it will keep its ground.—TR.]

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## B.—THE ANSWER OF DARIUS, THE COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE FIRST CELEBRATION OF THE PASSOVER.

### CHAPTER VI. 1–22.

#### I. *Darius' Answer.* Vers. 1–12.

1 THEN Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in the house of the
2 rolls, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon. And there was found at Ach-
metha, in the palace that *is* in the province of the Medes, a roll, and therein *was* a
3 record thus written: In the first year of Cyrus the king, *the same* Cyrus the king
made a decree *concerning* the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded,
the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly
laid; the height thereof three-score cubits, *and* the breadth thereof three-score
4 cubits; *With* three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber: and let the ex-
5 penses be given out of the king's house: And also let the golden and silver vessels
of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the temple which *is*
at Jerusalem, and brought unto Babylon, be restored, and brought again unto the
temple which *is* at Jerusalem, *every one* to his place, and place *them* in the house
6 of God. Now *therefore*, Tatnai, governor beyond the river, Shethar-boznai, and
your companions the Apharsachites, which *are* beyond the river, be ye far from
7 thence: Let the work of this house of God alone; let the governor of the Jews and
8 the elders of the Jews build this house of God in his place. Moreover I make a
decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house
of God: that of the king's goods, *even* of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith
9 expenses be given unto these men, that they be not hindered. And that which
they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offer-
ings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine and oil, according to the appointment
of the priests which *are* at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day without fail:
10 That they may offer sacrifices of sweet savors unto the God of heaven, and pray
11 for the life of the king, and of his sons. Also I have made a decree that whosoever
shall alter this word, let timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up,
12 let him be hanged thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this. And
the God that hath caused his name to dwell there destroy all kings and people,
that shall put to their hand to alter *and* to destroy this house of God which *is* at
Jerusalem. I Darius have made a decree; let it be done with speed.

#### II. *The Completion and Dedication of the Temple.* Vers. 13–18.

13 Then Tatnai, governor on this side the river, Shethar-boznai, and their compa-
nions, according to that which Darius the king had sent, so they did speedily.
14 And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying

of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded, and
finished *it*, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to
15 the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia. And
this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth
16 year of the reign of Darius the king. And the children of Israel, the priests, and
the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of
17 this house of God with joy. And offered at the dedication of this house of God
a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin-offering
for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel.
18 And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the
service of God, which *is* at Jerusalem; as it is written in the book of Moses.

III. *Celebration of the First Passover-Feast.* Vers. 19–22.

19 And the children of the captivity kept the passover upon the fourteenth *day* of
20 the first month. For the priests and the Levites were purified together, all of them
*were* pure, and killed the passover for all the children of the captivity, and for
21 their brethren the priests, and for themselves. And the children of Israel, which
were come again out of captivity, and all such as had separated themselves unto
them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the LORD God of Israel,
22 did eat. And kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy: for the
LORD had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto
them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of
Israel.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–12. The answer of Darius. Notwithstanding the great importance of the decision that Darius gave in reply to the letter of his officers and the greatness of its results, in that after so long a waiting it finally introduced a new and significant turn of affairs, its introduction is quite brief.—**Then Darius the king made a decree.**—These words seem to refer only to the command to make an investigation; but in reality they serve as an introduction to the decree which was promulgated to Tatnai, *etc.*; comp. v. 6. It is as if the subsequent narrative: **and search was made**, were taken up merely as an explanation of the decree following in ver. 6 sq. Without doubt it was contained in the decree of Darius to Tatnai, as its basis or introduction.—**The house of writings.**—Comp. v. 17.* Here the treasures likewise were laid up. מְהַחֲתִין is participle Aphel of נחת. Comp. chap. v. 15.

Ver. 2. **And there was found at Achmetha.**—Search was made for the writing in Babylon; but it was found in Achmetha, after that there was probably found in the archives at Babylon a reference to the archives of Achmetha for the documents of the time of Cyrus. The letters אחמת engraved on coins seem to designate this city. Comp. Mordtmann, *D. M. Zeitschrift*, VIII., S. 14. In ancient Persian, however, Achmetha probably was Hagamatha.—[Rawlinson *in loco*: "in the Behistun inscription Hagmatana."—TR.]—In Greek it is Ἀγβάτανα (Herod. I. 98) or Ἐκβάτανα (Judith i. 14), the summer-residence of the Persian and Parthian kings, built by Deiokes, the capital of Media the great, in the vicinity of the present Hamadan.—**In the palace.**—The archives were especially in the citadel, בִּירָה = ἡ βάρις, which embraced the palace and likewise the other prominent buildings.—**A roll and therein was a record.***—We should expect directly after מְגִלָּה (there is less authority for a kametz in the last syll.) the contents of the writing; indeed דִּכְרוֹנָה (*st. emph.* of דִּכְרוֹן) may have been a superscription in the writing itself about equivalent to: *memorandum;* nevertheless it is here connected with the previous clause as a *memorandum* was written therein. The contents do not follow until vers. 8–5.

Ver. 8 contains first probably stereotype introductory forms; at first the date: **In the first year of king Cyrus** (as in chap. v. 13); then the short preamble: **Cyrus the king made a decree**; then a statement of the contents; then the following words: **the house of God at Jerusalem**, stand alone by themselves, and constitute to a certain extent a title. Then the command: **Let the house be built as a place where offerings are brought and whose foundations are capable of supporting** (namely, the structure).—אֲתַר is placed before the relative clause in *stat. constr.*

* [Rawlinson *in loco:* "A house of writings was discovered at Koyunjik the ancient Nineveh by Mr. Layard in the year 1850—a set of chambers, *i. e.* in the palace devoted exclusively to the storing of public documents. These were in baked clay, and covered the floors to the depth of more than a foot." Many of these writings were removed to the British Museum, where they have been partially arranged and translated by Rawlinson, Smith, Talbot and others. The library was again visited, and many of its treasures removed by Smith in 1873 and '4 and again in 1876. See Assyrian Discoveries of Geo. Smith, New York, 1875.—TR.]

* [Rawlinson *in loco:* "The ancient Persians used parchment for their records as appears from Ctesias (cap. Diod., Sec. II. 32)."—TR.]

as מְקוֹם, Hos. ii. 1, *etc.* וְאֻשּׁוֹהִי מְסוֹבְלִין is hardly to be explained as: "its foundation they may set up" (Keil), or "may be erected (Ges. in his *Thesaurus*). In this sense the additional clause would be superfluous. We would expect an optative instead of a participle. It is made co-ordinate with the previous relative clause by the participle, and not with the principal clause "let the house of God be built." סבל, which only in very detached passages is like the Heb. נשׂא, in the Targum of Deut. xxiv. 15 and in the Samaritan translation of Gen. xiii. 10, means, as in Hebrew, without doubt also in Chald, first and chiefly, to drag, bear a burden. Accordingly we regard as the safest explanation: whose foundations are burden-bearing, that is, capable of carrying, durable for the buildings erected upon them. Cyrus might have been present to state briefly in his own way the very reason why the house of God in Jerusalem was to be built. It is a place wherein they from ancient times offer offerings, thus a place long ago sanctified, and besides the foundations are still present and in a condition capable of bearing a building upon them. The two participles, thus viewed, are used without regard to tense. The Vulgate and the Rabbins likewise let this conception betray itself since they render: *ponant fundamenta supportantia.* Although it is more natural to suppose that this second relative clause should be synonymous with the first, yet there is no change in the text that could be at all proposed (*e. g.*, אִשִּׁין for אֻשִּׁין) that would throw any light. Whilst indeed Esdras had *διὰ πυρὸς ἐνδελεχοῦς*, the Sept. seems, although rendering very freely (*κὰι ἔθηκαν ἔπαρμα*) to have followed our text.

In order that the house might be large and elevated enough, Cyrus at once fixed its height and breadth (comp. Dan. iii. 1 for פְּתָיֵהּ), and indeed both, sixty cubits, double that of the temple of Solomon. Comp. 1 Kings vi. 2. Even if in this passage the cubit of commerce of the exile times were meant, whilst in 1 Kings vi. 2, on the other hand, the ancient Mosaic or holy cubit (2 Chron. iii. 3), which according to Ezek. xl. 5; xliii. 13, was a hand's breadth longer than the former, namely, eighteen and a half Rhenish inches, the difference would still be significant enough. But it is probable that the reference here is to the Mosaic cubit. The measurements for the new temple appear, since they were just double, to have been chosen with reference to those of the old temple, and on their basis. It is probable that Cyrus thought he could not make the matter of the temple his own affair without at least surpassing Solomon to the extent of double. Perhaps this explains why he fixes nothing at all respecting the length. Probably he knew that a greater length than that of the temple of Solomon was not desirable, since otherwise the temple buildings would have taken relatively too much space, and the extent of the courts, which needed much space, be too limited. Since now he could not well go beyond Solomon in this respect, he rather makes no standard at all. The building of Solomon's temple had a length of sixty cubits, twenty for the most holy place, forty for the holy place, and besides a vestibule of ten cubits. This was besides surrounded on the two long sides and in the rear, by wings of five cubits breadth. The length of the temple of Herod was limited to essentially the same measurements. But if they did not wish to exceed these measurements, the sixty cubits breadth could only be applied to measure the *outer* breadth, embracing likewise the wings, unless they would entirely abandon the relations rendered sacred by the tabernacle, and almost throughout retained by the temple of Solomon. The holiest of all had been a cube in both the tabernacle and the temple of Solomon and the holy place again had had double the length of this cube, and this arrangement of the parts seems to have been regarded as the most essential. The *internal* breadth of the second temple could not well amount to more than that of the first temple, or than that which it subsequently had in the temple of Herod, namely, twenty cubits (with Keil and against Merx in Herz.'s *Real-Enc.* XV. S. 513 and Berth.) Thus there remained to the side buildings a considerable space. If we reckon ten cubits for each side, whilst in the temple of Solomon only five cubits had been applied to that purpose, since the breadth in that case would have amounted to twenty cubits in the clear, in all thirty cubits, there still remain twenty cubits for the four walls, which in the temple of Herod likewise took up the same amount of space. Whether accordingly the internal height was likewise limited, whether it at least in the holiest of all was diminished to the measure of the length and breadth, as it were, by the addition of upper chambers, such as had been in the temple of Solomon likewise, these taking up ten cubits in height, we know not. In the temple of Herod there was assigned to the holiest of all, as well as to the holy place, an internal height of sixty cubits, whilst still forty to sixty cubits in height were applied to the upper chambers. And it is possible that Zerubbabel and Jeshua likewise already acted with more freedom with reference to the height, an internal height of only twenty cubits in connection with an external height of sixty cubits, would have been almost too much out of proportion. That they really carried the external height to sixty cubits, seems to follow from Josephus *Arch.* xv. 11, 1.*

Ver. 4 gives still further directions, but it is difficult to understand them.—**Three rows of great stones.**—נִדְבָּךְ is used in the Targ. for the Hebrew טוּר, which is from טור = *circumire*, and means the surrounding wall or walls (Ezek. xlvi. 23), but also the rows (Ex. xxviii. 17, *etc.*; so also indeed 1 Kings vii. 3, 4). Fritzsche on Esdras vi. 25, Keil and Merx (*l. c.*), regard its meaning as row or course, and accordingly understand it to be = the walls, whether of the temple (Fritzsche) or of the inner porch (Keil and Merx)—of the latter it is very appropriately

* When Josephus here lets Herod say that the second temple fell sixty cubits in height below the temple of Solomon, he accords to the second a height of sixty cubits, and to that of Solomon of one hundred and twenty cubits, the latter without doubt on the basis of 2 Chron. iii. 4, where in consequence of an error or copyist's mistake there is given to the hall of the temple of Solomon a height of one hundred and twenty cubits.

said in 1 Kings vi. 36, that Solomon built them: שְׁלֹשָׁה טוּרֵי גָזִית וְטוּר כְּרֻתֹת אֲרָזִים, they should have below three layers of hewn stone and a row of cedar beams. But that the walls of the temple building itself, of which alone we can think according to ver. 3, should be built of four such courses is highly improbable, for such an unfinished massive method of building has no where been found in the Orient. But if the walls of the inner court were meant, these would certainly have been mentioned, or if something had been left out that was originally contained in the edict of Cyrus for explanation (Merx), these words would most suitably have been omitted likewise. Moreover טוּר in the above mentioned passage, 1 Kings vi. 36, very probably has a different meaning. It is very worthy of remark, that טוּר as well here as also immediately afterwards, 1 Kings vii. 2, so also in Ezek. xlvi. 23, occurs with reference to four-sided rooms, which were enclosed round about, just as נִדְבָּכִים is used in our passage. Nothing is more appropriate then than to understand thereby the four side enclosures which enclosed the room; whether walls, as in the inner court, 1 Kings vi. 36; Ezek. xlvi. 23, or side buildings that surrounded a four-cornered room, as 1 Kings vii. 2. The sense of 1 Kings vii. 36 is, then, that Solomon provided the inner court on three sides with walls of quarried stone, on the one other side, without doubt the front side, where the chief entrance was, where then there was probably a larger door, with an enclosure of hewn cedar. Our passage, however, then says that three of the temple walls —for it can only refer to these according to ver. 3—were of hewn stone, the other, namely, the front, which must for the most part be composed of a large entrance, was to be made of wood. In confirmation of this view it is sufficient that in the temple of Herod also, the entrance side of the holy place was still composed of one great folding door, sixteen cubits broad. In the same manner then, moreover, was the inner court enclosed, as we conclude from 1 Kings vi. 36.*—**And a row of new timber.**—Instead of חֲדַת = new after אָע = timber, it is appropriate to read חֲדָה—one, as then the Sept. already renders εἷς, yet this numeral is absent also in 1 Kings vi. 36.—**And let the expenses.**—נִפְקְתָא from נְפַק (in Aphel = to give out) is the expense, and indeed here that which was caused by the building of the temple.—**From the house of the king** is according to ver. 8 sq. = from the royal revenues on this side of the river.

Ver. 5 adds the order for the restoration of the temple vessels, that was so important. The sing. יְהָךְ (respecting the form *vid.* V. 5) is explained after the previous plural from the conception of the different vessels as *one* sum total. תַּחֵת, thus written and pointed, is 2d pers. imperf. Aph. with transitive meaning = cause to be delivered, comp. v. 15. If this meaning is to be retained, we must suppose that the edict of Cyrus was addressed to some individual, perhaps Zerubbabel himself, and that Cyrus now turns immediately to him. Yet the transition to the direct address is here somewhat singular and abrupt, and it seems best to take תַּחֵת as 3d pers. fem. imperf. Kal, which indeed should be pointed תֵּחוֹת or at least תֵּחֻת with the indefinite subject.

Ver. 6. The previous edict of Cyrus is now followed by the order of Darius, so favorable and careful in its provisions for the Jews, that it is as if the latter would not only confirm the former's action out of reverence, but even surpass him. If it should be difficult for the little congregation of Jews to conduct the worship in Jerusalem in accordance with the prescriptions of the law, in that a great expense was especially necessary for the offerings, Darius helped them to bear the burden by his great liberality. He at first in vers. 6, 7 arranged that his governor should not hinder the work.—**Now therefore Tatnai,** *etc.*—For the connection with previous context see notes on ver. 1.—**And your companions, your Apharsachites** = those who are your companions, *etc.* For an explanation of the terms comp. v. 3, 6.—**Be (or keep yourself) far from thence,** *e. g.*, interfere not with the imposition of burdens or hindrances.

Ver. 7. **Let alone.**—שְׁבֻק *c.accus.* = to give way to or permit something.—**The work of this house of God**, namely, that brought in question by you.—**Let the governor——and the elders build.**—וּלְשָׂבֵי is here after פַּחַת clearly a second subject to יִבְנוֹן. לְ is hence used here to introduce a subject which is quite unusual. Comp. perchance Isa. xxxii. 1, and Dan. iv. 33, and indeed without exactly making שָׂבֵי more prominent than פַּחַת.

Ver. 8. Then Darius directs his officers to defray the cost of the building.—**Moreover I make a decree what ye shall do.**—Comp. iv. 19; לְמָא = in reference to that which ye are to do, comp. אֶל־ with צִוָּה, Isa. xxiii. 11; Ps. xci. 11; 2 Kings xx. 1. עִם is used here with עֲבַד in no other way than with עָשָׂה in Heb., comp. Gen. xxiv. 12 sq. It corresponds to some extent with the German "*an*," but expresses still further "in favor of."—**For the building.**—לְמִבְנֵא = in order that they may build. The second half of the verse: **that of the king's goods, even of the tribute,** contains the principal thing that the royal officers were to do, so that ו=and indeed—**With expenses—that they be not hindered.**—אָסְפַּרְנָא as in ver. 8. דִּי־לָא לְבַטָּלָא cannot well mean that there be no stopping, or that it may not come to a stopping of the work (Keil after the Vulgate: *ne impediatur opus*), since no object such as work is mentioned here as in chap. iv. 21 and 23; but it means: which (prescribed action) is not to be brought to an end, or discontinued (Bertheau). Comp. Dan.

* [Ferguson accepts the Sept. δόμος, and understands three stories of stone, with a fourth story of wood-work on the summit. Rawlinson thinks that Cyrus would limit the thickness of the walls to three rows of stone with an inner wooden wainscotting.—Tr.]

vi. 9. This additional clause is to sharpen the previous one.

In vers. 9 and 10 Darius further adds: that his officers shall provide the material of the offerings in order that prayer may be offered for him, and the welfare of his empire in the Jewish manner, in Jerusalem likewise.—**And whatever is necessary**—חַשְׁחָן is fem. pl. (necessary things) from חֲשַׁח for הַשְׁחָן, comp. חַשְׁחִין Dan. iii. 16, and פַּרְסִין Dan. v. 25, according to Winer's *Gr.*, § 84, III. [Riggs' *Gr.*, § 32—Tr.], the vocalization varies.—**Both young bullocks and.**—The following וְ — וְ is properly = as well—as, or also, whether—or. Darius names here various animals and other materials, which may in any way come into consideration, since he leaves the more particular designation of what would be required to the priests at Jerusalem.—**Let it be given them without fail.**—The singular לֶהֱוֵא מִתְיְהֵב (comp. להוא iv. 12) is explained perhaps from the fact that Darius goes back upon מָה and embraces every individual in an indefinite "it." דִּי־לָא שָׁלוּ means: that there be no interruption, namely, in providing what is necessary, or indeed in the worship. In the translation of the LXX. ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσουσι, which overlooks the לָא and in that of the Vulgate *ne sit in aliquo querimonia*, שָׁלוּ seems to have been derived from שְׁאֵל.

Ver. 10. **In order that they may be offering** (continually) **sacrifices of sweet savour for the life of the king and his sons.**—נִיחוֹחִין are (comp. Dan. ii. 46) sacrifices which afford God a רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ (Lev. i. 9, 13, *etc.*), and thereby gain his good will, comp. Jer. xxix. 7; 1 Mac. vii. 37; xii. 11, *etc.;* Josephus, *Arch.* XII. 2, 5; c. *Ap.* II. 5. Darius thereby indicates the same recognition of the Lord to be worshipped in Jerusalem, as Cyrus, without doubt, from the same stand-point. Comp. i. 2.

Vers. 11, 12. Darius here shows as an additional sign, how earnest he was that his will should be carried out, sealing what has been said with a penalty.—**Whosoever shall alter this word.**—The nom. absol. represents a protasis: if any man whatever יְהַשְׁנֵא as in ver. 12; Dan. vi. 9 and 16, change by transgression or also (comp. ver. 12) by doing away with it.—**Let a timber** (beam) **be torn from his house, let him be fastened thereon and crucified.**—זְקַף in itself = raise on high, can just as well mean "empale" or "pierce through," as also, like the Syriac "crucify." Empalement or the piercing through of delinquents on a pointed wooden stake, was the usual punishment among the Assyrians and Persians, comp. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355, and *Nineveh and its remains*, p. 379, with the plate fig. 58.* Of Darius it is said ἀνεσκολόπισε (Herod. III. 159). Yet the fastening on a cross likewise occurred among the Persians, yet so that the head of the one to be crucified was first cut off. *Vid.* the passages of Herodotus in Brisonii *de regni Persarum princip.*, II., c. 215.—**And let his house be made a dunghill for this**, that is, let it be torn down and changed into a common sewer, comp. 2 Kings x. 27, and Hävernick, *Com.* on Dan. II. 5. נְוָלוּ as נְוָלִי Dan. ii. 5.*

Ver. 12. **And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all kings,** *etc.*—יְמַגַּר corresponds with the Heb. מִגַּר, Ps. lxxxix. 45. The expression, who has caused His name to dwell there, is so decidedly Hebrew in style (comp. Deut. xii. 11, 14, 23; Jer. vii. 12; Neh. i. 9), that we must suppose the author does not impart the decree verbally, or that Darius made use of Jewish help in this entire affair. Even the entire conception that God confined His especial presence to a temple building was entirely unlike the Persian conception, so that the entire proceedings toward the Jews with reference to the temple on the part of Darius, and already on the part of Cyrus, must be referred back to an accommodation of views.—**Who stretches forth his hand to change, to destroy.**—לְהַשְׁנָיָא for which we would expect לְהַשְׁנָאָה is explained by לְחַבָּלָה, which indicates what kind of change of the decree is here thought of. The threat itself, as we have it here, is genuine Persian; it reminds us of the conclusion of the inscription of Darius at Behistun, where the punishment of Ahuramazada is desired to descend upon him who ventures to violate the image and inscription, his blessing on the one who holds them in honor (Berth.). [Rawlinson *in loco*. See *Beh. Ins.*, col. IV., part 17.—Tr.]

Ver. 13. This happy turn of affairs is followed by the completion of the work, on which, as a matter of course, all depended. It is characteristic of the book that this fact should also be narrated in the Chaldee. It is as if the continued use of this language should express the accompanying fact of their dependence upon Persia, which still continued. Yet this was not so depressing in its influence as encouraging, for, according to divine providence, even the mighty princes of Persia co-operated on their part and in their way in the worship of Jehovah. The author first lets the Persian officers take part in the recognition of Jehovah: **According to that which Darius the king had sent so they did speedily.**—כְּנֵמָא, according to the word (of the king) comp. iv. 18, in consequence of the fact that Darius had sent, namely, answer and command. לָקֳבֵל דִּי properly, over against the fact that = considering that, as usually כָּל־קֳבֵל־דִּי.

Ver. 14. The author here reminds us of all those to whom the congregation were especially indebted for the new temple. They were encouraged by (בְּ) the prophesying of the prophets; but it was the command of God, and then that of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, that had been the source or origin (מִן) of all that happened.

* [Rawlinson says, that crucifixion was the most common form of punishment among the Persians. *Vid. Com. in loco* and *Ancient Monarchies* IV., p. 208; Herod. III. 159; IV. 53. *Beh. Ins.*, col. II., par. 14, *etc.*—Tr.]

* [Houbigant and Datho prefer the Vulgate rendering: *domus ejus publicetur*, "let his house be confiscated." But the balance of authority is in favor of the translation given above. Rawlinson, *in loco*.—Tr.]

God is mentioned here, and indeed before Cyrus and Darius, since the author goes forth from the fact, that there would have been no command of Cyrus and Darius without God's command. If we had here a simple account of the final completion of the building, it would seem strange that here the author should go back even to Cyrus, still more that the much later Artaxerxes is taken into consideration, who had nothing to do with the building here under consideration. The author, however, instead of giving a simple narrative, would rather express recognition and thanks, and hence could forget none who were deserving of mention. Artaxerxes came into consideration only on account of the gifts which he caused to be brought to Jerusalem by Ezra, vii. 15, 19.

Ver. 15. For a work of such importance the date is properly given. שֵׁיצִיא, for which the *Qeri* gives שֵׁיצִי, is the Shaphel of יְצָא, [so Luzatto, *Gram.*, § 45.—Tr.]; in the Targum שֵׁיצִי has mostly an active sense, yet at times also an intransitive sense, so that it corresponds with our "end;" now transitive and then intransitive. Thus it is hardly necessary to regard שֵׁיצִיא as a Hebraistic passive formation of the Shaphel (Berth. and Keil). By the third day of the month Adar, that is the last month of the year, was the temple finished, since it is probable that they made haste to have time left in this year for a worthy dedication; whilst the Sept. agrees with our text in respect to the third day, Esdras vii. 5 has instead of it the twenty-third day, but probably, only because the author held that the dedication immediately followed the completion, and that it lasted eight days, after the example of the temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 60, and 2 Chron. xxix. 18, and filled up the last eight days of the year. [The sixth year of Darius, according to Rawlinson, was B. C. 516–515.—Tr.]

Vers. 16, 17. The great significance of that which had been attained, and the consciousness of it in the congregation at the time, the author very beautifully shows by what he says respecting the dedication. All observed it (עֲבַד as עָשָׂה, with חֲנֻכָּה, 2 Chron. vii. 9), with joy, and indeed with the offering of a number of sacrifices which, whilst small in comparison with the multitude in Solomon's time (1 Kings viii. 5, 63), thus in accordance with the limited relations of the time, yet might ever be regarded as a glad beginning, showing by the twelve goats for sin-offerings, that they would act in the name of entire Israel, and regain the divine grace for the whole body of the people. Comp. ii. 2; viii. 35. Whether then already remnants of the northern tribes had returned and settled themselves in Juda, or whether there were from former times representatives of these tribes, scattered about in the land, does not come properly into consideration here. The principal thing is, that the new congregation, without doubt in consequence of former prophecies, had no other thought than that those so long separated from them had retained their privilege of being the people of God, and would realize it in some way or other as in olden times. Besides, the offerings prescribed in Num. vii. 11 sq. were here offered in the manner of the law. Comp. 1 Kings viii. 63; 2 Chron. xxix. 20 sq.

Ver. 18. Thus there was again a legal worship, so likewise a legal body of persons to conduct the worship.—**They set up.**—וַהֲקִימוּ as וַיַּעֲמִידוּ, iii. 8, namely, to perform the business of the divine worship.—**The priests in their classes, and the Levites in their divisions** (comp. 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 12; 1 Chron. xxvii. 4), since every class and division had its week. Comp. 2 Kings xi. 9, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 4. That it is expressly added, **as it is written in the book of Moses** (comp. Num. iii. 6; viii. 14), may be in accordance with the legal disposition, which became very soon characteristic of these times, comp. iii. 2; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18; but at the same time this likewise might well come into consideration, that it was so important, that, whilst still so many other things might be dispensed with, yet at least they should again have a worship in accordance with the law.

Vers. 19–22. It is very significant that the author here at the close of this entire section adds an account of the first celebration of the passover after the completion of the temple. This came into consideration certainly not merely as an evidence that in the new temple the divine worship had its regular course with the cycle of feasts (Keil), but before all as a feast, by which the congregation might again show itself so appropriately as the redeemed and favored people of the covenant of the Lord, also again more and more assure itself of the covenant relation, as a conclusion, which at the same time was a beginning assuring a new and glorious continuance and progress. This is quite clear from the confirmation given in ver. 22, by which nothing less than the proper end of the entire previous period of affliction itself is designated as the foundation of this Passover feast. So then the circumstance that the author now returns to the Hebrew language is likewise appropriate—one might say very significant. If the Chaldee language has been used because Chaldee documents had to be placed in order—that is, because the restoration depended first of all on the world power, and that by it the covenant people had been deprived for a while of their covenant jewels, the temple, and divine worship—so now, when the congregation was again constituted as such, and also provided with their temple and their divine worship, and where the narrative might be occupied with this exclusively, there was at least nothing in the way of a return to the Hebrew tongue.

Ver. 20. **For the priests and Levites had purified themselves as one man** (without exception, comp. iii. 9), **they were all clean.**—This has reference not to the cause of the celebration, but its possibility. Priests and Levites had sufficiently prepared themselves, and were now in the condition to fulfil the duties devolved upon them. Defilements, as Lev. xxii. 4 sq. makes them especially prominent with reference to the priests, occurred again and again, and had been certainly more frequent under previous circumstances, where the priests as such had come but little into consideration, but they must now be put aside ere they could fulfil their priestly functions. At any rate, the author means to

point out a noble readiness, yea, a holy zeal, on their part. The subjects of יִשְׁחֲטוּ are, as is clear from the following context, those who were to do the slaughtering, *e.g.* of the Levites. Properly, it is true, every father of a family had himself to slay the Paschal lamb, Ex. xii. 6 sq.; but after the time of Hezekiah, when the Levites had undertaken the slaying for all who had not purified themselves (2 Chron. xxx. 11), it seems to have been more and more the custom for the Levites to do the slaughtering for all (comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 4, 14)—for the priests, because they were so busy elsewhere; and for the rest of the people, because it was so easy for a defilement to happen to them. As in 2 Chron. xxix. 34; xxxv. 15, the priests are designated as their = the Levites' brethren, probably in connection with the increasing importance of the Levites. וְלָהֶם = "and for themselves," as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 14.

Ver. 21. This fair conclusion of the previous times of trial, and this promising beginning of the new congregation was all the grander that the returned did not eat the Passover alone, but also such persons united with them who would separate themselves from the impurities of the people of the land, and seized with a new and holy zeal, would henceforth hold to the Lord.—**And all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land.**—גּוֹיֵ הָאָרֶץ, as עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ, x. 2, 11, are the heathen nations dwelling in Palestine, whilst the heathen in neighboring lands belong to the עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת, ix. 1, 2; iii. 3. Those who separated themselves from these heathen are not proselytes from heathenism (Aben Ezra, Raschi, Clericus. *et al.*), but descendants of the Jews and Israelites who had remained in the land when the rest of the nation had been carried captive, as all the parallel passages show, comp. ix. 1, 10; x. 2, 10, 11; Neh. ix. 2; x. 29. They had without doubt intermarried with the heathen, and the more they had entered into communion with them, the less were they in a position to observe the Mosaic laws respecting food and purification. To separate themselves from the impurities of the heathen meant for them to forsake altogether communion with the heathen, and seek communion with the Jewish congregation. For לִדְרֹשׁ comp. iv. 2.

Ver. 22. If eating the passover (namely, in the narrow sense, not in the broader sense, which means to eat the festival offerings in general, comp. Deut. xvi. 3) as a means of appropriating the covenant grace, closely combines seriousness and joy, so the eating of the unleavened bread ministered exclusively to joy and gave full expression to their joyous and elevated feelings. The concluding clause—**for then had the Lord made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them**—means to say: for after all the hard sufferings of the exile, and after all the severe trials which had come upon them since the time of Cyrus, the Lord had now, by the re-establishment of the temple, exactly seventy years after its destruction, caused a real and great change of affairs to take place. There was now a new foundation for the celebration of redemption, a second redemption, which was hardly less than the previous one out of Egypt, a redemption out of the firm bonds of Assyria. Darius, the king of Persia, is here called king of Assyria, not only "as ruler of the territory of the previous Persian empire (Keil), or because Assyria from ancient time had been the usual name for all that region (Clericus),* which cannot be proved from Judith ii. 1; but above all, likewise, because Darius, as head of the great empire of the world, properly took the same relative position over against the people of God as the Assyrian and Chaldean kings had once had, because it was properly only a continuation or renewal of the same, and because the thought was now to be expressed that finally that very enemy who had once so fearfully and destructively oppressed the people of God had been changed by the grace of God into a friend, so that he had even himself strengthened the hands of the congregation in re-establishing the destroyed temple (as I have already shown in my article, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1858, S. 51).† חִזֵּק יָד with בְּ as 1 Sam. xxiii. 16.

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–5. 1) It was not alone Cyrus who had previously determined and established in documents the restoration of the temple and its worship, even to the details of the limits of its measurements, the kind of material that should be employed, but also before all God the Lord Himself, as the great prophecy of Ezekiel respecting the new temple (Ezek. xl.–xlvii.) shows. Cyrus was only an instrument of the Lord, and had only given expression to His sovereign will. Thus the congregation, however many hindrances might be placed in their way, although the circumstances might appear different to them, yet having the eye of faith, they had no sufficient reason for despondency, but only the more confidently to look upon the wonderful providence of God, which makes even opposing forces to serve His purpose. Is there not then also with respect to the building of the Christian Church or of the kingdom of God such a divine predestination, which has provided beforehand even to details all and everything that is adapted to the honor of the Lord and the salvation of men; and which in spite of temporary gloom and struggles and apparent defeat, must yet more and more prevail, and be carried out more and more decidedly by princes and peoples whether they be Christian or not? The prophecy of Ezekiel and even the edict of Cyrus are evidences to us that there is such a predestination, and that likewise there has been prepared, so to say, a document which can never be lost or destroyed; for they prove that the temple of God can suffer only temporal, properly only

* [Rawlinson *in loco* mentions as a corresponding fact that Herodotus, with similar inexactness, calls Cyrus the king of the Medes (I. 206).—Tr.]

† [This was in accordance with the constant usage of prophecy in representing all the enemies of the kingdom of God by the most prominent enemy of the prophets' time. This enemy having been the Assyrian in the times of the prophets, it was natural that in thinking of the fulfilment of prophecy, the author should use the prophetic term.—Tr.]

apparent losses, that it must grow and increase and gain one victory after another.

2) It is not enough for the Lord to restore His kingdom and glory when sin and judgments have come in between to disturb them; He causes His kingdom to grow, increase, advance. Where there is life, there is also development, appropriation, struggle and victory. Here is the highest and most powerful, here is the divine life. Cyrus must even surpass a Solomon, with respect to the size of the temple, in order to show that the cause and kingdom of God advances victoriously from century to century through the history of mankind, and ever achieves a higher stage towards the highest and most glorious end. It is true He more and more deprives His Church of external power and pomp; it is to become more and more internal and spiritual, and thus to work. But even this change is a great advance. If the walls which the worldly power has drawn around the Church fall, then we need comfort ourselves with the words of the Lord through Zechariah (iv. 6) in these very times of Darius "not by might and not by power (namely, on the side of men), but by my Spirit," and as an open country shall Jerusalem lie on account of crowds of men and cattle in her. I myself will be to her a wall of fire round about and for glory I will be in her (ii. 8).

Vers. 1–12. The worldly authorities have often lower motives or interests in the steps that they take; it is often merely to increase their authority and their power. Thus the Persian officials when they made inquiry in Jerusalem and reported to Darius would merely prove their watchfulness. The emperor Augustus, when he gave the command Luke ii., would merely accomplish a census of Israel. But the consequences that followed their steps were yet, by God's will, the advancement of His kingdom. The Persian governor here must give the occasion thereto in that the ancient decree of Cyrus is again brought to light, and the new and still more favorable one of Darius in addition is carried into effect.

Vers. 6–12. Earthly kingdoms must perish to make room and prepare the way for the kingdom of God. Thus had the Lord spoken in the second year of Darius, accordingly four years before the completion of the temple, through Hagg. ii. 20 sq. I will shake the heavens and the earth, and overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen, and overthrow the chariots and those that ride in them, that the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother—and indeed all this in order to erect the promised kingdom of the Messiah. And the angel of the Lord who stood between the myrtle trees (Zech. i. 11, 12), when his messenger announced to him that the whole earth sitteth still, and is at rest, cried out in intercession: Jehovah Sabaoth, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, against which Thou hast had indignation these seventy years, imploring the shaking and destroying of the heathen kingdoms. But these latter must perish only in so far as they stand entirely in the way of the kingdom of God, and will not let that kingdom come at all. At the bottom the interests of the earthly powers and rulers agree very well with those of the kingdom of God. Darius rightly laid great value upon the execution of his edict with reference to the furtherance and support of the worship in Jerusalem. His wish that they should offer sacrifices of sweet savor to the God of heaven in Jerusalem, and pray for his life and the life of his son, not only might, but indeed must be fulfilled, so sure as the congregation of the true God must be grateful, and indeed sincerely and heartily. Comp. Jer. xxix. 7; 1 Macc. xii. 11; 1 Tim. ii. 2. The congregation could be in his way only if it sought again for earthly power and freedom, if it thus had forgotten its proper nature and its true calling. Let the church then earnestly examine itself when it enters into conflict with the State whether it is not going astray from its proper ways. Woe to it if instead of permeating the State more and more with divine thoughts, it itself gives more and more place for human thoughts and human nature; if it regards flesh for its arm and seeks to appropriate to itself that which belongs to the State. If the salt itself has lost its savor, wherewith shall we season? The responsibility of Rome, which would bow the States not under the kingdom of God, but under its own rule which is still so carnal, is great, the greater that thereby so easily the false view is awakened, as if State and Church could not avoid in any way being in conflict with one another.—Already through Cyrus and Darius there was a fulfillment of those great and noble words of Isai. xlix. 23: "Kings shall be thy foster-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their faces toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet." But already now it is manifest that the true fulfillment involves neither on the part of kings a determining influence on the mode of worship, nor on the side of the congregation an external sovereignty over kings.

Vers. 13–15. Much was required, and very many different things must come together from different sides, in order that the building of the house of God might be undertaken, and could be actually finished. Above all it was necessary that it should be in accordance with the will of God the Lord Himself, and then that the rulers of the world should likewise be willing thereunto. The congregation had brought about this dependence on the world by their own sins, and they were now obliged to be satisfied with it. So also it was necessary that the congregation itself should be aroused to true readiness, and be strengthened when wearied by the hindrances that placed themselves in their way. It was therefore necessary that suitable prophetic organs should be found, who might work upon the congregation through the divine word and in the power of the divine Spirit. But much more than this was still, if not exactly necessary, yet highly important, so, for example, that the nearest authorities in Palestine should be distinguished by righteousness or impartiality. And so it finally came to pass, and at last all things worked well together in correspondence with the divine purpose of redemp-

tion. We say "finally" and "at last;" but it was now for the first the exactly right time. The temple was ready just seventy years after its destruction, so that the prophecy of the seventy years was now fulfilled exactly thereby. Would that the congregation, the Church, might have like patience with respect to the accomplishment of greater work, the revival of faith in the unbelieving community, or the Christianizing of the heathen world. Would that they might never be over-hasty or attempt to use violence in accomplishing that which can come to pass only when it has been sufficiently prepared, and so to say, is ripe; when likewise it has a real value. Would that they might never regard the time that elapses too long, but rather think that the building of the house of God is the highest and most glorious, and on this very account the most difficult work on earth, which can only be the final result of all other works, arrangements and developments.

Vers. 16–18. 1) The congregation dedicated the house of God with joy. They might have held a fast day instead of a feast of joy. Even now when the work, after many years of effort, stood before them finished, lofty and broad enough, it is true, but far from reaching the magnificence of the old temple, and besides accomplished only through the permission, and indeed the assistance of a foreign heathen king, they might have had a specially vivid realization of the entire wretchedness of their situation according to external appearance. How easily there comes over us men, at the very time when we reach the aim of long-cherished hopes and strivings, dissatisfaction, ill-humor, dejection, instead of joy, because it does not correspond with our ideas! But it is a matter of humility and faith, under all circumstances, to recognize with internal thankfulness that that which has been gained is much more than we could in any way expect, that it is super-abundant grace and mercy; a child-like heart with reference to what is still denied us waits patiently on the Lord, and says to itself that it is perhaps unable to judge correctly respecting what at present does not at all please it. With humble, believing, childlike hearts shall we be able again and again to ascend from the vale of tears to the bright peaks of joy, shall again and again be able to celebrate feasts of dedication and really enjoy the times of refreshment and grace which the Lord gives as the very thing that should be. It is notable and edifying for us to see that those poets of the Psalter, who probably belong to this period, had sufficient joy of faith to comfort and encourage above all their people, the poets of Ps. cxxxv. and cxxxvi., in that they called upon them to praise the Lord on account of His revelation of Himself in nature, but especially for his revelation in history; the poet of Ps. cxlvi., in that he strikes up,

"Bless the Lord, O my soul,"

which is sweetly re-echoed in our

"*Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele, ich will ihn loben bis in den Tod.*"

Without doubt the congregation then sung Ps. cxviii. with the inmost accord of the heart, although it was really composed somewhat earlier, and especially did they appropriate with greatly agitated hearts the shout of triumph: "The right hand of the Lord is exalted, the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly—open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go in, and I will praise the Lord—the stone which the builders refused is become the head of the corner." The poet of Ps. cxxxvii., whose heart swells with patriotism and religion, at the same time with freshness and power, yea, almost with passion, cannot but recall, with the most bitter experience, the abode in exile: "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down; yea we wept," and wish Babylon a just recompense, thus regarding his present situation as so much better. But already the Lord likewise came to the help of their faith, as is clear from this very Psalm, in that even now, when He turned the heart of the king of Assyria towards Israel, and thus brought the period of exile to an end, He delivered over the ancient enemy Babylon to the destroying judgment. Already the same Darius, to whom the restoration is very properly ascribed, had so severely chastised Babylon, that the poet of Ps. cxxxvii. can designate it in ver. 8 as overthrown or laid waste.

2) It was still the highest thing for the congregation of the old covenant to dedicate a temple, in which the Lord would dwell in their midst, yet separated from them, and indeed in the midst of a priesthood, which must still stand to mediate between them and the Lord. To us, the New Testament congregation, much more is granted. On the peaks that we Christians may ascend in humility and faith, we should dedicate temples to the Lord, since He will dwell among us, moreover also internally within us, namely, in our hearts, we should accordingly rejoice in an entirely immediate communion with Him, and all the peace and blessing that are involved therein, and exercise ourselves in a holy priesthood, that is, offer sacrifices of praise through our Lord Jesus Christ, to show forth, *etc.* 1 Peter ii. 9.

3) Vers. 19–22. The Feast of Passover and unleavened bread constituted the conclusion of the old and the beginning of the new period. Through the offering of the Paschal Lamb and the partaking of the Passover meal connected therewith, the congregation of the old Covenant appropriated to itself the forgiveness of God as the God of the covenant, which forgiveness they ever needed, and the preservation conditioned thereon. But through the feast of unleavened bread they vowed, in that the strict abstinence from all leaven was connected therewith, to walk not in the old leaven of wickedness and wantonness, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Well for us that we also, where we are truly conscious of our redemption, can celebrate ever anew the feast of passover and unleavened bread, since we also have a paschal lamb, yea, that we can do this in a different way from the Old Testament congregation, since our paschal offering and the sacred meal connected therewith, imparts in a much more powerful manner forgiveness and preservation, since we thus have far more cogent motives to rise into the new and pure life of sincerity and truth.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers 1–12. That which threatens to become a hindrance must serve for our advantage. 1) When,—if in our undertakings, looking at the final aim, it is to be done for the cause and glory of God. 2) Why,—because the advancement of the cause of God, long in advance and to the minutest detail has been once for all provided for and ordained. 3) How,—the example of predecessors, who have previously taken part in this work, comes into mind and gives their successors a favorable disposition towards the work.—STARKE: It is easy to conceive, moreover, how it must have grieved the Samaritans that they were not only obliged to let the temple be entirely brought to completion, but that also their tribute should be applied to the promotion of the building, and the observation of the divine service with sacrifices. — How important and thankworthy the favorable conduct of even heathen princes has been toward the people of God. 1) That of Cyrus—*a*, He gave to the congregation again their liberty to worship the Lord, and ordered the restoration of the temple; *b*, he thereby gave an example, which determined the conduct of his successors.—STARKE: Great lords should be diligent in the practice of virtue, in order that their successors after their death may have a good example, and that they thereby may gain an everlasting name. Eccl. vii. 1; Prov. xxii. 1. The richest persons should be the first to open their liberal hands when something is to be given for the building of churches and the support of the ministry.—God has the heart of kings also in His hand and can incline them so that they are obliged to have good-will to His children, Dan. ii. 48. 2) The favorable conduct of Darius: *a*) he lets himself be guided by a noble example, yea seeks to surpass it; *b*) he desires the prayers of the congregation; *c*) he used his power in a good and proper manner to help the pious and threaten the wicked.—STARKE: Respecting the duty of subjects to pray for their rulers, even if they are heathen, see 1 Tim. ii. 2; comp. Jer. xxix. 7; 1 Macc. xii. 11. Magistrates should act in their government so as to comfort themselves with the general prayers of their subjects. Regents should make arrangements that prayers should be made to God for their welfare and successful government; for the devil lays many snares for them, but a devout prayer will help them much. The sword, intrusted by God to magistrates, must afford protection to the pious, Rom. xiii. 4.

Vers. 13–15. The building of the temple or kingdom of God is the final result of all the divine guidance: 1) It needs the willingness of the congregation, and on this account also the activity of prophets and preachers; 2) it needs, moreover, kings and their representatives, and on this account also a direction of history, by which God works on their hearts; 3) it needs above all the good and gracious will of God.—STARKE: The Lord has a kingdom and He rules among the heathen, Ps. xxii. 29. He brings the counsel of the heathen to nought, and turns the thoughts of the nations, He disposes their hearts. Ps. xxxiii. 10, 15.

Vers. 16–18. The true joy of dedication. 1) Upon what it is founded: STARKE: My Christian friend, has the spiritual building of the house of God been established in thy soul, then forget not to praise and give thanks. 2) How it is established,—by our taking to ourselves, with humility and gratitude, what the Lord grants, as truly good and salutary, and putting our trust in Him with respect to all that is still lacking. 3) How it expresses itself by true sacrifices, thus by setting to work in the universal priesthood.—STARKE: Our redemption from the kingdom of the devil and the deliverance of the church is the work of God alone; for His hand helps powerfully, Ps. xx. 7. And then for the first will our mouth be full of laughter, and our tongue full with singing, Ps. cxxvi. 2.

Vers. 19–22. The life of him who has consecrated his heart to be a temple of the Lord is a continual passover feast, for he feels himself compelled, 1) ever to take anew grace for grace, fleeing from the death of the curse; 2) ever anew to let himself be sanctified unto sincerity and truth, so that he rises from the death of sin; 3) to rejoice with the holy passover joy of redemption, which God has accomplished in Jesus Christ, and which He will likewise fulfil in Him at last. —[HENRY: Let not the greatest princes despise the prayers of the meanest saints; 'tis *desirable* to have them *for us*, and *dreadful* to have them *against us*.—Whatever we dedicate to God, let it be done with joy, that He will please to accept of it.—The purity of ministers adds much to the beauty of their ministrations, so doth their unity.—TR.]

# PART SECOND.

**The Congregation as the People of the Lord. Negative Strengthening of their Life in the Law (Ezra's Activity).**

CHAPS. VII.–X.

## FIRST SECTION.

**Ezra's Emigration to Jerusalem.**

CHAPS. VII.–VIII.

### A.—EZRA'S JOURNEY AND PURPOSE, AND ARTAXERXES' LETTER OF COMMISSION.

CHAP. VII. 1–27.

I. *Ezra's Journey and Purpose.* Vers. 1–10.

1 Now after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, Ezra the son
2 of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, The son of Shallum, the son of
3 Zadok, the son of Ahitub, The son of Amariah, the son of Azariah, the son of Ma-
4, 5 rioth, The son of Zerahiah, the son of Uzzi, the son of Bukki, The son of Abishua,
6 the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest: This
Ezra went up from Babylon; and he *was* a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which
the LORD God of Israel had given: and the king granted him all his request, accord-
7 ing to the hand of the LORD his God upon him. And there went up *some* of the
children of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, and the por-
ters, and the Nethinim, unto Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king.
8 And he came to Jerusalem in the fifth month, which *was* in the seventh year of the
9 king. For upon the first *day* of the first month began he to go up from Babylon,
and on the first *day* of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem, according to the good
10 hand of his God upon him. For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of
the LORD, and to do *it*, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.

II. *Artaxerxes' Letter of Commission.*

11 Now this *is* the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the
priest, the scribe, *even* a scribe of the words of the commandments of the LORD, and
12 of his statutes to Israel. Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe
13 of the law of the God of heaven, perfect *peace*, and at such a time. I make a de-
cree, that all they of the people of Israel, and *of* his priests and Levites, in my realm,
14 which are minded of their own freewill to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee. For-
asmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to inquire concern-
ing Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which *is* in thine hand;
15 And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely
16 offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation *is* in Jerusalem, And all the silver
and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the freewill
offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their
17 God which *is* in Jerusalem: That thou mayest buy speedily with this money bul-
locks, rams, lambs, with their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings, and offer them
18 upon the altar of the house of your God which *is* in Jerusalem. And whatsoever
shall seem good to thee, and to thy brethren, to do with the rest of the silver and

19 the gold, that do after the will of your God. The vessels also that are given thee
for the service of the house of thy God, *those* deliver thou before the God of Jerusa-
20 lem. And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou
shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow *it* out of the king's treasure-house. And I,
*even* I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which *are*
beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God
22 of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily, Unto a hundred talents of silver,
and to a hundred measures of wheat, and to a hundred baths of wine, and to a hun-
23 dred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing *how much*. Whatsoever is com-
manded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of
heaven: for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?
24 Also we certify you, that, touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters,
Nethinim, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toil,
25 tribute, or custom, upon them. And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that
*is* in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that
*are* beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that
26 know *them* not. And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the
king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether *it be* unto death, or to
banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

III. *Ezra's Thanksgiving.*

27 Blessed *be* the LORD God of our fathers, which hath put *such a thing* as this in
the king's heart, to beautify the house of the LORD which *is* in Jerusalem: And
hath extended mercy unto me before the king, and his counsellors, and before all
the king's mighty princes. And I was strengthened as the hand of my LORD my
God *was* upon me, and I gathered together out of Israel chief men to go up with me.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Our author has no scruples in simply leaping over a period of fully fifty-seven years, in the use of the loose connecting formula: **And after these things** (comp. Gen. xv. 1; xxii. 1, *etc.*). Such gaps the ancient sacred history has again and again; it is silent respecting the time between Joseph and Moses, respecting the time passed by the generation rejected of God in the wilderness, respecting the time of the exile. There was lacking in these times useful material calculated for the edification of the congregation, so much the more then must this have failed in the time subsequent to the building of the temple, when the congregation of Jehovah had been excused from the task of giving their life a civil organization, and accordingly was referred to a quiet life, in which there could be no longer expected, as in former times, new and important manifestations of God. Nevertheless the new beginning of the congregation after the exile, which the book of Ezra would describe, had not been entirely completed by that which had already transpired. It is true the temple and its worship had been re-established by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, but the law was only thereby secured at the basis, an objective validity. With the new and holy zeal that inspired all, at the beginning, it was their earnest endeavor, as we can hardly doubt, to carry the law out likewise subjectively in the domestic and personal life, with more and more completeness and thoroughness. But the vicinity of the heathen, their dependence upon their superior authorities, the manifold intercourse with many of them, which could hardly be avoided, made the temptation easy to be brought into closer association with them, even to intermarry with them, and thereby there was necessarily involved a neglect of the law, especially in its prescription as to food and purity. Besides, the descendants of Zerubbabel, if we may refer Neh. v. 15 to them, were not calculated to offer the congregation a higher support, they rather, in all probability, soon enough entirely withdrew. Thus notwithstanding the temple and its worship, that which was properly the principal thing, the life of the congregation in accordance with the law, yea the congregation itself as such, was soon again brought into question. The thorough subordination to the divine law, on the part of all, was now all the more necessary that it alone could hold the individuals together. What previously had been accomplished by the kingdom in Israel, must now be done by the law. It was necessary that the law, as never before, should be exalted on the throne. And only when a real strengthening of the life in the law had taken place could there be said to be such a new establishment of the congregation as really promised to be the beginning of a new and permanent existence. This re-establishment was now for the first the work of Ezra, and is rightly ascribed to him by a thankful posterity which honored him as a second Moses. Certainly if we look upon the letter of commission which Artaxerxes gave him to take along with him upon his first appearance in chap. viii. it seems as if for him likewise the worship of the temple and its furtherance stood in the foreground. And surely he took great pains in this direction likewise. But both of these, the elevation of the temple worship, that perhaps again

threatened to fall into decay, and the strengthening of the congregation in the life in the law, were too closely connected together, that Ezra should have thought the one possible without the other. And his real design was from the beginning very well given in chap. vii. 10: to teach in Israel statutes and judgments; and the letter of commission of Artaxerxes authorized him, in a manner worthy of attention (vii. 25), to set up magistrates and judges, who should provide for the enforcement of the law. In our book he accomplishes the re-establishment at least in a negative way, by the separation of heathen women, in general by the doing away with intermarriage with the heathen; in Neh. (viii.—x.) likewise in a positive way, that is, by renewing the covenant with God on the basis of those prescriptions of the law that were then most important.

Vers. 1–10. **Artachshasta**, which is here written אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתָּא, as in ver. 11, and viii. 1; Neh. ii. 1; v. 14; xiii. 6, is surely the same, who in vi. 14 is called אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא (so also chap. iv. 8, 11, 23), and in iv. 7 אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, namely, Artaxerxes Longimanus. In Neh. xiii. 6, where the same person is certainly meant, since there is no doubt that Ezra and Nehemiah were cotemporaries according to Neh. xii. 36, the reference is to the thirty-second year of his reign. This does not properly refer to Xerxes, whom Josephus (*Arch.* XI. 5, 1) and recently even Fritzsche (comp. Esdras viii. 1), would understand, because it is most natural to think of him after the Darius of the previous chapter, but only to Artaxerxes Longimanus, to whom indeed the name itself refers with sufficient clearness. Ezra sprang, according to the accompanying genealogy from the family of the high-priest through Seraiah. For all the names from Seraiah up to Aaron are of the line of the high-priest (comp. 1 Chron. v. 30–40); only in ver. 3 six members of the line are passed over between Azariah and Meraioth (according to 1 Chron. vi. 7–10), without doubt only for the sake of brevity, as is frequently the case in the longer genealogies. Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, was the high-priest whom Nebuchadnezzar had commanded to be slain at Riblah (2 Kings xxv. 18–21), was thus the father of the high-priest Jehozadak, who was carried into exile (1 Chronicles vi. 14 sq.). It is very notable, however, that Ezra did not spring from Jehozadak in whose line the high-priesthood was inherited, but from a younger son; for else the intervening member between him and Seraiah would not have been left unmentioned. Ezra was probably the great great-grandson of Seraiah; for the high-priest Jeshua who had gone to Jerusalem seventy-eight years before with Zerubbabel, was a grandson of Seraiah. One hundred and thirty years had already passed since the execution of the latter in the year 588.

Ver. 6. **This Ezra went up from Babylon.**—This renews the subject and gives the predicate of ver. 1.—**A ready scribe.**—Since Ezra is designated already at the beginning as a skillful or learned scholar, that talent is ascribed to him, upon which under the present circumstances, the fostering of the life of the congregation most depended. סוֹפֵר, in the ancient writings, writer or secretary, has already obtained the meaning of γραμματεύς in Jer. viii. 8, where it is parallel and synonymous with חֲכָמִים. If it became the official name of the chancellor in the sense of scribe, it has in the sense of scholar, as is clear especially from ver. 11, already almost the character of a title of honor for the man of learning. The additional clause: **the king granted him——all his request**, indicates that his journey was no private undertaking, that he rather was provided with a certain authority, and journeyed as an official personage. Yet we must not think of him as governor of Judah; he is nowhere given this title. He had simply the authority to teach as a teacher his knowledge of the law, and at the same time as a superior judge—according to ver. 25, likewise by the setting up of suitably subordinate judges—to vindicate the law.—בַּקָּשָׁה, the request, the petition, except here, is only found in the book of Esther, chap. v. 3, 6. The question how this favoring of Ezra is related to the writing of Artaxerxes given in chap. iv., is best answered by the fact that Ezra's journey occurred somewhat later, that Artaxerxes, since he had been moved to that writing by his officials, had paid more attention to the Jews, and that he furthered Ezra's journey in order to strengthen the Jewish congregation; perhaps also in order to show thereby that he actually was ready to be as just as possible, notwithstanding the prohibition issued respecting the walls of the city. It is shown then by this approval that he would perhaps recall at a suitable time even that prohibition which indeed had been issued at first only provisionally.—**According to the hand of the Lord his God upon him.**—This language which occurs elsewhere only in vers. 9, 28; viii. 18; Neh. ii. 8, 18, and whose foundation is contained in viii. 22, 31, means so much as this, namely: "according to the goodness, providence and grace which ruled over him," namely Ezra, as then this hand of God sometimes is expressly designated as הַטּוֹבָה (ver. 9 and viii. 18) or לְטוֹבָה (viii. 22).

Vers. 7, 8, mentions in addition that Ezra at the same time led to Jerusalem a new increase of the population.—**And there went up some.**—This, in the view of the historian, so involves "with him" that he continues in ver. 8 without any further ceremony with **he came to Jerusalem.** Comp. vers. 13 and 28 and viii. 1. מִן is used partitively in the sense "some of" as chap. ii. 70, *etc.* The Levites in distinction from the priests on the one side, and from the Levites in the broader sense, from the singers and porters on the other side, are those who performed the proper service of the Levites.

Ver. 9. **For upon the first day of the first month he had fixed the departure from Babylon, and on the first of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem.**—This would state the duration of the journey. Instead of יְסֻד we are probably to read יָסַד, and indeed in the sense of *constituo, præcipio*, in which it occurs, especially in Esther i. 8. Probably the

punctators had scruples about admitting this unusual sense, especially as they supposed that they could better give the force of הוּא by understanding it as: on the first of the first month *ipsum erat fundamentum profectionis*, as R. Solomon and J. H. Mich. translate; הוּא would thus serve to emphasize the "*fundamentum*" or the beginning in distinction from the completion. But we should expect יְסוֹד instead of יְסֻד, moreover the following בָּא would not connect itself therewith. Besides, on the first of the first month they began to betake themselves to the common place of assembly, whence then the entire company entered upon the proper journey to Palestine on the 12th of the month. Comp. chap. viii. 31.*

Ver. 10. **For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.**—This is not to explain the last subordinate clause of ver. 9: according to the good hand of God upon him; but the entire undertaking of the journey. דָּרַשׁ is here in connection with אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָֹה in the same sense as usual in connection with אֶת־יְהוָֹה, "adhere to the law as to a Lord and Benefactor." This "adhere to the law" comes into consideration with respect to the following "doctrines" as a necessary foundation, without which the instruction can never be carried on with success. Ezra's design was to bring again to the consciousness of the Jewish congregation, the law which they had in part neglected and consequently likewise forgotten, to direct their life according to it and strengthen their relations thereto.

Ver. 11. Now follows the documentary basis for the summary representation in the foregoing, and indeed first of all the letter of commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes.—**And these are the contents of the letter.**—For פַּרְשֶׁגֶן, comp. iv. 11, and for נִשְׁתְּוָן, iv. 7. Ezra is called here and in vers. 12 and 21: Neh. viii. 9; xii. 26, first the **priest**, and then afterwards the **scribe**; in x. 10, 16; and Neh. viii. 2 even, only the priest; hence he is then in Esdras likewise constantly designated merely as ὁ ἱερεύς.—**The scribe of the words of the commandments of the Lord and of His statutes to Israel** means: "the scribe who especially occupied himself with the words of the law, and who thus before all was learned with reference to it."

Ver. 12. **Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra—perfect** (peace).—This is the introductory formula. גְּמִיר cannot be an adjective of סְפַר דָּתָא; it would then thus placed alone by itself have to be in the *stat. emph.* גְּמִירָא. Yet it cannot before the following וּכְעֶנֶת mean that all that usually belonged to the introductory formula had been completely expressed in the original document (Berth.); in this way it would seem too peculiar. There is as little in favor of the view of Keil that it is an adverb in the sense of "very" belonging to an adjective to be supplied to סָפַר, as if the sense were: *doctori doctissimo;* the adjective could hardly have failed in such a case. According to ver. 7 we should expect that the letter, conformable to its contents of good will, would have contained in its introductory formula a greeting or wish of peace; so there is to be supplied in thought after גְּמִיר a verb as "he wishes," and the sense is: Artaxerxes wishes, in a complete manner, or abundantly—namely, peace [so Esdras, χαίρειν, followed by A. V. *perfect* (*peace*).—Tr.]

Vers. 13–19 gives the first part of the royal mandate: Let every one of Israel who will, go up with Ezra. Ezra, however, is to encourage further the worship in Jerusalem with the money that was given him for the purpose.

Ver. 13. **I make a decree,** *etc.* Comp. vi. 8. לִמְהָךְ depends upon כָּל־מִתְנַדַּב = that every one who is freely minded to go. יְהָךְ depends upon דִּי—**may go with thee.**—For the infin. מְהָךְ and the future יְהָךְ, comp. v. 5.

Ver. 14 would say: because the commission of the king and his seven counsellors is designed to encourage and strengthen the worship of Jehovah, and accordingly also the condition of His congregation. For the **seven counsellors** who constituted the supreme tribunal of the Persian kings, *vid.* Esther i. 14.* יָעֲטֹהִי, for which we might expect יָעֲטֹהִי because יָעֲטִין corresponds with the Heb. יוֹעֲצִים, and is used as חַשְׁחָן in vi. 9. Naturally "thou" cannot be at once supplied to שְׁלִיחַ; rather the expression is a general one: the sending is made.—**To inquire concerning Judah according to the law of thy God, which is in thine hand.**—That the second person is prominent here, cannot be strange because, indeed, the whole matter is a communication to Ezra. בַּקָּרָה עַל "to hold investigation over," thus, "revise something," is then at the same time the same as "to put in order."† בְּדָת, which *st. constr.* in Norzi's edition is pointed דָּת, properly: with the law; means: according to the norm of the law. דִּי בִידָךְ "which is in thy hand," means, "which thou possesseth," is not however to be under-

* [Rawlinson: "The direct distance of Babylon from Jerusalem is no more than about five hundred and twenty miles; and it may therefore seem surprising that the journey should have occupied four months. But no doubt the route followed was that circuitous one by Carchemish and the Orontes valley, which was ordinarily taken by armies or large bodies of men, and which increased the distance to about nine hundred miles. Still the time occupied is long, and must be accounted for by the dangers alluded to, chap. viii. 22, 31, which may have necessitated delays and *detours* to avoid conflicts."—Tr.]

* ["Herodotus relates that there were seven families pre-eminent in Persia, those of the seven conspirators against the Pseudo-Smerdis (III. 84); and it is reasonable to suppose that the heads of these families formed the special council of the king, the 'Achæmenidæ,' or royal family, being represented by the head of the branch next in succession to that of the reigning monarch." Rawlinson *in loco.* See also. *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV., pp. 403 and 404.—Tr.]

† ["Probably the commission was general to inquire into the state of the province. According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VIII. 6, § 16) it was a part of the Persian system for the king to send an officer once a year into each province to inspect it and report upon it." Rawlinson *in loco.*—Tr.]

stood as if Ezra had a particular copy of the law, which Artaxerxes hereby would have explained as the ancient and true law of God; after that he had obtained the consent of the more distinguished of the Jews; but it is, as it were, "which thou knowest, understandest, and hast in hand." [Rawlinson, *in loco*, "righteously and justly according to the principle of thy religion."—Tr.]

Ver. 15. **And to carry the silver and gold,** *etc.* For a fuller statement of this, *vid.* viii. 25.

Ver. 16. **All the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the free-will offering of the people and of the priests,** *etc.* The king here presupposes that in addition to himself and his counsellors there would likewise be found others, not Israelites, in the province of Babylon, who would be willing to contribute silver and gold for the support of the Jewish people; and indicates that he has given Ezra permission to take up a collection among them; for what is collected in the province of Babylon in general, is distinguished with sufficient clearness from the gifts of the people and priests, that is to say, the Jews, as is evident from the subsequent clauses. הִתְנַדָּבוּת an abstract formation from infin. Ithpaal, is that which is voluntarily given. מִתְנַדְּבִין, if it were in simple apposition to people and priests, or represented a relative clause, as Berth. supposes, would necessarily have the article; it is rather loosely connected in the sense of: "if they, so far as they voluntarily contribute."

Vers. 17–19. **Even on this account,** properly in view of these things, namely, because this sending is ordained by me to encourage the Jewish congregation and their worship.—**Thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks—with their meat and drink offerings**—that is, the meat and drink offerings belonging to the sacrifices according to Num. xv. 1 sq.—**And offer them on the altar.**—The Pael. תְּקָרֵב is used instead of Aphel in vi. 10, 17.

Ver. 18. **And whatsoever shall seem good to thee.**—The thorough organization of the Jewish congregational life might readily render necessary some additional expense, *e. g.* for the decoration of the temple; and Artaxerxes presupposes that the authorities in Jerusalem will be able also to make such arrangements that they may have something left of the gifts for such purposes—**and thy brethren** = the elders in Jerusalem, who also appear in v. and vi. to decide such questions.—**That do after the will of your God**—namely, as it is declared in the law.

Ver. 19. **And the vessels, for the service of the house of thy God deliver completely.**—These vessels are numbered in viii. 25, 27. The noun פָּלְחָן, which is only found here—but comp. פָּלְחֵי in ver. 24—is identical with פּוּלְחָן = "service" of the Syriac and Targums, and corresponds with the Hebrew עֲבוֹדָה. The meaning of הַשְׁלֵם "render completely" is usual in the Aphel in the Syriac, and is connected with the meaning of the Hebrew Piel שִׁלֵּם "pay."—**Before the God of Jerusalem is** essentially the same as "before the God whose dwelling is in Jerusalem." Comp. i. 3: He is the God, who is in Jerusalem.

Vers. 20–24. The second part of the decree orders that the royal treasury of the land beyond the river is to supply whatever else may prove to be necessary.

Ver. 20. **And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which shall occur to thee, as to be given,** that is to say, whatever need may arise when the other means have been exhausted—**shalt thou give out of the house of the treasury of the king**—that is, out of the royal treasury.*

Ver. 21 now gives at once the supplementary order for the treasurer in question; as a command to which Ezra might appeal. This must also be given here.—**By me, Artaxerxes, myself, is decreed.**—The pronoun אִיהָ serves to emphasize the suffix of כִּנִּי (comp. Dan. vii. 15), and so also the following noun. The order: **all that Ezra shall require of you,** turns itself directly to the treasurer, because it is thus so much the more clear and impressive.

Ver. 22. **Unto an hundred talents,** states the *limit* to which the giving may extend. The עַד־ (up to one hundred talents) is connected with the phrase: **it shall be done** of ver. 21, so far as this involves: it shall be rendered or given. The כַּכַּר, the talent, weighed three thousand sacred shekels (comp. Ex. xxxviii. 25, 27), the holy shekel was about two marks, the Persian (comp. Xenoph. *Anab.* I. 5, 6) one and a quarter marks. The כֹּר, which occurs already in 1 Ki. v. 2; Ezek. xlv. 14, instead of the Chomer = ten ephahs or baths, thus almost two bushels.—**Salt, which is not prescribed**—which is not stated, not limited to a definite amount. [For the need of these things in the Jewish system of sacrifice, *vid.* vi. 9. "As the Persian tribute was paid partly in money and partly in kind (see note on iv. 13), the treasuries would be able to supply them as readily as they could furnish money." Rawlinson *in loco.*—Tr.]

Ver. 23 gives a still more comprehensive injunction—**all that is in accordance with the command of the God of heaven**—what is demanded according to the divine law—**let it be completely done.**—The ἀπ. λεγ. אַדְרַזְדָּא is regarded by Hitzig and Berth. as compounded of אֲדַר and אַזְדָּא (Hitz. *Comm. on Daniel* II. 5; Bertheau on II. 3) especially because אֲדַר in אֲדַרְגָּזְרַיָּא Dan. iii. 2 can be clearly recognized as an intensive prefix ("very"). Haug, on the other hand, in Ewald's *Bib. Jahrb.* V., S. 152 sq., derives it from the Persian *dorest*, the Zend. root *doreç* = "grow, prosper, become firm," as formed by א *prosth.* in the meaning of "completely, punctually in every thing."—**For why**—דִּי־לְמָה = for wherefore = "in order that not." Comp. iv. 22.

* ["The Persian system of taxing the provinces through the satraps involved the establishment in each province of at least one local treasury. Such treasuries are mentioned occasionally in Greek history (see Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* I. 17; III. 18, 19, *etc.*)." Rawlinson *in loco.*—Tr.]

Ver. 24 gives an additional clause, which is for the consideration of the treasurer likewise.—**And to you it is made known,** *etc.*, מְהוֹדְעִין has an indef. subject, or the active is for the passive; to you is it made known. Those addressed are still the same, as from ver. 21 on, thus the treasurers.—**That all priests,** *etc.*, that is, concerning all priests.—**Ministers of the house of God.**—The פָּלְחֵי בֵּית אֱלָהָא are alongside of the priests not all worshippers of the true God in general, but official persons, perhaps the lowest class [Rawlinson] as we may infer from their position after the Nethinim, or those who are not included in the foregoing classes. Bertheau compares the servants of Solomon, who occur in II. 55, 58, after the Nethinim. For מִנְדָּה, *etc.*, comp. iv. 13. לָא שַׁלִּיט properly = one not having authority, with the infin., and ל = one who has not power, or: it is not allowed, as frequently in Syriac. לְמִרְמֵא from רְמָא in the Targums for שִׂים. Such a liberation of priests and Levites from taxes, occurred also under Artaxerxes the great. Comp. Joseph. *Arch.*, XV. 3, 3.*

Vers. 25, 26. The third part of the decree authorizes Ezra to set up judges experienced in the law for the entire Jewish people, and impose punishments for infractions of the law; this contains that very matter in which he is to afford the very help to the congregation upon which all now depended, a matter in which Artaxerxes in his good-will made an important step in advance beyond Cyrus and Darius. Since the civil and social life of Israel was so closely connected with their religion by the law, they could not well prosper under judges who had neither appreciation nor understanding of their religion. It might appear strange to us that nothing more is expressly said of the setting up of Jewish judges. But our book, which limits itself to the negative side of confirmation in the law, to the separation of the heathen women, was not the proper place for this. In the book of Nehemiah, which adds the positive side, since the congregation obligate themselves in chap. x. to keep all the important parts of the law, this is implicitly involved.

Ver. 25. **And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God,** *etc.*—דִּי בִידָךְ as in verse 24, *etc.*, "which thou possessest." מֶנִּי is imper. Pa. "appoint," "set up," for מַנִּי, the less hard *e* sound is more easily uttered, and occurs as a matter of course when it is followed by a second syllable *ma* or *man.*—**Magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river.**—The imperf. לֶהֱוֹן, with the part expresses continued action. The people to be judged are as a matter of course the Jewish people. Among them are not only those who know the law of God, but also others who yet for the first time must be instructed in it. We are not to think of the latter as proselytes, nevertheless it refers not only to the Jews of Palestine, but also to those dwelling widely scattered in the land to the West of the Euphrates. They are all to be subject to the judges set up by Ezra; the judges however are, according to the context, to watch over the observation of the Mosaic law, and maintain its authority. This is the foundation for the Jewish tradition of the institution of the great synagogue by Ezra.

Ver. 26. The object of this institution was that judgment might be diligently held over any one who did not keep the law of God and the king.—**The law of the king** can here be joined on to that of God, because so far as it required obedience to the law of God in the foregoing decree, it was transgressed by disobedience. Perhaps it had already been shown, likewise, that where obedience to the law of God ceased, usually also obedience to the royal command vanished. עֲבַד דִּינָה is in the Targ. not unusual for "hold judgment." מִנֵּהּ "out from him" = "over him." The point of beginning is here at the same time the point aimed at. The following הֵן—הֵן = sive—sive—**whether it be unto death or to banishment, whether to confiscation of goods or to imprisonment.**—שְׁרשׁוּ an entirely Syriac form of שֹׁרֶשׁ, properly rooting out, is here in distinction from death, banishment, Vulg.: *exilium*, or at least excommunication (comp. x. 8) [Rawlinson], not παιδεία (Sept.). Respecting the punishment in נִכְסִין, treasure, property, as vi. 8, comp. x. 8.

Vers. 27, 28. A closing doxology. Ezra cannot but add to the foregoing decree—whose communication we are without doubt to ascribe to his hand—his praise for the grace of God, which had been so gloriously exhibited in putting this into the heart of the king to beautify the temple in Jerusalem.* נָתַן בְּלֵב as Neh. 12; vii. 15, yet likewise already in 1 Kings x. 24. כָּזֹאת = the like, namely, as is indicated in the foregoing decree. We are to consider that the exaltation of the worship is likewise a glorification of the house of the Lord.

Ver. 28. **And hath extended mercy unto me before the king.**–This is the continuation of the relative clause in ver. 27. The לְ before כָּל־שָׂרֵי puts this word on one and the same footing as the foregoing. Comp. the לְ before שָׁבֵי in vi. 7; that is to say it represents here essentially the לִפְנֵי, which is before הַמֶּלֶךְ. The clause: **And I was strengthened,** which leads over to the narrative, would say "I was able, would feel myself strong,—**and I gathered together** = so that I gathered together out of Israel chief men. These chief men were heads of households or families who, if they should be taken for the emigration to Judah, would naturally take their families with them.

* ["Here the decree of Artaxerxes was more favorable to the Jews than those of all previous Persian monarchs. We hear of a similar exemption of ecclesiastics from tribute, only to a less extent under the Seleucidæ. (Josephus' *Ant. Jud.* XII. 3, § 3)." Rawlinson *in loco.*—Tr.]

* ["This abrupt transition from the words of Artaxerxes to those of Ezra, may be compared with the almost equally abrupt change in vi. 6. The language alters at the same time from Chaldee to Hebrew, continuing henceforth to be Hebrew till the close of the book." Rawlinson *in loco.*—Tr.]

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–10. (1) It seems that there were found among the Jews remaining behind in Babylon, even after Zerubbabel and Jeshua, at different times, such persons as were seized with a holy longing for the land of their fathers, especially for the temple of the Lord, with its lovely divine worship; who also, accordingly, went up thither not merely for a short time, but to remain forever, in order to become members of the congregation of Jerusalem, although many difficulties stood in the way of most of them, and it might be known to all what great deprivations, yea, evil circumstances, were to be endured in Judah. "Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar." This was certainly in these times the sigh of many with the poet of the 120th Psalm; and "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help" was their subsequent triumphal song with the author of Psalm cxxi. How much more then should Christians be inspired with a holy longing to become pilgrims on the way to heaven, and become members of the upper Jerusalem, seeing that in the city of God, that is above, among the many thousand angels and saints, every lack and every evil circumstance has vanished. Ezra and the others who went up to Jerusalem in order to be able to lift up their eyes to the heights of the earthly Zion, seem to us to be saints. That Christians should strive for the higher aim, that beckons them from heaven, is, after all, only natural, and so much the more are we obliged to charge ourselves with frivolity, if we lose sight of the aim and jewel of our heavenly calling—yea, are in a condition of entire forgetfulness of it.

(2) To reform the congregation when it has fallen away to the world is impossible without a faithfully preserved and unfalsified word of God, which is their heavenly archetype; or rather ever holds before them anew the eternal norm, according to which they are to be fashioned. Even in Jerusalem, even in the most immediate vicinity of the temple, the congregation, when they neglected and forgot the law of God, might fall into a condition in which a reformation was pressingly necessary. And even in the distance, even in Babylon, Ezra, because he was a true student of the Scripture, might be called to be the reformer.

Vers. 11–26. (1) The congregation in the Diaspora had, properly speaking, for the present the great task of awakening in the heathen world—even in heathen princes, in some way a presentiment that true knowledge of God and piety above all were with them, and thereby to beget in the deeper spirits a receptivity as well for the worship of the true God as for the observation of His law. The decree of Artaxerxes, the good-will of the heathen king towards Jerusalem in general, might be an evidence of the important fact that the Diaspora actually fulfilled this allowed task. Thus there is involved therein the prophecy that they were to render this preparatory and mediatorial service for the first time to its proper extent in the Messianic times. This second edict of Artaxerxes was in distinction from the first (chap. iv.), at any rate, an evidence that he was only prejudiced against the supposed political efforts of the Jews, that he had no objection to their worship of the true God, to their existence as a religious congregation; that on the contrary it caused him joy if the worship of God in Jerusalem was promoted in a suitable manner.

(2) Notwithstanding the commands of Artaxerxes respecting what should be done for the improvement of the worship of Jerusalem were so minute, he did not allow himself in the least degree to prescribe that which concerned the internal affairs, which were regulated by the word of God. He exercised only the so-called *jus circa sacra*, and we find this in him, the heathen prince, from good motives. Manifestly, since there is no longer any theocracy, all princes likewise should be thus discreet. For the internal affairs there are higher laws and authorities, in which an earthly authority can never interfere without punishment.

Vers. 27–28. The Lord's praise expressed by Ezra is a thanksgiving that the Lord, by turning the heart of the king and his counsellors, had enabled him to make the journey to Jerusalem. We may, however, find still something more therein. After all he likewise expressed, if only mediately, his joy that the grace of God had succeeded in making such an impression upon the head of the world-monarchy at that time as the congregation, according to its highest task, was to make,—a joy which was well calculated to mark an era in the history of the congregation living in the Diaspora.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–10. God's care over His congregation. 1) He awakens teachers (if it be necessary, even reformers) and other persons of importance to the divine worship. He wins also the hearts of the rulers, upon whose good-will the success of the teacher is conditioned.—STARKE: It is not enough to build houses and temples of stone, but we must have living instruments, that is, teachers and preachers. Preachers must first of all exhibit in their own life and consecration that which they preach to others of practical truth, as necessary and possible, 1 Cor. ix. 27; 1 Tim. iv. 12, 16.—No one should be presumptuous in any thing; he will then be sure of his calling, and it will give great comfort in all kinds of opposing circumstances.—Magistrates should also contribute their part to the building of churches and schools, and, above all, act with benevolence, because they can best do so; otherwise the heathen will put them to shame in that day. It is a sign of the great grace of God towards a people when He inclines the heart of their rulers to take suitable care that pious teachers be given to them. It is very easy for God to fill His people with blessings, for the earth is His, and the fulness thereof (Ps. xxiv. 1; 1 Chron. xxx. 12), and He has much more to give away than He has already given. 2) He protects and preserves His instruments in the way that they must go ere they can labor with the congregation. 3) He gives in their hearts the impulse and calling to do, as well as to teach His will.—The holy longing for Je-

rusalem: 1) it urges us out of Babylon to Jerusalem, and wins for us the hearts of such as will sustain us; 2) it provides us with fellow-pilgrims; 3) it causes the journey to succeed.

Vers. 11-26 are to be treated in essentially the same way as the decree of Darius in chap. vi.

Vers. 27-28. The best grounds for thanksgiving to God: 1) God has made the authorities of earth serviceable for the glorifying of His house and name; 2) He has placed His called ones in the position of being active in the enlargement and strengthening of His congregation.—STARKE: It is a noble gift of God, if we have a magistrate who is devoted to the true religion.—The servants of God, it is true, must submit to receive unthankfulness and disfavor for all of their faithfulness from mankind in general and great lords in particular; but if the contrary should be the case, they should recognize the fact with all the more thankfulness.

[HENRY: Moses in Egypt, Ezra in Babylon, and both in *captivity*, were wonderfully fitted for eminent service to the church.—Would we secure our peace and prosperity, let us take care that the *cause of God* be not *starved*.—If any good appear to be in our own hearts, or in the hearts of others, we must own it was God that *put it there*, and bless Him for it.—WORDSWORTH: Even Artaxerxes, a heathen king, is conscious and proclaims his persuasion, that the neglect of God and His service brings down God's anger on a nation.—TR.]

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## B.—EZRA'S OWN DOCUMENTARY REPORT.

### CHAP. VIII. 1-36.

#### I. *Respecting his Companions.* Vers. 1-14.

1 THESE *are* now the chief of their fathers, and *this is* the genealogy of them that
2 went up with me from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes the king. Of the sons
of Phinehas; Gershom: of the sons of Ithamar; Daniel: of the sons of David; Hat-
3 tush. Of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Pharosh; Zechariah: and with him
4 were reckoned by genealogy of the males a hundred and fifty. Of the sons of Pa-
5 hath-moab; Elihoenai the son of Zerahiah, and with him two hundred males. Of
the sons of Shechaniah; the son of Jahaziel, and with him three hundred males.
6 Of the sons also of Adin; Ebed the son of Jonathan, and with him fifty males.
7 And of the sons of Elam; Jeshaiah the son of Athaliah, and with him seventy
8 males. And of the sons of Shephatiah: Zebadiah the son of Michael, and with
9 him fourscore males. Of the sons of Joab; Obadiah the son of Jehiel, and with him
10 two hundred and eighteen males. And of the sons of Shelomith; the son of Josi-
11 phiah, and with him a hundred and threescore males. And of the sons of Bebai;
12 Zechariah the son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight males. And of the
sons of Azgad: Johanan the son of Hakkatan, and with him a hundred and ten
13 males. And of the last sons of Adonikam, whose names *are* these, Eliphelet, Jeiel,
14 and Shemaiah, and with them threescore males. Of the sons also of Bigvai; Uthai,
and Zabbud, and with them seventy males.

#### II. *Respecting a Rendering of this Band Complete.* Vers. 15-20.

15 And I gathered them together to the river that runneth to Ahava; and there
abode we in tents three days: and I viewed the people, and the priests, and found
16 there none of the sons of Levi. Then sent I for Eliezer, for Ariel, for Shemaiah,
and for Elnathan, and for Jarib, and for Elnathan, and for Nathan, and for Zecha-
riah, and for Meshullam, chief men; also for Joiarib, and for Elnathan, men of
17 understanding. And I sent them with commandment unto Iddo the chief at the
place Casiphia, and I told them what they should say unto Iddo, *and* to his brethren
the Nethinim, at the place Casiphia, that they should bring unto us ministers for
18 the house of our God. And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us
a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi, the son of Israel;
19 and Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eighteen; And Hashabiah, and with

20 him Jeshaiah of the sons of Merari, his brethren and their sons, twenty; Also of
the Nethinim, whom David and the princes had appointed for the service of the
Levites, two hundred and twenty Nethinim: all of them were expressed by name.

III. *Respecting the Preparation for the Journey, the Journey and Arrival in Jerusalem.* Vers. 21–36.

21 Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict our-
selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones,
22 and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of
soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had
spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God *is* upon all them for good that
23 seek him; but his power and his wrath *is* against all them that forsake him. So we
24 fasted and besought our God for this: and he was entreated of us. Then I sepa-
rated twelve of the chief of the priests, Sherebiah, Hashabiah, and ten of their
25 brethren with them, And weighed unto them the silver, and the gold, and the ves-
sels, *even* the offering of the house of our God, which the king, and his counsellors,
26 and his lords, and all Israel *there* present, had offered: I even weighed unto their
hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels a hundred talents,
27 *and* of gold a hundred talents; Also twenty basins of gold, of a thousand drams;
28 and two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold. And I said unto them, Ye *are*
holy unto the LORD; the vessels *are* holy also; and the silver and the gold *are* a
29 freewill offering unto the LORD God of your fathers. Watch ye, and keep *them*,
until ye weigh *them* before the chief of the priests and the Levites, and chief of the
30 fathers of Israel, at Jerusalem, in the chambers of the house of the LORD. So took
the priests and the Levites the weight of the silver, and the gold, and the vessels,
31 to bring *them* to Jerusalem unto the house of our God. Then we departed from
the river of Ahava on the twelfth *day* of the first month, to go unto Jerusalem: and
the hand of our God was upon us, and he delivered us from the hand of the enemy,
32 and of such as lay in wait by the way. And we came to Jerusalem, and abode
33 there three days. Now on the fourth day was the silver and the gold and the ves-
sels weighed in the house of our God by the hand of Meremoth the son of Uriah
the priest; and with him *was* Eleazar the son of Phinehas; and with them *was* Joza-
34 bad the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Binnui, Levites; By number *and*
35 by weight of every one: and all the weight was written at that time. *Also* the
children of those that had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity,
offered burnt-offerings unto the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety
and six rams, seventy and seven lambs, twelve he goats *for* a sin-offering; all *this*
36 *was* a burnt-offering unto the LORD. And they delivered the king's commissions
unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors on this side the river: and they
furthered the people, and the house of God.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–14. The register of those heads of families who went up to Jerusalem with Ezra is here inserted as a second important document. It originated from Ezra himself, as the use of the first person in ver. 1 shows; it is the foundation on which his narrative of his journey and activity in Jerusalem rests. It is distinguished from the register in chap. ii. by giving not only the names of the families to which those returning belonged, but also the heads themselves of those households who returned. It is as if they became gradually more and more conscious that the existence of the Jewish congregation no longer depended upon nationality, but the free resolution of individuals, that the individual accordingly, that especially the deciding heads of households had an entirely different significance from ever before, and that this their significance might be exhibited by their express mention by name in the sacred history. That the names of families here almost exclusively, yea, if we accept the very natural emendation in vers. 3, 5, 10, are without exception the same as those that occurred already in chap. ii., is explained simply from the fact that of the families which returned with Zerubbabel, households had still remained behind in Babylon, which now with Ezra followed their relatives; and that this very relationship might have been decisive for the resolution to go up with Ezra. It is worthy of note that in this emigration just twelve families were represented. In connection with the importance then ascribed to the number twelve (comp. chap. ii. 1 sq.; vi. 17; viii. 35) Bertheau finds it probable that Ezra's company was to be a representation of the congregation of Israel in its totality. —In Esdras viii. 28–40 are found some other deviations, which now perhaps are worthy of

consideration. As regards the sum total of those who returned with Ezra, it amounted to one thousand four hundred and ninety-six men and fifteen heads according to the Massoretic text; but according to Esdras one thousand six hundred and ninety men and thirteen heads without counting the priests and sons of David, whose number is not given, and in comparison with the number of the rest was perhaps but small, since Zerubbabel had already led back with him a relatively large number of priests and sons of David. In the numerical signs corruption might easily creep in, and we must leave it undecided, which statements are more correct.

Ver. 1. **These are now the heads of their fathers, and this is the genealogy of them that went up.**—רָאשֵׁי אֲבֹתֵיהֶם = רָאשֵׁי בֵּית־אֲבֹתֵיהֶם, not only here but usually, house of their fathers=their household. The head of the house of their father=the head of the household. In a household, however, the sons are often again fathers, without their forming on this account households of their own. Thus often many fathers belong to the household, and under a common head of the household. Thus the head of the father's houses can easily be head of fathers. The suffix of אֲבֹתֵיהֶם refers without doubt to the totality, that is, to the children of Israel. הִתְיַחֵשׂ is first "record itself;" then the "register of families" is, however, sometimes used for the family itself. It is here added, because the name of the heads of households is to be followed by the name of the family to which they belonged.

Ver. 2. Here are first mentioned two heads of households of two priestly families; of the family of Phineas, who was a son of Eleazar, thus a grandson of Aaron, **Gerson**; and of the family of Ithamar, who was Aaron's younger son (comp. 1 Chron. xxx. and xxix.), **Daniel**; whether the latter is identical with the one mentioned in Neh. x. 7 is uncertain. Both are to be regarded as accompanied by their households; for in ver. 24 Ezra is able to select from the priests who went up with him, twelve to take care of the presents. Then follows a head of a household of the family of David, without doubt the king David, namely, **Hattush**, possibly to be identified with Hattush, the son of Hashaniah (Neh. iii. 10), but to be distinguished from the priest Hattush, Neh. x. 5; xii. 2. It is questionable, however, whether he is not more closely defined by the first words of ver. 3.

Ver. 3. **Of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Pharosh.**—The twice-repeated מִבְּנֵי following one another and unconnected is striking. The Sept. has supplied an "and" before the second, so that it designates at once two families as such to which the head of household next following belongs. But this is certainly only to improve the text which was at that time just the same as ours. Esdras, on the other hand, has Λαθοὺς τοῦ Σεχενιόυ, since it renders the חַטּוּשׁ of ver. 2 by Λαθούς, attached מִבְּנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה of verse 3 as a much closer definition, and besides read the singular בֵּן for מִבְּנֵי. It is very probable that there has been a corruption of the text in this passage, and the conjecture that Esdras makes recommends itself all the more that חַטּוּשׁ in 1 Chron. iii. 22 is adduced as a son of Shemaiah, and therewith also is a grandson of Shechaniah [so Rawlinson.—Tr.] Accordingly we have left in ver. 3 only the family of Pharosh, as such, to which Zechariah with his household belonged. The next clause we may translate: **And with him belonged genealogically one hundred and fifty men**, since הִתְיַחֵשׂ is taken as preterit., and the singular is explained from the fact that it precedes the verb. הִתְיַחֵשׂ might, however, be a noun, so that the sense would be: and with a family, לִזְכָרִים = of men.

Ver. 5. **Of the sons of Shechaniah the son of Jahaziel.**—It is singular that the son of Jahaziel is not mentioned by name. The Sept. has ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ζαθόης Σεχενίας υἱὸς Ἀζιήλ, and Esdras viii. 32 essentially the same. Ζαθόης seems to be the same as זַתּוּא, Ezra ii. 8. Thus the Sept. and Esdras seem to have read מִבְּנֵי זַתּוּא, so that it is to be translated: of the children of Zattu, Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel [so Rawlinson.—Tr.]

Ver. 9. Here **the sons of Joab** are treated as a particular family, whilst in chap. ii. 6 they are counted with the sons of Jeshua as of the family of Pahath-Moab. Probably only a few of them belonged to those who returned under Zerubbabel, so that they were then not counted with that family with which they were nearest related, although the number of the children of Pahath-Moab, in consequence of this, became rather large.

Ver. 10. Here the Masoretic text has: **of the sons of Shelomith the son of Josiphiah.**—It is the same as in ver. 5, according to the Sept. and Esdras, and we are to read: Of the sons of Bani (comp. Ezra ii. 10) Shelomith, the son of Josiphiah [so Rawlinson.—Tr.].

Ver. 13. **And of the last sons of Adonikam, whose names are these, Eliphelet,** *etc.*—It is strange that a common head of a household should be mentioned first. Keil supposes that the sons of Adonikam, here referred to, because they did not constitute a proper father's house, are embraced together with the sons of Adonikam, who returned under Zerubbabel, and distinguished from the latter as אַחֲרֹנִים. But all the new comers here mentioned would have united with their fellow-members of the same families who already dwelt in Judah from the time of Zerubbabel. Besides the reference to those who previously returned is so entirely without support that אחרנים cannot well be explained from it. Perhaps the meaning is: not a first-born of the first line, who as such would have been head of the father's house, but only a later born, none of whom had the dignity of a head of a father's house, but only that of subordinate heads of families. Accordingly only lesser divisions of that father's house went up with Ezra. Thus would אחרנים be explained from the same circumstance from which the name of a common head of a house-

hold fails. It is true we must then suppose that אחרנים had gained such a general sense in itself that it had become a technical term for those later born.

Ver. 14. Instead of *one* head of the **sons of Bigvai**, two are mentioned, Uthai and Zabbud, yet not as later born sons, but as it seems as real heads of father's houses. The author of Esdras viii. 40 has οὐδὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκόνρου, so that it might be asked, whether the two names are not to be reduced to one.

Vers. 15–20. Above all Ezra was anxious to gain for the emigration some persons capable of ministering in the worship. Ver. 15 is probably to be translated: **I gathered them together to the river, that runneth to Ahava,** not that floweth into the Ahava. Ahava is probably the name of a place or region, after which the river there flowing was named; in ver. 21 it occurs briefly as נָהָר אַהֲוָא, and in ver. 31 נְהַר אַהֲוָא, which is either: the river of Ahava; or also after the analogy of the נְהַר פְּרָת, the river Ahava. Where we are to seek the river and region is not known; probably, however, in the vicinity of Babylon; probably it is a tributary or canal of the Euphrates, according to Ewald, *Gesch.* IV., S. 154, perhaps the Pallacopas, in favor of which is certainly the name (פלג אהוא), and indeed the more northern, which lay more in a direction towards Canaan.*—**And I viewed the people.**—Respecting the lengthened form by the addition of the ה, וָאָבִינָה here and וָאֶשְׁלְחָה in ver. 16, comp. Ewald, § 232, *g* [Green, § 99, 8.—Tr.].

Ver. 16. The Sept. translates: **And I sent to or for Elieser,** *etc.* [so A. V.]. This might mean in connection with ver. 17: I sent thither in order to have him come and use him as a messenger to Iddo. We may, however, take the לְ in this later usage of the language with the Vulg. and many interpreters without hesitation, as *nota accus.*, according to 2 Chron. xvii. 7, where it is used in this very way with שלח, thus: I sent Elieser, *etc.* The first named messengers were רָאשִׁים, probably heads of little communities; the remaining two מְבִינִים, that is, teachers, Neh. viii. 7, 9; 1 Chron. xv. 22; xxviii. 8, *etc.* Keil takes it in a more general sense, judicious, prudent; but this is opposed by its connection with רָאשִׁים and the circumstance that Ezra would have sent men who could make an impression in accordance with their entire position. According to ver. 15 these men did not belong to the Levites, who usually carried on the office of instruction, comp. 1 Chron. xv. 22; xxviii. 8, *etc.* But scholarship in the Scriptures might have gradually become more widely diffused, especially in Babylon. It is possible, also, that they were priests. In chap. x. 15, 18–31, many of the names here mentioned recur again; but probably different persons were meant there.

Ver. 17. **And I sent them with commandment**; thus the *Qeri.* According to the *Kethib*, whether now the ו in וָאוֹצִאָה be genuine, or first added by the Masoretes, it is to be understood: I had them go forth, עַל־עִדּוֹ הָרֹאשׁ **unto Iddo.**—עַל, according to later usage is for אֶל־. What kind of a head or chief Iddo was, what society he was of, whether merely religious, or also learned, why Ezra did not above all seek to influence Iddo himself to the return to Palestine: all this we must leave undetermined.—**At the place Casiphia.**—We know not, as a matter of course, how we are to take the clause בְּכָסִפְיָא הַמָּקוֹם. The Sept. and Esdras have not regarded כספיא as a proper name. The former has ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου, and the latter makes Iddo the head of the treasury without doubt in Babylon. It is probable, if it be a place, it is one in the vicinity of Babylon and Ahava.—**To his brethren,** *etc.*—אָחִיו הַנְּתוּנִים, which thus gives no sense, should probably be: to his brothers (the Levites) and to the Nethinim, namely, besides to himself, I ordered them to go; not to his brothers, the Nethinim [as A. V.]; for that Iddo himself was one of the Nethinim is improbable from his honorable position; that they, moreover, should be designated as his brethren without any natural relationship would be against all analogy.—**To bring us ministers for the house of our God.**—Those are especially meant who, when they had performed the service in the house of God at the feasts, should be able besides to instruct the people in the law.

Ver. 18. **And they brought us.**—וַיָּבִיאּוּ is written with dagesh in א as Gen. xliii. 26, as also תָּבִיאּוּ, Lev. xxiii. 17, as then ה ח and ע sometimes occur with dagesh, "*quorum omnium ratio nota est in Arcanis Cabbalæ,*" R. Mose bar Nachman in Comm. upon *Jezir* fol. 61.—Under the gracious help of God (יָד, as vii. 6), and through the influence of Iddo, they gained forty Levites and two hundred and twenty Nethinim. First of all the אִישׁ שֶׂכֶל (that this is a proper name is shown by the וְ before the following names), a descendant of Mahli, the grandson of Levi (Ex. vi. 16, 19; 1 Chron. vi. 4), then **Sherebiah**, who again occurs in ver. 24 and Neh. viii. 7; ix. 4; also x. 13; xii. 24; then in ver. 19 **Hashabiah**, who likewise is again mentioned in ver. 24; Neh. x. 12; xii. 24, and finally **Jeshaiah**, who does not again meet us in Ezra or Neh.; in ver. 20 the Nethinim, who had been appointed already by Jeshua (comp. note on ii. 43 sq.), then more definitely as it is here alone mentioned, by David and the princes, that is, the high officials, to perform the heavier work for the Levites. The last words of ver. 20

* [Rawlinson: "In the right direction and at about the right distance are found a river and a town bearing the same name, called by the early Greeks *Is.* (*Herod.* I. 179), and by the later Ἀεὶ (*Isid. Chas.*, p. 5), by the Babylonians themselves *Ibi*, and here apparently Ahava. The modern name of the place is *Hit.* It is famous for its bitumen springs, and is situated on the Euphrates at a distance of about eighty miles from Babylon towards the northwest."—Tr.]

mean* according to 1 Chron. xii. 31; they were all expressed by name (particularly), namely, for the going up with Ezra.

Vers. 21–30. The final preparation for the departure; at first the arrangement of the feast. The fasting had the purpose of imploring from God a way straight or level, free from hindrance, thus a prosperous journey. As an evidence of a penitent self-humiliation, it contributed to gain the favor of Him who, since He is throned on high, can only dwell among the lowly (Is. lvii. 15), so already Judges xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; Joel i. 14; 1 Chron. xx. 3.

Ver. 22. To implore the help of God, had a special impulse in the circumstance that Ezra and his companions had expressed a trust in God before Artaxerxes which they would not have confirmed if they had not especially relied upon God; if they had been willing to claim earthly means of protection. To show this trust in God was certainly important, because Artaxerxes' respect for the Jewish religion might be best strengthened in this very way. They acknowledged that **the hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek Him; but His power and wrath is against all them that forsake Him.**—We might expect the words: for evil; but His strength and His wrath=His power of opposing, is sufficiently clear; it is as if the previous clause were: His goodness and favor are over, *etc.;* so that the words "for good" might have been left out.

Ver. 23. **We fasted and besought our God.**—This should be followed by זֹאת, and not עַל־זֹאת. עַל־זֹאת seems to refer back to ver. 22 in the sense of therefore. Yet it is at least questionable whether it may not after the verb of asking, likewise introduce the object, comp. עַל־זֹאת with התפלל (Ps. xxxii. 6), and indeed notwithstanding the מִן before אֱלֹהֵינוּ.—**And He let Himself be entreated for us.**—This is at once manifest in the successful progress of the journey.

Ver. 24 sq. The appointment of guardians of the treasures.—**And I separated twelve of the princes of the priests.**—Instead of לְ before שֵׁרֵבְיָה, we are to read וְ with Esdras viii. 54; for Sherebiah, *etc.*, did not belong to the priests, but to the Levites. In addition, therefore, to the twelve princes of the priests, there were accordingly twelve Levites, as those to whom Ezra weighed the treasure and gave it in charge.

Ver. 25. **And I weighed,** *etc.*—ואשקולה is written with ו after ק because the *Sheva* of ק was meant to be heard, and indeed as Chateph Kametz, and it is probable that this form is to have the same vocalization in the next verse, as then J. H. Mich. found it to be so in many MSS. The other view that it was to be spoken with Chateph Patach was held because the ו was lacking after ק, as likewise in Jer. xxxii. 9. The silver and gold were a heave-offering, תְּרוּמָה, that is, a present to the house of God, that the king and his counsellors had set apart, comp. vii. 15, 16, 19. הֵרִים in connection with תְּרוּמָה means: to take off from the other possessions something, in order to consecrate it to God. The article before הֵרִימוּ represents the relative pronoun as 1 Chron. xxvi. 28; xxix. 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 36, *etc.;* comp. Ew. 331, *b.*—הַנִּמְצָאִים (with *kametz* under צ instead of *sheva* on account of pause, comp. Esther i. 5). These are those who were happened upon or met.

Vers. 26, 27. What Ezra weighed, עַל־יָדָם, in their hands, as i. 8. With respect to the talents comp. vii. 22; the darics, ii. 69; the covered cups, i. 10. Finally there were two copper vessels of excellent polish. מֻצְהָב cannot very well be part. Hophal; in connection with נְחֹשֶׁת, it would just as well as the following טוֹבָה have the fem. form. It seems to be a noun formed like מוּצָק, מוּעָף, מֻטָּה (Is. viii. 8, 23) with the meaning of polish. צָהֹב occurs Lev. xiii. 30, 32 of bleached hair, become somewhat fox-like by leprosy; the root, צהב, is, however, certainly connected with זהב, Arab. *sahaba*, and the other roots in צה and צח, whose meaning extends to: to be bright. חֲמוּדוֹת is properly a noun=lovelinesses, comp. כְּלֵי חֲמוּדוֹת, 2 Chron. xx. 25.

Ver. 28. The sacredness of the guardians as such, especially of the treasures entrusted to them as a heave-offering to the Lord is emphasized by Ezra, in order to make them right watchful with reference to them until they shall have delivered them up.

Ver. 29. הַלִּשְׁכוֹת is acc. of direction, but not *stat. constr.* as the article shows. The לִשְׁכוֹת are, because almost exclusively the temple-chambers, sufficiently definite of themselves. בֵּית יְהוָה is in apposition with the foregoing.

Vers. 31–36. The journey and arrival in Jerusalem.—Ver. 31. They began their journey from the river Ahava on the **twelfth day of the first month.** The interval from the first had been occupied by that which is narrated in vers. 16–30. The statement in ver. 15 that they had encamped only three days on the river of Ahava is probably not to be understood as if they after three days had again broken up (Berth.), but indicates either the point of time when that which is mentioned in ver. 15 sq. occurred (comp. v. 32), namely, when Ezra observed the lack of Levites (Keil); or it means to say that after three days they had gone somewhat further on their way, but without leaving the river Ahava, towards a region where they could unite with those coming from Casiphiah, from thence then entering upon their journey proper.

Ver. 32. When then they had come to Jerusalem, according to chap. vii. 9, on the first day of the fifth month, then after a lapse of three and a half months, they remained there three days, that is, rested, until they understood something further, just as Nehemiah in chap. ii.

* [Rawlinson *in loco:* "The writer seems to mean that he had before him a list of the two hundred and twenty, though he did not think it necessary that he should insert it."—Tr.]

11, whilst without doubt they already made preparation for the delivery of the treasures.

Ver. 33. **Now on the fourth day** they weighed out the treasures in the hand (ver. 26) of the priest Meremoth ben Uriah, whom we find again Neh. iii. 4, 21, and probably also Neh. xii. 8, and Eleazar ben Phinehas, who is not further mentioned, and two Levites, Jozabad ben Jeshua, who may be identical with the one mentioned in chap. x. 23, and Noadiah ben Binnui, whose family is mentioned likewise in Neh. x. 10; xii. 8.

Ver. 34. **By number and weight of every one**, that is, as it was for each and every number and weight. The weight was written then at that time, as Neh. iv. 16, in a public document, so that the correct preservation might be confirmed.

Ver. 35. In order now to secure for themselves a good reception with the Lord, they offered above all burnt-offerings, whereby they rendered homage to Him, dedicated themselves to Him (comp. notes upon iii. 8), and indeed for all Israel, in their name and as their representatives, conscious indeed that they had value before God only as a part of this whole, or rather as in union with entire Israel. They offered twelve bullocks (comp. vi. 17), besides ninety-six rams (ninety-six as intensification of twelve) and seventy-seven lambs (seventy-seven as intensification of seven, the number seven expressing the covenant-relation), as a foundation of the burnt-offering, however, twelve he-goats for a sin-offering, because only the reconciled can do homage to the Lord in a proper manner and worthily dedicate themselves to Him.

Ver. 36. In order now to put themselves in a good relation with the satraps and governor in Abar Nahara, they delivered to them the decree of the king. The satraps, אחשדרפנים, Persian (according to the inscription of Behistun), *khshatrapava*, from *khshatrapavan*, from which the noun in the Hebrew expression of the word is explained, prop. =land-protector* (comp. Esth. iii. 12; viii. 9; Dan. iii. 2), come into consideration as military officers, alongside of the governors, פַּחֲוֹת, as the presidents of the civil government.—**And they furthered**, *etc.*—These closing words are certainly to be referred to those Persian magnates, to whom indeed this supporting was commanded by the royal edict, vii. 20–24. נִשְּׂאוּ as i. 4. The Perfect נִשְּׂאוּ with ו simply continues the narrative as וְקַבְּלוּ in ver. 30.

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–14. So long as God was obliged to dwell in a particular temple, in the midst of His congregation, yet separated from them, mediatorial persons were still necessary, namely, priests, and a worship of sacrifices; Jerusalem must still remain the proper place of worship, and Judah be the holy land as no other land could be. And the congregation in the dispersion must regard it as their sacred duty, over and over again to put themselves in relation to the temple and Jerusalem, and send thither whole bands, in whom the longing for the land of their fathers awoke, to the enlargement of the principal congregation, or yet at least little embassies (comp. Zech. vi. 9), to enliven the communion with it, so likewise to take part, when opportunity offered, either in person, or at least through representatives, in the offering of sacrifice in the legitimate place of sacrifices. This common relation to the one centre and hearthstone of their religious life, constituted a bond, which held the people together in spite of every scattering and spreading out, yes, cultivated the feeling of a grand unity; and even if this bond was only an external one, it yet was all the more important, the weaker the internal bond was in the times of the law and the letter of the law. Christendom is united by the internal bond of *one* common faith and the most comprehensive love. Would then that this may never prove internally weaker! Would that in spite of all distances and separations, all might remain ever truly and vitally conscious of this, that they may constitute more than the people of the old covenant one only great union the body of the Lord! What can be more exalting and strengthening than this consciousness that we do not stand alone, do not struggle alone, do not suffer alone, do not rejoice alone, but that the Lord has in every land a people, a great and united people?

Vers. 15–20. The relation to the God of Revelation who would be conceived, not according to common notions or ideas, but according to His historical manifestation of Himself, and on the ground of the acts of redemption wrought by Him, would be honored according to the regulations given by Himself,—begets by internal necessity the need of instruction and training. It cannot be maintained in any other way than by the parents' making known to their children, and the learned to the unlearned, the Providences and Histories through which the true God has come near to the understanding, and that trained and suitable persons should cultivate the divine service in a proper manner. The idea, that religious knowledge, so far as it is necessary or desirable, makes its appearance in every man of itself, has no place except in the sphere of natural religion, and is connected, if it has become more general in our day, with a falling away from the religion of revelation to the religion of nature. It thus had its good ground that Ezra would not go up to Jerusalem and enter upon the work of elevation of the congregation at that place, without having gained above all a sufficient number of persons for his emigration, who might stand at his side, as instructors and helpers in the worship of God. And for those who would cherish the true religion, it should ever be a chief care to attract suitable teachers and ministers to the church, whilst now, sad to see, it seems as if it were thought that, at any rate, they could be dispensed with.

* [Rawlinson *in loco:* "The word is derived from *khshatra*, "crown," and *pal*, "to protect," the active part. of which would be *pana*. It is evident that the Hebrew term represents the older form of the word, and represents it pretty closely. There is a prosthetic *Aleph*, as in *adarkon* and Ahasuerus, and the *tr* of the Persian becomes in the Hebrew *dr*; but otherwise the letters are correctly rendered." Rawlinson refers the satrap to the chief ruler of the Persian provinces, from which the governors (pachavoth), rulers of smaller districts, are distinguished.—TR.]

Vers. 21–30. Already in Is. lii. 11 the encouragement: depart, depart, go ye out from thence, is connected with the admonition, be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord. Ezra might even, without this, have felt himself called upon to prepare himself and those who accompanied him by fasting; that is, by self-humiliation, for the journey to Jerusalem. But since he carried with him vessels and treasure designed for the house of the Lord, and in so far sacred; in other words, since his journey ministered not to ordinary, but sacred purposes, by which properly all who took part received a higher significance, purification and sanctification by true and genuine fasting, were an especially indispensable prerequisite. No one can essentially further the cause and honor of God in a free and conscious manner without previously doing what fasting signifies—namely, chastising, yea, overcoming his soul—that is, his old man. He who has accomplished this will then have a keener feeling also for the particular obligation imposed upon him by his calling or his task, especially for the sacred duty conscientiously to watch that that which has been intrusted to us of blessings or gifts shall be truly serviceable for the higher ends for which they were given to us. He will understand the connection between the two when Ezra says: at first, be ye holy to the Lord, and the vessels are holy,—so watch and take care, *etc.*

Vers. 31–36. Men like Ezra, who know that they are instruments in the hand of the Lord, and indeed for the accomplishment of a high mission, may reckon with the confidence of heroes on especial divine protection and support in the midst of all the dangers threatening them: "And although all the devils would withstand us," *etc.* What, however, is secured to them in this respect by God cannot be for them a motive for giving themselves over to a false security, but only become an impulse for them to make use of all that is entrusted to them, with all the more conscientiousness for the accomplishment of its purposes. At the same time they would be very careful, like Ezra, when he ordered the weight of the gifts brought by him to be written down, of securing their good name against any wicked slanders that so easily are raised against them. That the returned exiles so soon offered sacrifice to the Lord, and indeed burnt-offerings, with the sin-offerings belonging to them, expresses, moreover, the knowledge that the mere offering of external gifts, however great they might be, amounted to nothing; that an internal gift, namely, that of the heart, by internal worship, must be added, yea, that it alone, if it be of the true kind, gives worth to all the rest.

When the returned exiles laid claim to protection and support on the part of the magistracy through the handing over the decree of the king to his officers, they subordinated themselves to them thereby at the same time. As they thus through their sacrifice gave to God what belonged to God, so through the decree of Artaxerxes they gave to the state what the state might expect.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 15–20. The importance of teachers and other officials in the congregation. 1) Ezra, although there were priests enough in Jerusalem, felt the absence of Levites and other persons of lower rank, who there might care for the divine service, and also instruct the people. 2) He seeks to procure them before he undertakes anything further. 3) He gains them through the experienced help of God.—STARKE: That Ezra seeks to supply the lack of Levites, and sends so far for them, shows his zeal for the house of God, and indicates how much we should make of wise ministers of God, should it ever be necessary to bring them from afar. We need also frequently such persons as may fill the lower offices more pressingly than others who sit in exalted stations; and we must have more village-pastors than doctors of theology and superintendents. He who is of a sincere and unenvious disposition in the ministerial office will not always be alone, but can very well endure, yea, desires and assists, that more laborers and colleagues may be procured alongside of him, Num. xi. 29; Matt. ix. 37.

Vers. 21–30. Respecting the true preparation for the most important journey. 1) By fasting or overcoming one's self; 2) By watchfulness with respect to the blessings and gifts that serve to glorify the divine name; 3) By conscientious execution of the higher duties.—STARKE: Although Christians are not bound to any particular time of fasting, yet they should ever lead a temperate and moderate life, in order that they may be the more qualified for prayer, 1 Peter iv. 8.—Observe this, ye travellers: Divine protection sought by humble prayer is your safest escort.—God is the best guide (Ps. xci. 11); though we walk in the dark valley, we need not fear, Ps. xxiii. 4. If after the offering of prayer our enterprise goes successsfully on, we ought not to think that it has been without dangers, but confidently believe that our prayer has been heard.

Vers. 31–36. The pilgrims to Zion. 1) Their journey (is towards Jerusalem under God's especial protection); 2) their blessings and gifts (belong to the house and congregation of the Lord); 3) their aim (to offer to the Lord, and indeed, above all themselves, recognizing the authorities of the world). BRENTIUS: *Sunt autem (Christiani), sanctificari in baptismo per fidem in Christum. Unde portare debent sancta vasa, quæ sunt sancta opera. Credere in Christum, sanctum opus est.*

[HENRY: All our concerns about *ourselves*, our *families*, our *estates*, 'tis our Wisdom and Duty by Prayer to commit them to God and leave the care of them with Him. Our prayers must always be seconded with endeavors.—'Tis a great ease to one's mind to be discharged from a trust; and a great honor to one's name to be able to make it appear that it hath been faithfully discharged. —WORDSWORTH: It appears from the narrative that Ezra's God was good, his treasurers faithful, and his companions devout; and that the royal governors furthered his work. Such were the salutary effects of prayer and fasting.—TR.]

# SECOND SECTION.

## The Chief Fault of the Time and its Removal.

CHAPS. IX.—X.

### A.—THE CHIEF FAULT OF THE TIME AND EZRA'S PENITENTIAL PRAYER.

CHAP. IX. 1–15.

I. *The Chief Fault of the Time, and Ezra's Sorrow for It.* Vers. 1–4.

1 Now when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, The people of
Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the
people of the lands, *doing* according to their abominations, *even* of the Canaanites,
the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyp-
2 tians, and the Amorites. For they have taken of their daughters for themselves,
and for their sons: so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people
of *those* lands: yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this tres-
3 pass. And when I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and
4 plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonied. Then
were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel,
because of the transgression of those that had been carried away: and I sat astonied
until the evening sacrifice.

II. *Ezra's Penitential Prayer.* Vers. 5–15.

5 And at the evening sacrifice I arose up from my heaviness; and having rent my
garment and my mantle, I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the
6 LORD my God, And said, O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face
to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over *our* head, and our trespass is
7 grown up unto the heavens. Since the days of our fathers *have* we *been* in a great
trespass unto this day; and for our iniquities have we, our kings, *and* our priests,
been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity,
8 and to a spoil, and to confusion of face, as *it is* this day. And now for a little space
grace hath been *shewed* from the LORD our God, to leave us a remnant to escape,
and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give
9 us a little reviving in our bondage. For we *were* bondmen; yet our God hath not
forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the
kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair
10 the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem. And
now, O our God, what shall we say after this? for we have forsaken thy command-
11 ments, Which thou hast commanded by thy servants the prophets, saying, The land,
unto which ye go to possess it, is an unclean land with the filthiness of the people
of the lands, with their abominations, which have filled it from one end to another
12 with their uncleanness. Now therefore give not your daughters unto their sons,
neither take their daughters unto your sons, nor seek their peace or their wealth
for ever: that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave *it* for an
13 inheritance to your children for ever. And after all that is come to pass upon us
for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast pun-
ished us less than our iniquities *deserve*, and hast given us *such* deliverance as this;
14 Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of
these abominations? wouldest not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed
15 *us*, so that *there should be* no remnant nor escaping? O LORD God of Israel, thou
*art* righteous; for we remain yet escaped, as *it is* this day: behold, we *are* before
thee in our trespasses; for we cannot stand before thee because of this.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1-4. To a positive strengthening of the life in accordance with the law belonged without doubt a long preparatory activity on the part of Ezra. It could not be accomplished by merely external arrangements or contrivances. Rather it was necessary that Ezra should bring about an internal change, excite a holy zeal for the law, as we see it break forth in fact at a later period (Neh. viii.—x.), and thus above all deepen and render more general the knowledge of the law. But already, at the outset, he had to undertake a negative improvement, the removal of a bad state of affairs that threatened their future. It was again the question as previously in the time of Zerubbabel, respecting their relation to the heathen, which was involved in their present political relations, especially their union with heathen under the same government. If, however, the problem in the time of Zerubbabel had been merely to ward off those who would unite with the congregation on the plea of a common worship of Jehovah, now the question was with reference to the exclusion of those with whom union had been established, notwithstanding difference of religion.

Ver. 1. **And after the completion of these things**, *etc.*—כְּלוֹת is *infin. nomin.* = completion. אֵלֶּה is neuter, referring to the things mentioned in chap. viii. 33–36. This statement of time is somewhat indefinite—yet we are not to suppose that the length of time of the things here narrated was very long after chap. viii. The delivery of the gifts brought with them occurred on the fourth day after Ezra's arrival; thus, on the fourth or fifth day of the fifth month (comp. chap. viii. 32 and chap. vii. 9); the bringing of the offerings, moreover. chap. viii. 35, without doubt soon followed, and so also the delivery of the royal decree to the officials (viii. 36); the support on the part of the latter may be very well mentioned in chap. viii. 36 proleptically, or is to be understood of their promise. If a longer time had elapsed between Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem and chap. ix., it would not have been necessary for the princes of the congregation to have first made complaint respecting the evil circumstances in question, but Ezra would have observed them himself. Accordingly by the ninth month,—on the twentieth day of which, according to chap. x. 9, the first assembly of the people was held respecting the affair here coming into question,—is meant without doubt the ninth of the first year that Ezra passed in Jerusalem. —**The princes came to me.**—הַשָּׂרִים (with the article) are not the princes as a whole—for according to ver. 2 many of them participated in the guilt, and these would not have given information of themselves,—but the princes in distinction from the people. The princes distinguish as such who have not separated themselves, that is, kept themselves separate from the people of the land, three classes, that occur elsewhere, also along side of one another: **the people of Israel**—that is, the common people (יִשְׂרָאֵל is in apposition to הָעָם, comp. Jos. viii. 33; 1 Kings xvi. 21);—**the priests and Levites**—comp. *e. g.* chap. ii. 70.—**The people of the lands** are the ἔθνη, and indeed, first of all, those in the vicinity, comp. chap. vi. 21. For the most part there were, without doubt, remnants of the ancient tribes of Canaan, whose abominations, according to the subsequent narrative, were peculiar to them; but probably during the exile other heathen races also had emigrated into the depopulated Palestine. Ezra and the princes thus, when they required a separation from all these heathen,—that is, excluded an intermarriage with them,—exceeded the letter of the law, which only prohibited intermarriage with the Canaanites (Ex. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3),—but not because a certain Pharisaism had already made itself felt among them (O. v. Gerlach in his *Bible-work*), but because it was absolutely necessary now if the congregation was to be preserved from sinking down into heathenism. The heathen dwelling in close vicinity to them, and not being separated in political affairs, the mixed marriages now threatened, if not positively forbidden, to become disproportionately numerous, whilst in former times they could never have been more than exceptional. And besides, these heathen were now essentially the same as the ancient Canaanites.—**According to their abominations.**—This briefly = as their abominations required. לַכְּנַעֲנִי does not then begin the enumeration of the races in question—which is against not only the accentuation which separates this clause so strongly from the nations, but also the position of the word, for the clause "according to their abominations" would not then have intervened, but should have followed the enumeration; and besides also the לְ before כְּנַעֲנִי—which would have scarcely an analogy in its favor. Rather לַכְּנַעֲנִי, "belonging to the Canaanites;" briefly = as they were peculiar to the Canaanites, the Hittites, *etc.* The abominations are designated by this clause as the ancient ones, condemned by the prophets, and especially by Moses, long before; and all the various names of nations are mentioned because the abominations had been so many and so different among the different races. It was not the purpose to give a complete statement, else the Hivites (comp. Ex. iii. 8; xiii. 5; xxiii. 23) and also the Girgashites (comp. Deut. vii. 1) would also have been mentioned.

Ver. 2. **For they have taken of their daughters, etc.**—namely, wives, comp. chap. x. 44; 2 Chron. xi. 21, *etc.* The object נָשִׁים is in this connection, to a certain extent, to be understood of itself.—**And have mingled themselves as the holy seed with the people of the land.**—This has properly the same subject as the foregoing. The following זֶרַע הַקֹּדֶשׁ is to be placed in apposition with the subject, as it seems; that is to say, although they are a new and holy seed, or shoot, which, after the old tree had fallen by the severe judgments of God, was to grow up into a new and better tree. Since the expression "holy seed" does not occur again elsewhere, it is not doubtful but that there is

here a reference back to Isa. vi. 13. That at least the better part of the people had not yet by any means forgotten the ancient prophets, but preserved them at the present time to strengthen their faith, follows already from Haggai and Zechariah, where the Messianic promise, on the basis of the more ancient prophecy, yet again brought forth the richest flowers.—**Yea, the hand of the princes—rulers hath been chief in this trespass.**—In this unfaithfulness the princes had been leaders with their bad example, assuming thereby the responsibility, comp. Deut. xiii. 10. מַעַל, properly unfaithfulness (comp. Lev. v. 15) is spoken of, in so far as they had abandoned the blessing of the purity of Israel and periled thereby the higher blessings connected therewith. סְגָנִים = commanders, chiefs, is a word passing over from the ancient Persian into the Hebrew, comp. Is. xli. 25.

Ver. 3. Ezra could not but express the deepest pain at this information, as well as the greatest displeasure, and indeed with the warmth of Oriental manners; none the less that there must be applied a remedy, only to be carried out with difficulty, and occasioning much sorrow. He expressed his grief by rending (tearing) his under and over-garment (comp. Lev. x. 6 and Josh. vii. 6), his displeasure and anger by plucking out the hair of the head and beard (a part of it), comp. Neh. xiii. 25; that is to say, he hurt himself and disfigured his appearance (comp. Isa. l. 6); if he had only been sad, he would have shaved his head, Job i. 20. In this condition he then sat down staring, שָׁמֵם in Piel expresses the being stiff and dull (hence also the being waste), comp. Isa. lii. 14.

Ver. 4. Ezra's behaviour produced a profound impression upon those who feared God's word; **because of the unfaithfulness** of הַגּוֹלָה, the people of God living in captivity Ezra continued his behaviour herein even when they assembled themselves unto him. According to chap. x. 3 we are not to explain: all who trembled at the word of God on account of the unfaithfulness, *etc.;* although חָרֵד may be connected with עַל (Is. lxvi. 2, where עַל, indeed=אֶל, in the sense of trembling towards, comp. Is. lxvi. 5), but: all who allowed themselves to be frightened by God's words, which referred to the unfaithfulness. God is here called the **God of Israel** because He had in the words in question called for the purity and dignity of Israel.

Vers. 5-15. At the time of the evening sacrifice, however, he arose from his mortification—תַּעֲנִית, humiliation, mortification, which had consisted in giving way to sorrow, but had certainly likewise been connected with fasting, and indeed accompanied with the rending of his over or under-garment; that is to say, in that he still continued or repeated the rending—in order now to spread out his hands to God as those who pray usually did (1 Kings viii., *etc.*), publicly uttering a penitential prayer.

Ver. 6. This penitential prayer would emphasize throughout what great reasons the congregation had of bewaring of the sins in question. He renders prominent in ver. 6 how great guilt they already had upon them without this, and adds in ver. 7 that sin has been the cause of all the misfortune and misery of Israel. He calls to mind in ver. 9 that God's grace had preserved only just such a remnant, but by no means had constituted a situation in which they could dispense with Him. He confesses in vers. 10-12 that God had expressly forbidden the sins now indulged in, and had made nothing less than the strength of the congregation, yea, the very possession of the land, conditional upon their obedience to his command. He then in vers. 13 and 14 raises the painful and sad question, and draws the inference whether, if after so many chastisements, and after such an exhibition of favor, they should again be guilty of such a transgression of the divine command, whether God would not then really become angry unto their entire destruction. He concludes in ver. 15 with the repenting confession that the Lord is righteous, that the congregation, however, cannot stand before Him. Ezra now prays expressly for forgiveness, as we might expect: he ventures not, he is ashamed, as he himself says, to lift up his face to the Lord. But such a penitential prayer and confession of sin is already in itself a pleading for grace; yea, works more powerfully indeed than a petition expressedly uttered. And, at any rate, it is, just as it is, very well calculated, at the same time, to bring the people to the lively consciousness of the perverseness of their sin.

Ver. 6. **I am ashamed and blush.**—בּוֹשׁ and נִכְלַם are joined together for emphasis, as in Jer. xxxi. 19, *etc.*—**For our iniquities are increased over our head.**—Occasioned by the transgression under consideration; all sins and transgressions whatever come to the remembrance of Ezra. He who already has so many sins upon him should take very particular care lest a new one should be added, especially when one has already been brought into such deep misery by the previous ones. רָבוּ from רָבָה has the same meaning as usually רַבּוּ from רָבַב. לְמַעְלָה = upwards, passes over easily in our author to the adverbial sense of "very abundantly" (comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 3), even with רָבָה (comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 17), but here in connection with רֹאשׁ retains its meaning as a preposition = beyond. The iniquities are regarded as a flood in which man soon perishes [comp. Ps. xxxviii. 4, and the general use of water to indicate great troubles] [**our trespasses—unto the heaven**—comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 9; thus the mercy of God is compared in extent with the heavens, *vid.* Ps. xxxvi. 5; lvii. 10, *etc.*—Tr.].

Ver. 7. **And for our iniquities we have been delivered—into the hands of the kings of the lands to the sword,** *etc.*—To translate, with Bertheau, *through* the sword, is remote from the sense, and is not suited to the following "into captivity." The shame is called that of the **face** because it especially works upon the face, as Dan. ix. 7.—**As this day,** namely, teaches or shows; כְּ in connection with הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is not = about or on, but has a comparative

force, as also in Jer. xliv. 6; xxii. 23; 1 Sam. xxii. 8. The present teaches the here asserted delivering over, in so far as the congregation was still a גֹּלָה, comp. ver. 4.

Vers. 8, 9. It is true, the Lord has again allowed His grace to work after His anger, but not so that He could be dispensed with; only through Him has the congregation protection and continuance.—**And now a little moment** (comp. Isa. xxvi. 20) **hath been grace from the Lord our God**—namely, during the time from Cyrus to the present, which seems short in comparison with the long time of the previous chastisement, especially since the latter had begun already with the Assyrians (comp. chap. vi. 22 and Neh. ix. 32), and had properly been continued even to the time of Cyrus. Ezra would not so much praise the greatness of the divine grace, as if his thought had been that transgression ought to have been avoided out of thankfulness (for then he would have expressed himself in an entirely different manner), but he would say that the congregation, whatever it might be, was only through grace; and back of this lies the thought that with it they would forfeit their one and all.—**To leave us a remnant and to give us a peg in his holy place.**—לָנוּ = us, "the people as a whole," in distinction from which the פְּלֵיטָה is the congregation of the returned exiles. The peg, יָתֵד, is to be regarded as one driven into the wall, on which domestic utensils of any kind were hung, comp. Is. xxii. 23 sq.* Hence we cannot understand thereby, either with Bertheau, the congregation itself (to make us a peg = a congregation of a reliable stock), or, with Keil, the temple, which is opposed by the words, "in the holy place;" rather "to give any one a peg in a house" (here in the temple, in the holy place) means to give him a part and right in the house, accept him as a coinhabitant in the house. It comes into consideration that God is often regarded as a Householder, and His people, in a similar manner, often as His family, who dwell with Him in His house (comp. Psalms xv. 1; xxiii. 6; xxvii. 4, *etc.*). We have an example in Isaiah lvi. 5: I will give them hand and name in my house, where the יָד explained in so many different ways may be simply activity or right to be active, in general to stir one's self.—**That our God might lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage.**—The infins. לְהָאִיר and לְתִתֵּנוּ are subordinated to the foregoing infinitives = that he thereby. The subject אֱלֹהֵינוּ appears in an independent position, as especially Isa. v. 24; comp. Ewald, § 307, *c*, because the object עֵינֵינוּ had preceded and intervened between it and the infin. "The eyes enlighten" means to remove the night of trouble and weakness resting upon them, which was, according to that which follows, already indeed a night of death, and indeed by reviving, that is, by bestowing salvation, strength, encouragement, comp. Ps. xiii. 4; Prov. xxix. 13, especially also 1 Sam. 14, 27, 29.—מִחְיָה = preservation of life, or as here, reviving (comp. 2 Chron. xiv. 12), is used here for the adjective "revived," whilst in ver. 9 it retains its abstract meaning. מְעַט is added, without close connection, as Neh. ii. 12; vii. 4. The idea at the basis is, that national ruin is a death of the congregation, and that the re-establishment is an awakening from the dead. This re-establishment was a very incomplete one so long as the dependence on the powers of the world still endured, and the congregation must still be called הַגּוֹלָה. The reference to the prophecies of the prophets is here unmistakable. As the expression "holy seed," already in ver. 2, so also "leave a remnant," and the expression "peg," remind us very decidedly of Isaiah, comp. chaps. i. 9; xxii. 23 sq.; lvi. 5; the expression "revival" looks back upon Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14, where the figure on which it is based is carried out with great vividness and power. We see that the pious Israelites subsequent to the exile, Ezra before all, attentively took to heart the ancient prophecies of chastisements, and that which should follow them, in order to apply them without doubt to their own times.

Ver. 9. **And hath extended mercy unto us before the kings of Persia, to give us revival.**—The subject of the "giving" is not the Persian kings (Berth., Keil), which is opposed by the previous verse, and also by the fact itself; but God alone, whose it is alone to slay and make alive. It is not necessary, on this account, to make God the subject of the clause: to **set up the house of our God, and erect its ruins.** This infin. may be subordinated to the foregoing, so that the Jews become the subject = that we, *etc.* The subject of the last infin. **to give us a wall in Judah and Jerusalem,** is surely again God, and not one of the Persian kings (Berth. and Keil). The expression "give a wall" leads of itself more to God, for it is naturally to be understood figuratively, and indeed not of the temple, but in the more general sense of the protection which was afforded the congregation in Judah and Jerusalem against their oppressors, comp. Zech. ii. 5.

Vers. 10-12. The transgression here spoken of cannot be excused at all, with the plea, that it was not expressly forbidden.—**And now, what shall we say?—for we have forsaken thy commandments,**—not: *that* we have forsaken (Berth. and Keil), which would be weak. Ezra means: I may thus ask, for, *etc.*

Ver. 11 may be translated: thou who, or also, **which thou hast commanded by thy servants, the prophets.**—Ezra does not mention Moses in particular, but the prophets in general, not because the commands of the Pentateuch were not mediated or written down by Moses alone, but also by other organs, as Delitzsch in his introduction to Genesis supposes;—whether Ezra knew this, is at least very doubtful,—but because his thought is that God by His prophets has given or again enforced the commandments in manifold and oft-repeated ways, comp. Judg. iii. 6; 1 Kings xi. 2. When a truth is under

* [Rawlinson *in loco* thinks of the tent pin, which is driven into the earth to make the tent firm and secure, Is. xxii. 23, 25.—Tr.]

consideration, which is not represented by one prophet, but more or less by all, then it is usual to cite in general, as the author of the book of Kings also does. Moses is meant at any rate, yea chiefly. And this explains the fact that Ezra states the command, not it is true verbally from a passage in the Pentateuch, but yet formularized in a manner only appropriate to the Mosaic period, when they still had to take possession of Canaan. He has in mind before all Deut. vii. 1–3, as there also the entire manner of expression is undeniably that of Deuteronomy, but he draws into consideration, in a free manner, other passages, and indeed even from Leviticus, comp. especially Lev. xviii. 24 sq. נִדָּה, the abominable, for which in Lev. only טֻמְאָה and תּוֹעֵבוֹת occur, is used in the Pentateuch of the impurity of the issues of blood in women, only subsequently by the prophets of other impurities likewise, especially also of ethical impurities (comp. 1 Sam. i. 17; Ezek. vii. 20; xxxvi. 17). It is preferred to its synonyms as an especially strong expression. מִפֶּה אֶל־פֶּה, does not mean, certainly: from side to side (Keil), or from one end to another (Berth., A. V.); for neither the one nor the other meaning has been proved, or etymologically established for פֶּה. In Isa. xix. 7 it is either the mouth, or the bed of the Nile (later in distinction from the bank, as the שָׂפָה). פֶּה is easily the equivalent of person, from person to person, is, however = on or in all persons, =throughout and everywhere. Comp. פֶּה לָפֶה, 2 Kings x. 21; xxi. 16. It is worthy of attention, of course, that this method of expression only occurs of objects which hold men, of land, house and city, or of men themselves.

Ver. 12. **Nor seek their peace nor their wealth forever.**–These words are from Dt. xxiii. 7, where this is said with reference to the Moabites and Ammonites. It almost seems as if Ezra would have justified from the very letter of the law by this citation, his extension of the prohibition of intermarriage to the Moabites and Ammonites. The clause, **that ye may be strong**, reminds us of Deuteron. xi. 8; the next clause, **and eat the good of the land**, of Isa. i. 19; the last clause, however: **and possess it, or take possession of it for your children for ever**, which does not occur in the Pentateuch in this form, rests on the promise that is often repeated, especially in Deuteronomy, that in case of obedience they would live long in the land that the Lord gave them. הוֹרִישׁ means here not give into possession (Berth., Keil), for then it must govern the double accusative (comp. Judg. xi. 34; 2 Chron. xx. 11), but "take into possession, possess." For the children, posterity, that is, permanently.

Vers. 13, 14. Thus there can be no question but that the new transgression is to be decidedly condemned. This follows, as well from the punishment for previous sins, as from the way of pardon.—**And after all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass.**—The article before בָּא properly represents the relative, as viii. 25; x. 14, 17; for בָּא cannot well be a participle; as such it would be in the plural. The continuation of this clause does not occur already in the second half of the ver. (Berth.); in this case the following כִּי would have to be taken in the sense of, in truth (after all, in truth hast Thou, our God, spared us), then ver. 14 would be in too little connection; it would not appear that two kinds of things, that as well punishment as forgiveness formed the foundation of ver. 14. Rather the second half of the verse verifies the thought, which is involved in the first, that the guilt was very great, and that it properly would have deserved still severer punishment, and thus entirely prepares the way for ver. 14. Its sense is, at any rate, that the punishment has been less than the transgression. The words might mean: **For thou, our God, hast restrained a part of our sins from below**, so that they (namely, through their consequences, the visitations of punishment) have not gone entirely over our head, have not utterly ruined us; for there is no objection to taking מֵעֲוֺנֵנוּ partitively. Already Esdras has thus: ὁ κουφίσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. In favor of this view is the fact that in this way לְמַטָּה would come into contrast with לְמַעְלָה in ver. 6, in which it is also found elsewhere, Jer. xxxi. 37. At all events, however, we may likewise explain: Thou hast restrained Thine anger or Thy punishment below the measure of our misdeeds, so that the punishment has not been as great as our misdeeds deserved (so J. H. Mich., Gesen., and Keil). לְמַטָּה, indeed, is nowhere else found with מִן, but perhaps only for the reason that it nowhere else is followed by a noun of closer definition. מִן follows, at least, the corresponding לְמַעְלָה, 1 Chron. xxix. 3; the synonymous מִתַּחַת has usually לְ after it.

Ver. 14. **Then should we again break thy commandments, and unite ourselves in marriage with**, *etc.*—This question appeals to the general sentiment, and serves to emphasize very strongly the blamableness of the new transgression.—**Wouldst thou not be angry with us, even to destruction?**—עַד־כַּלֵּה, as 2 Kings xiii. 17, 19.

Ver. 15. **Lord God of Israel, thou art righteous.**—This concluding and confirming confession would not say: Thou art a severe judge, and must interfere against the congregation on account of its decline (Bertheau and Keil). The usual meaning of צַדִּיק (graciously righteous), is against this, and then also the following clause, "**for we have remained over as an escaped remnant,**" which is not = we have remained over *merely* as escaped, but: we have not been utterly ruined. Rather Ezra would say, that no one can reproach God for not doing all that could be expected.—**Behold, we are before thee in our trespasses**, *etc.*—This, the second half of the verse, constitutes a very suitable and logically conclusive antithesis to the foregoing. The more blameless God is the more deserving of punishment Israel's

guilt. The yodh in בְּאַשְׁמָתֵינוּ is found in the edition of R. Norzi and J. H. Mich.; but is missing in some MSS., and the pointing corresponds with the latter. Both methods of writing might in this case easily go on alongside of one another; the singular would be favored by ver. 13, but the plural corresponds with the full-toned style of Ezra.—[**We cannot stand before thee,** *e.g.*, as thy holy people, who are privileged to stand before their king.—Tr.]—**Because of this.** עַל־זֹאת = with this new evil deed.

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–8. 1. If we act upon the supposition that the sacred Scriptures, even the Old Testament already, are to give us warning, exhortation, and instruction with reference to every situation and question of church, civil, or domestic life, yea, that the Old Testament very particularly comes into consideration for the details of life, it is natural that we should find in the opposition that Ezra makes in chapters ix. and x. to intermarriage with the heathen, a warning or exhortation with reference to intermarriage with those of a different faith from our own. And in fact that which may be urged against such an application, *e.g.*, that as Christians we rejoice in a greater liberty than the Jews; that mixed marriages have not been forbidden of themselves and under all circumstances, that the Christian church is never threatened with as great dangers as the Jewish congregation in the time of Ezra, that besides the piety of the Christian has a mightier protection and help than the religion of the Old Testament pious—all this is outweighed by the opposing facts. The wife is now on a greater equality with the husband than in ancient times, has a greater influence upon the man himself, as well as in the training of the children, may thus easily become more dangerous. Besides Christianity is much more internal and deep than Old Testament piety, more influential upon the heart and disposition upon all sides, and hence comes much more into consideration with reference to the married life, that rests upon internal communion. It is true there is very seldom in the mixed marriages of our times a question respecting the difference of religion; usually it is only respecting a difference in the confession of faith, or a different degree of vitality of Christian religiousness—and to place marriages of this kind on the same basis as those intermarriages with the heathen would be premature, yea unfair. Heathendom stood in an essential and indeed very positive contrast to Judaism. The different Christian confessions, on the other hand, have the essential things in common with one another. And between those which are distinguished merely by the degree of the vitality of their Christian religiousness, there is often no positive contrast at all; the less vital Christianity may be awakened and strengthened, especially if treated with love. But we must always recognise and take to heart, with reference to Ezra and his behaviour, the fact, that in the conclusion and conduction of a marriage those considerations which have respect to the interests of religion are more important than all others, and therefore a difference of confession, which threatens not to promote but diminish religious ardor, according to the nature of the case, which besides constantly disturbs or of itself renders impossible the internal living together in the highest and holiest spheres, which then likewise has so much that is unendurable with reference to the training of children, and involves so many difficulties; that likewise in the same manner, a lack of any religious faith, that places itself in open conflict with Christianity, that more earnestly considered, is to be regarded as a positively different religion, or wanders into scornfulness and frivolity,—these ought to be real hinderances to marriage for all Christians. As regards the lack of faith, of the kind here referred to, which manifestly must be placed on the same footing at least with heathenism, the apostle did not allow (1 Cor. vii. 12, 13) that a Christian brother should marry an unbelieving wife, or the reverse, but only that he should retain her if he once had her. That a brother should marry an unbelieving (heathen) wife, he seems not to have regarded as at all possible. With reference to marriage with an unbeliever, we are to take to heart what he says in the subsequent context (ver. 16), What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband, or what knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

2. The question how the congregation was to act towards others of a different faith, was now to be answered for the second time. It is not easy, with reference to this matter, to do exactly the right thing; for Christians, who more decidedly have the task of winning others for their faith, thus in no way should shut themselves off from them, it is still less easy than for the Israelites. But since all depends upon imparting to the others the best that we have, it follows that we must draw back, when this is impossible, especially if we incur the danger of losing this best thing ourselves. Under all circumstances it is self-evident that we should only cherish such an association as we can ever withdraw from if necessary.

3. No error is so conspicuous in the new congregation as that of intermarriage with the heathen. Not only Ezra but Nehemiah had still to contend with it (Neh. x. 31; xiii. 23 sq.), and as the princes, so indeed had the sons of the high-priests taken part in it (comp. chap. x. 18). Without doubt there was a reason in the circumstances themselves. Usually new tasks are imposed as well upon the congregation as a whole, as also upon the individuals in the new relations. A new end is to be attained, and the difficulty of striving after this in the right manner often involves the temptation of approaching it in a false way. The task of the new congregation was to assume such a relation to the neighboring nations from whom they were no longer separated by political boundaries, as that they might ever be in the position in the fulness of time for fulfilling their missionary calling with reference to them. Accordingly the history itself urged onwards to a sort of approximation. Notwithstanding this, however, the institution of false relations, which could only render the accomplishment of their mission impossible, had no excuse.

4. Having lost their political independence, and reduced to a small number, the congregation, even their leaders or princes might have come upon the thought that it was not only allowable, but indeed was advisable, to enter into closer relations with the heathen, who now were separated from them by so very little. They might have hoped that their people, on the basis of such a connection, might exercise a good influence with reference to religion and morals, and in consequence of this the congregation would gain the desirable increase; yet this error would not have been possible, if they had had the true singleness of heart towards the divine command. By the lack of this singleness, those who ought to have been to the rest of the congregation guides to good, became guides to evil. Ezra on his part, who did not lack this singleness, recognised in these very circumstances, with which the princes might justify the transgression under consideration, grounds for just the contrary, for a still more careful separation from the heathen. In fact, just because the congregation were without the protection of a political independence, because moreover they had become weak and despised on account of their small numbers, there was scarcely a doubt that the heathen, instead of allowing themselves to be influenced by the Israelites, would have become the influential factor for them, and they would have jeopardized the very existence of the congregation itself.

5. In a similar manner, as after other great judgments, as, for example, after the deluge, it became manifest after the exile likewise that the delivered, however excellent they proved to be at first, were unable to constitute a really new beginning, which should be pure and sinless, but ever only a continuation of the ancient sinful existence; that there was now no more sinless development, that rather sin breaks forth in new forms in the new relations which have been established by the judging and preserving providence of God, so that it needs ever anew a holy reaction against it on the part of the Lord. Nevertheless, of course, the judging and preserving acts of the Lord are not in vain. The congregation advances through them forwards, if not to a pure, yet to a better development, and their course, even if it is never that of a conqueror who has entirely overcome his hereditary enemy, is yet that of a victorious warrior, who at least beholds the complete victory and its noble prize at the end of his course. Nevertheless, the circumstance that among the princes many recognised the wrong as such, and sought to remove it with the help of Ezra, is a proof that the Lord at this time had provided a number of a better element, who already not only constituted a starting-point for His reaction, but also themselves began to react out of their own midst.

Vers. 5–15. 1. Before Ezra did anything else he expressed his sorrow for the failure of the congregation from the word of God, and indeed particularly by a penitential prayer, in which he included himself most devoutly within the congregation which had transgressed. The first thing with which to begin a true reformation will ever be the feeling of penitence, and in accordance with this a penitential prayer, which issues from the deepest conviction that we are involved in the sinfulness of the congregation, and which has to share in the fear of the threatening judgments, which, however, none the less manifests the sharpest contrast to the sin in question. Such a penitential prayer, especially if it is connected with an humble recognition of the justice of the judgment that is feared, already has also the significance of a prayer for forgiveness, help, and preservation, just as the praise of the Lord as the God who hears prayer, affords redemption and salvation, at the beginning of those very Psalms, that are prayed out of deep need, and run out into a petition for redemption and salvation, is itself already a mighty petition, which in spite of every necessity joyfully praising God, is able without doubt to most powerfully move His paternal heart.

2. Ezra's prayer very suitably unites various things, which must fill us with holy abhorrence of fresh transgressions after redemption; he reminds us at first of the fact that we are deeply involved in sin from our fathers, we might say, already by nature, and thus can not be too much on our guard against it, and at the same time, that it is our sins that have brought about the misery in which we all more or less live; so then that God has given us grace which certainly appears exceedingly great over against our sins and unworthiness, so that it must fill us with thankfulness and urge us to sanctification, which, however, over against the necessities of earth, is a small beginning of better things, easily lost again; furthermore, that the sin, that we might perchance be guilty of, is against God's express command, and can never be justified; that God's visitation of punishment, if we are not warned by His punishment or by His grace unto holiness, must necessarily become greater and more serious. These truths will have a preserving and improving power for the congregation of all times.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1, 2. We have the duty of keeping afar off from others. 1) When? If we can exercise no improving influence, but have to fear lest we be ruined with them. 2) Why? because we have to preserve great blessings for ourselves and others. 3) How? with renunciation of temporal advantages, especially with self-denial.—The importance of a correct choice in marriage: 1) the injury that is done by a bad choice; it is not only temporal, but eternal; 2) the gain that we have in a good choice.—STARKE: Marriage with an unbelieving woman is very dangerous, for she can convert a man easier than the man can convert her, 1 Kings x. 4.—What other injuries unequal marriage may accomplish, *vid.* 2 Chron. xviii. 1.—The importance of true family life for the furtherance of church life: 1) Church life is a matter of the free resolution, which must be correctly guided by proper training; 2) church life is conditioned upon learning its advantages, as this is possible, first of all, only in the bosom of the family.

Vers. 5–15. The fundamental principles of true reformatory activity: 1) True simplicity of heart,—we must not allow ourselves to be led astray by the temptations that are often involved

with sufficient strength in the relations given by God Himself; we must rather gladly and without reserve bow to the divine word; 2) true sorrow for the present transgressions, however difficult they may be to remove, they must yet be recognized seriously in their true character; 3) true fear of the divine judgment—it is a bitter, but indispensable medicine for the destructive wanderings from duty.—BRENTIUS: *Exprimitur affectus pietatis, qui in unoquoque debet geri erga proximum suum, videlicet quod unusquisque non debet aliter affici erga peccata proximi sui, quam si ipse ea perpetrasset. Sic affectus erat Abraham, erga Sodomitas, sic Samuel erga Saul, sic Daniel erga populum Judaicum. Et hic affectus multorum bonorum autor est, videlicet ne traducamus proximum nostrum, sed oremus pro eo, et castigemus eum, pro officio nostro.*—STARKE: Pious people laugh not at the sins of others, but are sad at heart on their account, Jer. ix.; Gen. xviii. 23; 2 Sam. xv. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 29.—How inexcusable are the fresh transgressions of those who have been redeemed from the misery of sin. 1) Sin has already wrought misery enough. 2) God has shown His grace in delivering from it, which is exceedingly great, but may easily be lost again. 3) He has let us know His will. 4) His visitation of punishment will be still more severe.—STARKE: The strongest walls and the surest fence about a city and village is God's gracious care, Ps. iii. 4–7; Prov. xviii. 10.—By the wickedness of the inhabitants is a land defiled; accordingly let us beware of sin. In the judgments of God we have to recognize His moderation, and thank God for it.—The true penitential prayer: 1) Recognition of sin in its entire greatness and ruin: 2) recognition of the divine grace; 3) recognition of the cleanness of the divine will; 4) recognition of the justice of the judgment to be feared.—Intercession of pastors for their congregations: 1) Out of love in spite of sin; 2) in faith in God's grace; 3) in hope of a hearing.—STARKE: Since Ezra in his prayer sets before him the entire people, he includes himself among them and accepts his share in the sins of the people, comp. Is. lix.; Dan. ix. 5; Neh. i. 6.—Teachers should particularly stand in the gap and seek to ward off the punishment of God by prayer. We often know not for the sake of what believer's prayer God has spared a people and city.

[SCOTT: Silent grief and astonishment sometimes form the most expressive protestation against enormous crimes; and when men speak on such occasions it may be more effectual to address themselves to God than to the offender.—HENRY: A practical disbelief of God's all-sufficiency is at the bottom of all the sorry shifts we make to help ourselves.—The scandalous sins of professors are what we have reason to be *astonished at*.—An eye to God as *our God* will be of great use to us in the exercise of repentance.—There is not a surer or sadder presage of ruin to any people than revolting to sin, to the same sins again after great judgments and great deliverances.—WORDSWORTH: Observe, this confession and prayer of Ezra, the priest and scribe, the friend of the king of Persia, was in a public place, at a time of public resort to the temple. He was not ashamed of repentance and self-humiliation, and he showed publicly that his trust was in God's help, vouchsafed to fervent prayer at the door of God's house.—TR.]

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## B.—THE REMOVAL OF THE ERROR, AND THE LIST OF THOSE WHO PURIFIED THEMSELVES FROM IT.

### CHAP. X. 1–44.

I. *The effect that Ezra's prayer had upon Shechaniah, then upon the princes of the congregation.*

Vers. 1–8.

1 Now when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed, weeping and casting
himself down before the house of God, there assembled unto him out of Israel a very
great congregation of men and women and children: for the people wept very sore.
2 And Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, *one* of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto
Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have taken strange wives of the
3 people of the land: yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing. Now
therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and such
as are born of them, according to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble
4 at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the law. Arise;
for *this* matter *belongeth* unto thee: we also *will be* with thee: be of good courage,
5 and do *it*. Then arose Ezra, and made the chief priests, the Levites, and all Israel,
6 to swear that they should do according to this word. And they sware. Then
Ezra rose up from before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Johanan

the son of Eliashib: and *when* he came thither, he did eat no bread, nor drink water:
for he mourned because of the transgression of them that had been carried away.
7 And they made proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the chil-
dren of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem;
8 And that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of
the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself sepa-
rated from the congregation of those that had been carried away.

II. *The Success of Ezra in the Assembly of the Congregation.* Vers. 9–17.

9 Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin gathered themselves together unto Jeru-
salem within three days. It *was* the ninth month, on the twentieth *day* of the
month; and all the people sat in the street of the house of God, trembling because
10 of *this* matter, and for the great rain. And Ezra the priest stood up, and said unto
them, Ye have transgressed, and have taken strange wives, to increase the trespass
11 of Israel. Now therefore make confession unto the Lord God of your fathers, and
do his pleasure: and separate yourselves from the people of the land, and from the
12 strange wives. Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, As
13 thou hast said, so must we do. But the people *are* many, and *it is* a time of much
rain, and we are not able to stand without, neither *is this* a work of one day or two:
14 for we are many that have transgressed in this thing. Let now our rulers of all the
congregation stand, and let all them which have taken strange wives in our cities
come at appointed times, and with them the elders of every city, and the judges
15 thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God for this matter be turned from us. Only
Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah were employed about
16 this *matter:* and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite helped them. And the chil-
dren of the captivity did so. And Ezra the priest, *with* certain chief of the fathers,
after the house of their fathers, and all of them by *their* names, were separated, and
17 sat down in the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter. And they
made an end with all the men that had taken strange wives by the first day of the
first month.

III. *List of those who Separated Themselves from their Wives.* Vers. 18–44.

18 And among the sons of the priests there were found that had taken strange wives:
*namely,* of the sons of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren: Maaseiah, and
19 Eliezer, and Jarib, and Gedaliah. And they gave their hands that they would put
away their wives; and *being* guilty, *they offered* a ram of the flock for their trespass.
20, 21 And of the sons of Immer; Hanani, and Zebadiah. And of the sons of Ha-
22 rim; Maaseiah, and Elijah, and Shemaiah, and Jehiel, and Uzziah. And of the
sons of Pashur; Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Nethaneel, Jozabad, and Elasah.
23 Also of the Levites; Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah, (the same *is* Kelita,)
24 Pethahiah, Judah, and Eliezer. Of the singers also; Eliashib: and of the porters;
25 Shallum, and Telem, and Uri. Moreover of Israel: of the sons of Parosh; Ramiah,
and Jeziah, and Malchiah, and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah, and Benaiah.
26 And of the sons of Elam; Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and Jere-
27 moth, and Eliah. And of the sons of Zattu; Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and
28 Jeremoth, and Zabad, and Aziza. Of the sons also of Bebai; Jehohanan, Hana-
29 niah, Zabbai, *and* Athlai. And of the sons of Bani; Meshullam, Malluch, and
30 Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal, and Ramoth. And of the sons of Pahath-moab; Adna,
and Chelal, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezaleel, and Binnui, and Manasseh.
31, 32 And *of* the sons of Harim; Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon, Ben-
33 jamin, Malluch, *and* Shemariah. Of the sons of Hashum; Mattenai, Mattathah,
34 Zabad, Eliphelet, Jeremai, Manasseh, *and* Shimei. Of the sons of Bani; Maadai,
35, 36 Amram, and Uel, Benaiah, Bedeiah, Chelluh, Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib,
37, 38, 39 Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasau, And Bani, and Binnui, Shimei, And
40, 41 Shelemiah, and Nathan, and Adaiah, Machnadebai, Shashai, Sharai, Azareel,
42, 43 and Shelemiah, Shemariah, Shallum, Amariah, *and* Joseph. Of the sons of
44 Nebo; Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadau, and Joel, Benaiah. All these had
taken strange wives: and *some* of them had wives by whom they had children.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1-8. This chapter from beginning to end treats of the great results attending the penitential prayer of Ezra in the congregation.

Ver. 1. **Now when Ezra had prayed,** *etc.* —Ezra's prayer is properly designated as a confessing. הִתְוַדּוֹת, comp. notes on ix. 16. מִתְנַפֵּל means: prostrating one's self, lying on the knees, comp. ix. 1.—**Before the house of God,**—elsewhere also "before the face of God," in the court of the temple. That a great crowd gathered together unto him had its reason in the fact that the people wept very much, that is, for sorrow over the evil circumstances into which so many had plunged themselves, and especially were deeply moved with him also in view of the sins by which they had done it, and accordingly also desired assistance. בֶּכֶה, which form only occurs here, depends upon its verb, although it is separated from it by the adverb הַרְבֵּה in the manner of an infin. abs.

Ver. 2. **And Shechaniah——answered,** *etc.*—That Ezra himself did not step forth with a definite demand, that he waited until one of the congregation should make a proposition, did not have its reason in the fact that his position did not entitle him to make such a demand, but in the circumstance that the reformation could only be of worth and thoroughly carried out when it came forth from the congregation itself. Shechaniah here, the son of Jehiel, is to be distinguished from Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel, in chap. viii. 5. And Jehiel, his father, is probably not identical with the one mentioned in ver. 26. Were it so, Shechaniah would not have scrupled to make a proposition by which his own father would be compelled to dismiss his wife. The sons of Elam, to whom he belonged, occur in ii. 7; viii. 7, and again in ver. 26. He was, and this is significant, no priest, nor prince, but one of the congregation, so that in and with him the congregation itself promptly arose to vindicate the law. הוֹשִׁיב, cause to dwell, is in our chapter (comp. vers. 10, 14, 17, 18), and so also in Neh. xiii. 23, 27, used for the taking home of wives. Shechaniah confesses: We have acted unfaithfully towards the Lord in taking home foreign women (comp. ver. 10 and Neh. xiii. 27), in order to justify Ezra for his strong condemnation of this intermarriage. At the same time he retains hope, עַל־זֹאת = at this transgression (comp. ix. 15), or rather in spite of it. עַל in itself *sensu medio*, may readily have the meaning of "in spite of," comp. Is. liii. 9; Job xvi. 17. מִקְוֶה is here = תִּקְוָה. Shechaniah is of the opinion that a removal of the evil is still possible, and perhaps he already recognized also the fact that the resolution to carry out this difficult thing might give the impulse to a general reformation.

Ver. 3. **Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God**—that is, we will obligate ourselves by a solemn covenant and a sworn vow to God (comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 10) **to put away.**—הוֹצִיא is here the opposite of הוֹשִׁיב—**all the wives**—namely, as a matter of course, all foreign ones—**and such as are born of them**—also to send away the children. This resolution might almost seem to be unnecessarily severe, yet it is a matter of question whether it would not have been harder still to separate the mothers from their children. The little ones still needed their mothers, and the larger ones might easily be a support for their mothers. Moreover, it was to be feared that the children, if they were retained, would constitute a bond between the men and their banished wives that would soon again reassert its power and render possible the return of the wives. We are by no means to conclude from vers. 11-19 that they contented themselves with reference to this proposition, with the removal of their wives. Comp. against this view ver. 44 and Neh. xiii. 23 sq. Moreover, however, that which Shechaniah here in his zeal so comprehensively proposes might yet not be so recognized and required, without exception. There was no sufficient ground for removing sons who were willing to live in accordance with the law, and who were not necessarily to be cast out on account of the mother. —**According to the counsel of the Lord and of those that tremble at the commandment of our Lord.**—That the Lord and those who tremble at His command should be brought together in this way is almost remarkable. The Sept. and Esdras, and after them also De Wette and Bertheau, read accordingly אֲדֹנִי, my Lord, which would be Ezra [so A. V. and Rawlinson.]* But Ezra had not yet given any counsel at all, and besides, it is hardly conceivable that Shechaniah should here speak to him in such a reverent tone, and then in the verses immediately following so familiarly and cheeringly. Already the Vulgate has *juxta voluntatem domini*, and according to De Rossi, quite a number of MSS. read even יְהוָה. The connection of the two expressions, which is in itself somewhat remarkable, would probably say: according to the counsel of the Lord, as it is understood and vindicated by those who tremble at His commandments. Entirely parallel is Acts xv. 28: "for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." The עֵצָה of the Lord is often elsewhere His decree (comp. Is. v. 19; xix. 17; Ps. cvi. 13); here, however, according to the context, the counsel, which He gives, as Ps. cvii. 11; Prov. i. 25; 2 Kings xvii. 13. Thus mildly Shechaniah expresses himself, however, because a specific command to dismiss the wives, and likewise also their children, was not found in the law, and moreover also partly because the law, in so far as it yet gave an impulse thereto, had a counselling, that is, a precautionary significance with the good of the congregation in view. The clause כַּתּוֹרָה יֵעָשֶׂה is not to be taken in an optative sense [A. V.]—which would be weak—but as a promise: it shall happen according to the law. The fourth verse, moreover, passes over from the tone of comfort

* [Rawlinson *in loco:* "This expression shows the high position which Ezra occupied as the commissioner of the Persian king. His counsel does not appear to have been expressly given. but might be gathered from the general tone of his prayer."—Tr.]

to that of promise.—**Arise, for upon thee is the matter.**—This can only mean: upon thee the matter has to depend; thou must carry it out according to thy judgment and conviction.—**And we with thee.**—This means in accordance with the foregoing. And we will be with thee, will help thee.

Vers. 5–8. Now Ezra made use of the favorable sentiment: **he made the princes,** *etc.*, **to swear to do** כַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה, that is, to carry out the proposition of Shechaniah, then however continued his sorrow, and thereby deepened the zeal that had been excited, until he saw the beginning of the execution of the reform.—**Ezra arose from before the house of God,** that is, he left the place in the court, where he had prayed, and **went into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib,** in order to fast and mourn there. This cell was certainly in the wing that the new temple had gained, and which served for the preservation of the garments of the priests and other articles, but likewise for the provisional abode of the priests and Levites; according to Neh. xiii. 4–9 the high-priest Eliashib had erected a cell for the use of the Ammonite Tobia, as his relative, which he used in his frequent visits to Jerusalem. The names of Johanan and Eliashib frequently occur (comp. vers. 24, 27, 36), one of the twenty-four classes of priests had its name from a more ancient Eliashib, 1 Chron. xxiv. 12. But that an apartment or cell of the temple should be named after a subordinate man of the name of Johanan, as Ewald supposes (*Gesch.* IV., S. 263), is impossible. It is very likely that we are to think of the later high-priest Johanan, and indeed the more so that he was not, it is true, as the one under consideration, a son, but a grandson of Eliashib. The order of high-priests from the time of Zerubbabel was as follows: Jeshua, Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, Jaddua, comp. Neh. xii. 10 sq., where it is true Jonathan stands in place of Jaddua; where however, according to Neh. xii. 22, 23, Johanan is meant. In the time of Ezra, Joiakim or Eliashib was high-priest. We must probably suppose that the author used a later designation for the previous times as one more intelligible to his readers. The apartment might have been present already in the time of Ezra, which subsequently, perhaps in consequence of a re-building, was named after the high-priest Johanan. The second וַיֵּלֶךְ is a needless repetition, and cannot be at all compared with the twice-repeated וַיָּקָם in verses 5 and 6, which at any rate each time receives a special definiteness by an additional clause, (against Keil).* שָׁם is besides, at any rate very seldom used in the sense of "thither," as it must be taken to be in connection with וַיֵּלֶךְ. The supposition of Cler. and Berth. that we are to read instead of it וַיָּלֶן, and he passed the night or remained there, commends itself very much to our judgment. Already Esdras ix. 1 has: καὶ αὐλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ, the Syriac: and he sat or remained there; the Sept. however: καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐκεῖ —**Eat no bread nor drink water** is to fast. Comp. Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9.

Ver. 7. Thus they, namely, the princes and elders, who according to ver. 8 took the matter in hand—**made proclamation.**—הֶעֱבִיר קוֹל as i. 1,—and indeed probably whilst Ezra was still fasting and mourning, thus immediately after Ezra's penitential prayer and Shechaniah's proposition—that all the members of the congregation should assemble unto Jerusalem.

Ver. 8. **According to the counsel** or resolution **of the princes and the elders,** *etc.*—כַּעֲצַת belongs to the following clause—the ban should fall upon every one's substance who should not come in after three days* to Jerusalem, his possessions were to be forfeited for the benefit of the temple† (Lev. xxvii. 28 and Neh. xii. 28), and he himself however should be at once cast forth from the congregation.

Vers. 9–17. The assembling took place on the twentieth day of the ninth month, namely, in the same year which Ezra had arrived in Jerusalem. (comp. chap. ix. 1), and indeed **in the square** (רְחוֹב) **of the house of God,** probably on the east or south-east side of the temple court, yet not before the water gate. Comp. notes on Neh. viii. 1. If already the affairs themselves, which naturally had not remained concealed from them, were calculated to excite them to the utmost, and depress them, the stormy weather that had set in made their situation utterly miserable. In December it is not only cold, but the rain is accustomed to fall in torrents. Comp. Robinson's *Phy. Geog.*, p. 287.

Vers. 10, 11. When Ezra now held up before them their error and called upon them to give praise unto the Lord, that is, honor Him indeed by the separation from the people of the land, above all from the foreign wives—נְתַן תּוֹדָה as Josh. vii. 19—then the entire assembly (ver. 12) announced with **a loud voice,** accordingly unreservedly resolved—קוֹל גָּדוֹל (the same as בְּקוֹל גָּדוֹל iii. 12) is a closer designation, which is co-ordinated to the subject or the so-called *acc. instrum.*, Gesen., S. 138, *Anm.* 3, comp. Ps. iii. 5, *etc.*—**according as thy words to us we must do.**—Already the Vulgate in accordance with the accents, connects עָלֵינוּ with the foregoing (*juxta tuum verbum ad nos, sic fiat*); we may however in accordance with ver. 4, Neh. xiii. 13; 2 Sam. xviii. 11, likewise connect עָלֵינוּ with what follows, so that the sense is: thus we are in duty bound to do.

Vers. 13, 14. However, it could not be established in this way, namely, by a general declaration, whether many of the guilty would not be

* [It may be as in the A. V., the protasis of a temporal clause, as "*When he came thither.*"—Tr.]

* [Rawlinson *in loco.* "The brevity of this term indicates the narrowness of the area over which the returned Israelites were spread."—Tr.]

† [Rawlinson *in loco:* "The Persians allowed generally to the conquered nations that they should be governed by their own laws. In the present case Ezra had had special permission to appoint magistrates and judges who should judge the people according to the law of his God (vii. 25) and could enforce his views of the law not only by confiscation of goods, but even by death (vii. 26)."—Tr.]

dissatisfied with the step concluded upon, and seek to withdraw from their obligation. If the separation was to be carried out energetically and surely, it must be established in detail who were united in marriage with strange women, and it was necessary that the elders or princes in question should undertake to take care that the resolution of the congregation should everywhere have its proper consequences. Thus it was necessary that there should be confirmations and explanations that demanded a long time. Those who had spoken accordingly continue:—**But the people are many.**—אֲבָל is an adversative particle of limitation. Their meaning is that on account of the large number of the assembly, it is not certain whether they all were really agreed.—**And the time is violent rain.**—This is briefly for: the time is that of the violent rain, just as "thine eyes are doves" Song of Songs, iv. 1.—**And there is no strength to stand without** = we cannot longer stand in the cold.—**And the business is not for one day and not for two,** *etc.*—There are so many cases that must be established and examined into.

Ver. 14. **Let now our princes stand for the entire congregation,** *etc.*—לְכָל־הַקָּהָל serves not as a closer designation of the princes as such who belonged to the entire congregation in distinction from the elders and judges of the separate cities (Berth.), as it has already been taken by the Sept., στήτωσαν δὴ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν, and Esdras: στήτωσαν δὲ οἱ προηγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους. The ל is rather a designation of the *dat. commodi*, and here is equivalent to "in place of." The sense is, let the princes remain in Jerusalem and advise with Ezra; especially however name to him the members of the congregation in question.—**And let every one in our cities who has taken home strange wives, come at fixed times, and with them** (for, with him) **the elders of every city, and the judges thereof.**—The princes are to fix the times for the guilty ones named by them to Ezra, when they have to appear with their elders and judges; the guilty are then to promise to dismiss the wives; the elders and judges however are intrusted with the duty of watching over the performance of their vows. Since the various local congregations might be called at different times, it was possible in this way to dispose of them in Jerusalem in a much shorter period. The article before הוֹשִׁיב again represents the relative as in ver. 17; viii. 25. עִתִּים מְזֻמָּנִים are appointed terms, only here and Neh. x. 35; xiii. 31. זְמַן is a Chaldaism.—**Until they turn away the fierce wrath of our God from us with reference to this matter.**—עַד in the sense of "until," gives no difficulty. For it might be expected of a God who is ever so gracious, that with the cause of the wrath the wrath itself also would cease. The supposition of Bertheau, that עַד with the following ל in the later language is used for the simple ל, thus stating the purpose, cannot be proved from Jos. xiii. 5; 1 Chron. v. 9; xiii. 5, compared with Num. xiii. 21. Also in the clause עַד לַדָּבָר הַזֶּה after wrath, עַד retains its meaning; the sense is: which reaches even to this matter.* Certainly, however, the simple לַדָּבָר הַזֶּה would have sufficed here (comp. Gen. xix. 21; 1 Sam. xxx. 24; Dan. i. 14), just as עַד לְמֵרָחוֹק, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15; Ezra iii. 13, and לְמֵרָחוֹק, 2 Sam. vii. 19 amount to the same thing. With the first words of the verse, "let our princes stand," this clause cannot be connected in the sense of "so long as this matter lasts, (Keil); against this is not only the fact that it would be somewhat superfluous, but also that a new clause: And let every one—come—has come in between.

Vers. 15-17. **Only Jonathan,** *etc.*—If we follow the clear usage of the language we must regard this as in apposition. אַךְ properly "only" (then often it is true "in truth") easily leads to an adversative limitation, and עָמַד עַל means 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 2 Chron. xx. 23; Dan. viii. 25; xi. 14: stand against any person or thing, as sometimes also קוּם עַל. Accordingly Jonathan and Jahaziah withstood the adopted resolution, whether they merely had some objection to the proposed method of dealing with the matter, or were also opposed to the banishment of strange wives itself. Only the circumstance that verse 16 is joined on, without an adversative particle, although it treats of the obedience of the congregation, seems to favor the view that here also an agreement is meant, as then already the Vulgate has: *steterunt super hoc præfecti sunt huic negotio.* But in truth, according to our conception, ver. 16 is not in contrast with ver. 15. All depends upon the emphasis placed upon "only" at the beginning of ver. 15. Not *notwithstanding that,* but *because* only Jonathan, *etc.*, withstood, the congregation did, as a whole, as had been proposed. The present reading in ver. 16 וַיִּבָּדְלוּ Ezra, the priest, men as heads of fathers' houses were separated, is not only opposed by the fact that we should expect with the Sept. and Vulg. the copula before אֲנָשִׁים, since an asyndeton would here be very remarkable, but likewise by the fact that a separation of Ezra could hardly be spoken of, for he was already sufficiently set apart by his entire position. We may therefore with Ewald, *Gesch.* IV., S. 185 and Berth., in accordance with Esdras and the Peschito read וַיַּבְדֵּל לוֹ.—**And Ezra separated for himself,** or at any rate also וַיִּבָּדְלוּ לְעֶזְרָא—there were separated unto Ezra. [So Rawlinson].—**After the fathers' house** = so that every father's house was represented by its head.—**And they all with names,** as viii. 20.—**And they held a session**—so יֵשְׁבוּ here—**on the first day of the tenth month,** thus ten days after the general assembly of the people,

* [Rawlinson after Dathe and Maurer follows two MSS. which read עַל הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה.—Tr.]

**to investigate the matter.**—Instead of דַּרְיֵשׁ which is not a Hebrew formation, we are to read the infin. דְּרוֹשׁ.

Ver. 17. **And they made an end with all,** *etc.*, אֲנָשִׁים (men who had taken home strange wives) can hardly be in apposition with בַּכֹּל as the more ancient interpreters would have it; the expression would be too peculiar; moreover the accentuation is against it. No more can אֲנָשִׁים be the object of וַיְכַלּוּ and בַּכֹּל be a designation of place; they brought to an end the men (the hearing of them) in every place (Berth.); אֲנָשִׁים in this case would certainly require the article. The same objection is to be made to the rendering of Keil, "with reference to the men," which in itself moreover already misses the sense. The suspicion that the clause was a title of the following section in ver. 18, and only by mistake was placed here is quite natural, but it is not confirmed by any ancient version. Thus we must regard the entire clause as a brief, loosely attached, closer designation of כֹּל, and understand: *they were ready* with the entire object incumbent upon them, that however was men who, *etc.*—[Rawlinson *in loco:* "In some cases, it may be presumed, they had to summon persons before them who did not wish to part with their foreign wives; in all they had to assure themselves that the wives were foreign; finally they had in every case where they decreed a divorce to make out the 'writing of divorcement,' to which the woman put away was entitled as evidence of her having been a wife and having become free."—Tr.]—**By the first day of the first month,** namely, of the following year. The session thus lasted in all very nearly three months.

Vers. 18–44. Catalogue of the men, who had strange wives, and were obliged to dismiss them. First of all are the priests in vers. 18–22, and indeed in vers. 18 and 19 four of the house of the high-priest.—**Of the sons of Jeshua,** *etc.* This evidently means the high-priest Jeshua, who had come to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. The sons of his brother were probably only his distant relatives; according to ii. 36, they were, if Jeshua there is the high-priest Jeshua, sons of Jedaiah, thus brother in a broader sense.

Ver. 19. **They gave their hands,** that is, they vowed in a solemn manner by striking hands (comp. 2 Kings x. 15) to dismiss their wives. וַאֲשֵׁמִים might follow as epexegesis = and indeed as guilty. But it is more simple to supply: and they were guilty, that is, as they stood there guilty. The more general law of Lev. v. 14 sq. comes into consideration. They must bring a guilt-offering, because they had committed a מַעַל against Jehovah, for which a satisfaction was possible, and hence must likewise be given; comp. the different opinions respecting the guilt-offering in Keil's *Archäol.* I. S. 244. אֵיל־צֹאן is subordinated as an accusative of closer definition to the previous word. In connection with the following persons we are to supply in thought the promise to dismiss the wives and probably also the offering of a corresponding guilt-offering.—Of the names following in vers. 20–22 some occur again in Neh. viii. 4; x. 2–9, which perhaps designate the same persons. In all eighteen priests were guilty; none of the divisions that had returned with Zerubbabel had kept themselves free from the transgression (comp. ii. 36–39).

In vers. 23 and 24 ten Levites follow, among whom Kelaiah, usually called Kelita (comp. Neh. viii. 7 and x. 11); furthermore Jozabad, who again occurs in Neh. viii. 7.

Vers. 26–44 give the names from the rest of Israel. In all there are eighty-six, distributed among ten of the families named in chapter ii. It is singular that the sons of Bani are mentioned twice in ver. 29 and ver. 34, and probably there is an error in the second Bani, although it already occurs in the reading of the Sept. and Esdras. Whilst of every other family only four, six, seven or eight persons are enumerated in ver. 34 sq. not less than twenty-seven are mentioned as of this family. Furthermore it is singular that the inhabitants of the cities adduced in ii. 21–28 and vers. 33–35 are not expressly mentioned, whilst yet in ver. 7 sq. and ver. 14 those outside the city come into consideration as well as the Jerusalemites. Probably the twenty-seven men mentioned in vers. 34–41 belonged to the different districts of Judah.

Ver. 44 concludes the entire catalogue with a summary statement.—**All these had taken strange wives.**—נֹשְׂאֵי must be taken as a participle; probably, however, we should read as the perfect נָשְׂאוּ. for the expression נָשָׂא נָשִׁים, comp. ix. 2. No admissible sense can be derived from the last words of the verse; the translation: And there were among them women, and they had, or which had brought sons into the world, by which the masc. suffix of מֵהֶם, and so also the masc. form וַיָּשִׂימוּ, is referred to the wives, gives a statement, which is too self-evident to be correct. But a change which Bertheau proposes: "And there were among them those who sent away wives and sons," does not commend itself, partly because it is in too little connection with the text as we have it, partly because such a clause would likewise be too self-evident after ver. 3.—[Rawlinson adopts the former interp. and says: "The fact is noted as having increased the difficulty of Ezra's task."—Tr.]

THOUGHTS UPON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

Vers. 1–4. 1. It is certainly worthy of remark that it is not narrated of Ezra that he, as we should expect, expressly and severely denounced the men married to strange wives, but that we are only told of his prayer and confession of sin, in which he includes himself in the number of the guilty. Earnest sorrow for the sin to be denounced in others, and especially persevering prayer in their behalf, which in the nature of the case readily includes intercession, generally makes a deeper impression as well upon the persons themselves as their adherents, than castigating sermons, as then likewise here a great crowd of men, women, and children assembled

about the praying and sorrowing Ezra, deeply affected by his sorrow.

2. If a head of a community sorrows in true sympathy and anxiety for his people, the better class of the people do not lack the earnest wish to remove his sorrow, and especially its cause: the love and respect which they entertain for him very easily pass over into this wish, and then there is easily found in the congregation itself a spokesman, who, as here Shechaniah, openly acknowledges the guilt, and correctly expresses what it is necessary to do in order to be free from it. Such a voice, moreover, arising out of the congregation itself, such willingness, springing up of itself, is the best result and reward of the sorrowing one. The willingness of the congregation, thus testified, is thereby at the same time still further intensified and enlarged, and the improvement which then takes place as a free act, has a truly ethical significance.

3. Such a one, who stands in the midst of a congregation, has need not only of a strict conscientiousness, but also of great courage and alacrity, in order to openly designate a sin of which many have been guilty as a sin, and demand the putting of it away. But he who is first convinced that the sin in question is really sin, and that the putting it away is really God's will, should not be frightened by any objection from expressing his conviction, and improving the others, who perhaps are only weak, but not hardened. A lack of conscientiousness and courage in this respect is truly lamentable; it is ominous and ruinous for those in question. Joy in God, on the other hand, has its great blessings under all circumstances, even when, instead of good resulting, at first only opposition, scorn, and persecution are reaped. Besides, a good transaction never remains entirely, at least never very long, wholly without results.

Vers. 5–8. It is indeed possible, yea, usually the case, that the first better feelings which dawn at a reformation are transitory. Many let themselves be carried away by the awakening voices of the better spirits, so that they to a certain extent outrun themselves, and regard themselves as capable of the severest self-sacrifices; but afterwards, when they come to realize the difficulties to be overcome, in all their magnitude, they shrink back from them as quickly as they had before resolved to overcome them. Even because they are so great, they deem themselves excused from carrying out their resolution. And the longer they hesitate the more grounds they find to justify the sins that were to be put away. He who would truly improve a congregation should therefore never be satisfied with a first good resolution on their part; his earnestness, his sorrow, his prayer must endure, and it must be felt by all, that he has no rest and no joy until the good resolution has become act and fact. But if anything, such a perseverance will have the power to deepen and render permanent the penitence of the congregation, so that, as in our history, it takes the steps with earnestness and zeal, that are necessary to carry out the good resolution.

Vers. 9–12. The wife was not in such a high station among the Israelites as among Christians. Polygamy was still allowed. Yet the true relation to God and the recognition of the truth, that the woman had been created in the divine image, already involved, that the position of the man towards the woman was much better than among the heathen Asiatics. The demand that wives and children should be dismissed was at any rate, for the most of the parties concerned, one of the hardest that could at all be made. But a true reformer should not hesitate to demand even the hardest things of the congregation of the Lord, and express his demand with clearness and definiteness. His rule is God's word and will alone. Every modification, weakening, and rendering it easy on his part, renders his work of reformation all the more difficult. For it deprives him of his authority as an instrument of God; he thereby abandons the only safe foundation, besides passes over to act in his own name. It renders it difficult for the congregation to follow him. For to do God's pure and clear will there is ever to be found fresh readiness, but to execute the will of a man, or what he may think proper, does not satisfy. The divine will often demands much—very much—but its accomplishment has a corresponding blessing, but this fails if God's demand is weakened by human devices.

Vers. 13–17. 1. We cannot blame the authorities for assembling the people without delay even in the cold and rainy season of the year. The removal of transgressions against God's law and will admits of no delay. But again, it would not have been justifiable for Ezra to have prepared additional unnecessary burdens for the people, who already had besides enough to bear in the burden they had taken on themselves if He exposed them to the injuries of the storm, so to speak, punished them. Towards him who is willing to impose upon himself every self-denial, even the hardest, for the sake of the word of God, every possible forbearance has ever its proper place. And under all circumstances he who would carry out a difficult work of reformation has to take care that everything moves on in order.

2. From our point of view, the dismissal of strange wives with their children, seems extravagantly severe,—without doubt there were also many in the congregation of that time who found the demand of Ezra beyond measure hard, many who might be ruined by this proceeding. Notwithstanding, if we properly estimate all the circumstances of that period, and especially the great dangers that threatened the very existence of the congregation, we will be obliged to regard Ezra as in the right. We are not always to avoid that which may be a stumbling-block. The point of view which alone decides at last, is ever that the communion with the Lord must be re-established or furthered; all communion and friendship with men must stand in the background. If, when we let the latter retire to the background we be regarded as destitute of consideration and the like, we may easily put up with it. Even the opinion of men already prepares a martyrdom, to which Peter's word may be applied, "happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you." 1 Pet. iv. 14. What a thorough success his proceeding without regard to consequences had is clear from Neh. viii.—x.; for it certainly already gave an

important impulse to the renewal of the covenant there narrated,—it is clear then moreover from Ps. cxi. and cxii., which praise the Lord still for the redemption given to the people, at the same time, however, already are full of praise of the law and the disposition in accordance with the law, especially also from Ps. cxix., if it originated already in this period where the poet, just as Ezra in chap. ix., refers to deadly peril, from which the Lord only has delivered him, or removed him, and the one thought that only in the keeping of the divine commandments is salvation, is given with variation, comp. especially ver. 37 sq.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–4. The power of sorrow over sin (if it be a true, divine sorrow): 1) It moves the pious to sympathy and sorrow; 2) the more intelligent to the recognition of sin; 3) the guilty, at least in part, to the resolution to put away sin.—The possibility of hope in God: 1) In spite of what circumstances: even when the pious leaders sorrow, and the more intelligent are obliged to admit great transgression; 2) under what conditions: when we are ready to re-establish the communion with God by putting away sin, and again cheer those sorrowing for it.—Starke: If we have sinned and deserved punishment, we should not despair. or let go every hope, as if we were out and out ruined; but we should confess the sins committed, lament and grieve for them, and take our refuge with the mercy of God.

Vers. 5–8. How will it be better? 1) If he who has to represent the cause of God obligates superiors (fathers and teachers) to do their duty and suffers sorrow so long as they have not accomplished their work.—Starke: Preachers should be an example for the people (1 Tim. iv. 12), that they should see their good works and be likewise incited to good.—In the example of the great is a great power for evil and also for good. 2) When the superiors earnestly and zealously take heed to remove the general transgression. 3) When those who would not follow are excluded from communion with the others.—Starke: Those who publicly sin should be publicly chastised, in order that others also may fear. Preachers should chastise with especial earnestness where there is loose conduct in matter of marriage.—In true conversion we must for God's sake renounce that which is hard and difficult for us to renounce.

Vers. 9–12. True willingness to set aside that which separates from God: 1) on the side of the people—they follow the call of their superiors punctually, with zeal, in spite of external difficulties; 2) on the side of the teacher—he sincerely shows the people their sins, and requires of them also confidently the most difficult things; 3) on the side of those who have sinned—they vow to free themselves from their guilt.—The duty of loving God more than our nearest relatives. 1) When we are to follow it—always and under all circumstances, even when to fulfil it is especially difficult. 2) What it means—especially this, that we do wrong in letting our highest good be imperilled by relatives, by our wives or by our children,—that we are therefore bound to choose the wife, above all, with reference to the Lord; 3) upon what it is based—on our having to give the Lord praise and honor (comp. ver. 11)—Brentius: *Non est quidem matrimonium sine consensu et sine promissione, at illa non sufficiunt. In contractu matrimonii requiretur legis observatio.*

[Scott: Genuine humiliation before God and sorrow for sin always produce works meet for repentance.—Fervent affections should not be allowed to subside till our most beloved sins have been renounced.—Henry: Our weeping for other people's sins may perhaps set them a weeping for themselves, who otherwise would have continued senseless and remorseless.—Then there is hope of people when they are convinced not only that *'tis good* to part with their sins, but that 'tis indispensably *necessary*.—Wordsworth: Prayer may preach; the sighs and sobs of the penitent are sometimes the best sermons; but prayers and tears avail not without practice.—Tr.]

THE END.

# THE BOOK

OF

# NEHEMIAH.

CRITICALLY AND THEOLOGICALLY EXPOUNDED,

INCLUDING THE HOMILETICAL SECTIONS OF DR. SCHULTZ,

BY

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# THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. THE BOOK AND ITS CONTENTS.

The Book of Nehemiah holds a conspicuous place in the sacred canon as the last historic composition of the ante-christian period. With the exception of the prophecy of Malachi, it gives us the last clear look at the Jewish state before it reappears in the bright light of the gospels. We see the returned people—a small remnant of the children of Jacob—continuing the national line in the ancestral land toward the Messiah, with holy vitality enough (as it were) for this one purpose, but with a general mortification existing throughout the nation. The ark of the covenant was gone, the Shechinah no longer illuminated the holy of holies, the Urim and Thummim had long ceased, the bulk of the people were lost in captivity from Armenia to Elam, and Israel, instead of being an independent commonwealth, with a mighty and magnificent capital, had become a petty province of Persia, while Jerusalem was but a half-rebuilt ruin. Yet, with all this, prophets were still vouchsafed to the Abrahamic line. Haggai and Zechariah had by the use of their prophetic power certified the special presence of Jehovah at the building of the second temple, and Malachi, more than a century later, urged the people to renewed spirituality in the name of the Lord. From Neh. vi. 10, 12, 14, we are led to believe that between Haggai and Malachi many prophets appeared before returned Israel, although some of them prostituted their divine gift to low and false ends.

This twilight age of Jewry is lighted up by the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah as the evening is often re-illuminated by the absent sun's reflection upon a cloud high in the zenith. They give us an inlook into the style of life assumed by the nation in its lingering decadence. We enter the holy city—we see and hear the men—we note their tendencies, and mark the old, strange mingling of patriotism and devotion with a *philoxeny* that was destructive of both. The narratives bring us into close contact with the people. Nehemiah's words are simple, betraying not the least effort of the rhetorician, but their very homeliness makes the scenes described most life-like. We see throughout the writing of an honest, earnest man,—and through him the history closes with a sublime dignity.

The book of Nehemiah was included by the old Jews with the book of Ezra, and the latter name was given to the two. In the Vulgate the book of Ezra appears as the first book of Esdras, and the book of Nehemiah as the second book of Esdras. The Geneva Bible introduced our present nomenclature, and thus made the Apocryphal third and fourth books of Esdras to be numbered as the first and second.

The language is a pure Hebrew, with here and there such an Aramaism as חָבַל in the sense of "deal corruptly" (chap. i. 7), מִדָּה in the sense of "tribute" (chap. v. 4), and מָלַךְ in the sense of "consult." This book, Ezra and the Chronicles offer to us the same general linguistic appearance. Such ἅπαξ λεγόμενα as יָגִיפוּ (chap. vii. 3) and תַּהֲלֻכֹת (chap. xii. 31) are the peculiarities of the individual writer, and no marks of a different period.

The main subject of the book is the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, which, in the largest sense, if we include the dedication of the walls and the events occurring during the building, occupies nearly ten chapters of the thirteen which compose the book, namely, chap. iii.—chap. xii. 43. Previous to the wall-building we have the account of Nehemiah's concern for the holy city, his earnest prayer for the divine guidance, his request of the king of Persia, his journey (by royal permission and order) to Jerusalem as its governor, his careful examination of the ruined walls, his encouragement of the people to rebuild them and their consent, and his bold front against the neighboring enemies of the Jews. This preliminary narrative occupies the first two chapters. We may divide the next ten chapters regarding the wall-building and the dedication into—(1) The apportionment of the work, chap. iii.; (2) The opposition from enemies without, chap. iv.; (3) The hindrance from domestic dissensions, chap. v.; (4) The opposition by combination between the outer enemies and their Jewish allies. The wall finished, chap. vi.; (5) The ordering of the city. To this end the genealogies are examined, chap. vii. (6) Religious services follow, to wit: the public reading of the law by Ezra and his assistants. Preparation for and keeping the feast of tabernacles, chap. viii.; (7) Extraordinary fast, with confession, chap. ix.; (8) A covenant sealed touching obedience to the law, separation from foreigners, observation of the Sabbath days and years, and support of the temple service, chap. x.; (9) The settlement of the families in the holy city and the other towns, chap. xi.; (10) A preliminary list of priests and Levites. The dedication of the wall, chap. xii. 1–43.

The remainder of the book, *viz.*, chap. xii. 44—chap. xiii., contains an account of the appointment of officers over the treasures, and the ordering of the singers and porters, the thorough separation of Israel from the strangers, according to the law, and lastly (from chap. xiii. 4), an account of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem, and his stern dealing with Eliashib's family for their alliances with Sanballat and Tobiah, together with his other resolute measures of reform. (See the scheme following.)

## § 2. THE AUTHOR AND HIS TIME.

That Nehemiah is the author of the book, all agree. Much of it is written in the first person, and claims thus to be the writing of Nehemiah himself. But while it is agreed that Nehemiah is the author of the book, yet some learned commentators, such as Archdeacon HERVEY, pronounce a large part of the book to have been inserted by other (though authorized) hands. From chap. vii. 6 to xii. 26 inclusive the matter is supposed to be inserted, as also the passage chap. xii. 44–47. KEIL, on the other hand, stoutly argues for Nehemiah's authorship throughout. The truth is probably between these extremes. The genealogy in chap. vii. 6–73 (virtually the same as that in Ezra ii. 1–70) is undoubtedly an inserted public document, and yet in this we can see Nehemiah's hand making the addition of ver. 65 and ver. 70 *b* regarding his own (the Tirshatha's) action in reference to matters alluded to in the older document.* So the record in chap. xii. 1–26 is evidently an insertion, giving lists of priests and Levites from Zerubbabel's day to the time of Alexander the Great (Jaddua—vers. 11, 22), a century after Nehemiah. KEIL's attempt to explain away this latter is labored and unsatisfactory. The rest of the supposed inserted portion we take to be Nehemiah's own. The fact that Nehemiah does not there speak in the first person only parallels his book with that of Daniel, where the first person and the third person are interchangeably used. Ezra's prominence in this part of the narrative is simply caused by Ezra's priestly duties requiring him to be the prominent figure,† and only exhibits Nehemiah's modesty in the record. The resemblance to Ezra's style and the different construction of the prayer in chap. ix. from that in chap. i. are arguments of a very frail character. The general likeness of chap. xi. 3–36 and 1 Chron. ix. 2–34 makes nothing against Nehemiah's authorship of that portion. There is no good reason for denying a regular chronological sequence in this part

* This document, so amended by Nehemiah, has been incorporated in Ezra.

† The Rev. Mr. Haigh has urged a very bold and ingenious theory, but one that will not bear examination,—that Ezra and Nehemiah went to Jerusalem together. (See *Transact. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, Vol. II.)

of the book in perfect consonance with the rest, and we cannot but consider the attempts to throw doubt here on Nehemiah's authorship as an effort of the destructive criticism that is so headlong and heedless in its efforts. Nehemiah* (Heb. נְחֶמְיָה, *Nehemyah*, "compassion of Jehovah") was of the tribe of Judah, and probably of the royal stock. The expressions in chap. i. 6 and ii. 5, together with his special activity in the matter of re-establishing Jerusalem, and his acceptability by his countrymen, and also his high position at the Persian court, all seem to suggest this fact of Nehemiah's birth. His father was Hachaliah, of whom we know nothing. The name Nehemiah was probably a common one. Many have supposed that Nehemiah was a priest, but there is no more satisfactory ground for such a notion than the occurrence of his name, as Tirshatha, before the names of the priests in chap. x. 1. He was cup-bearer to Artaxerxes (Heb. אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתָּא, *Artahshasta*), king of Persia. This position was a very high one at court, and brought him into close and intimate relations with the monarch, whence came his ability (when his soul was stirred for Jerusalem) to carry out his measures of aid and reform for his beloved ancestral country. His character appears to us as faultless. Patriotism, piety, prudence, perseverance, probity and courage equally marked his administration of affairs. He renounced the luxuries of the Persian court for the hardships of what might almost be called a primitive and frontier life, in order to save his country from physical and moral ruin; in all his varied trials he looked up to the guidance and protection of his God; he used methods with careful discrimination, he pursued his determined course unflinchingly, he set an example of self-abnegation and liberal dealing, and met the enemies without and within the nation with equal firmness and success. The time in which Nehemiah flourished was clearly that of Artaxerxes I. (*Longimanus*). This king's 32d year is mentioned in chap. xiii. 6. Only three kings of Persia had a 32d year in their reigns—Darius I. (*Hystaspis*), Artaxerxes I. (*Longimanus*), and Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon). Now this Artaxerxes could not be Darius, for in Ezra vi. 14 the two names are contrasted, as of different monarchs. Whoever the Artaxerxes may be there, his name in that connection shows that Darius was not known as Artaxerxes. The date of Artaxerxes II. is far too late for the chronological position of Eliashib, as high priest. We are therefore shut up to Artaxerxes I. as the monarch mentioned by Nehemiah. Josephus calls the king Xerxes, but the chronology of Joseph is so wretchedly corrupt in the matter of Nehemiah, Ezra, Sanballat, *etc.*, that it is waste time to give him attention.†

In Artaxerxes I.'s time Persia was in its zenith of splendor and power, although the elements of decay were already beginning to work in the empire. Artaxerxes had come to the throne through the assassination of his father, Xerxes, by the chief of the guard, Artabanus. At the instigation of Artabanus, he put his brother Darius to death as the murderer of his father, but on discovering the designs of Artabanus against himself, he slew the double traitor. He subdued a revolt headed by his brother Hystaspes, reduced rebellious Egypt, and terminated the long hostilities with Greece by the peace of Callias. The empire then enjoyed a period of quiet, which may be regarded as the culminating point of its glory, during which the events of Nehemiah's history occurred.

The name *Artaxerxes* is the Greek and *Artahshasta* is the Hebrew for the old Persian **Artakhshatra** from *Arta* (very) and *Khshatra* (powerful). Herodotus translates it *μέγα ἀρήϊος*. *Khshatra* is allied to the *Khshatram* (empire) of the Behistun inscription (Col. i. Par. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14) and to *Khshayathiya* (king). The second element of the name is not identical with the name Xerxes, which is in old Persian *Khshayarsha*.

* The name Nehemiah occurs twice in the book as referring to others than the author—to Nehemiah, son of Azbuk, in chap. iii. 16, and to Nehemiah, a companion of Zerubbabel in chap. vii. 7.

† Josephus puts both Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Xerxes, son of Darius, and speaks of Xerxes' twenty-eighth year! He also makes Nehemiah to be two years and four months building the walls. He puts the story of Esther in the time of Artaxerxes, and makes Sanballat to be appointed satrap at Samaria by Darius Codomannus.

### § 3. SCHEME OF THE BOOK.

**I. Before the wall-building** (chaps. i., ii.).

1. Nehemiah's sadness (chap. i.).
2. Nehemiah's request of the king (chap. ii. 1–8).
3. Nehemiah's journey (chap. ii. 9–11).
4. Nehemiah's inspection and counsel (chap. ii. 12–20).

**II. The wall-building** (chap. iii.—xii. 43).

1. The stations (chap. iii.).
2. The opposition from without (chap. iv.).
3. The opposition from within (chap. v.).
4. The craft used by the enemies (chap. vi.).
5. The ordering of the city (chap. vii. 1–4).
6. The genealogy (chap. vii. 5–73).
7. The law-reading on the first of Tisri (chap. viii. 1–12).
8. The preparations for the feast of tabernacles (chap. viii. 13–16)
9. The feast of tabernacles (chap. viii. 17, 18).
10. The extraordinary fast (chaps. ix., x.).
11. The distribution of inhabitants (chap. xi.).
12. The Levitical Genealogy (chap. xii. 1–26).
13. The dedication of the walls (chap. xii. 27–43).

**III. After the wall building.**

1. Levitical apportionments (chap. xii. 44–47).
2. The separation of the *Erev* (mixed multitude—chap. xiii. 1–3).

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3. Nehemiah's reforms twelve years later (chap. xiii. 4–31).

# THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

CHAPTER I. 1–11.

1 THE words [history] of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah. And it came to pass
in the month Chisleu, in the twentieth year [of Artaxerxes], as I was in Shushan
2 the palace [the citadel of Susa], that Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and
*certain* men of Judah; and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped
[the Jews, the delivered ones], which were left [over] of the captivity, and con-
3 cerning Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The remnant [the left-over ones]
that are left [over] of the captivity there in the province *are* in great affliction and
reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also *is* broken down, and the gates thereof are
4 burned with fire. And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down
and wept, and mourned *certain* days, and fasted,[1] and prayed before the God of hea-
5 ven, and said, I beseech thee, O LORD God of heaven, the great and terrible God that
keepeth covenant and mercy [*i. e.* the merciful covenant] for them that love him
6 and observe his commandments: Let thine ear now be attentive, and thine eyes
open, that thou mayst hear the prayer of thy servant, which I pray before thee
now [to-day], day and night, for the children of Israel thy servants, and confess
the sins of the children of Israel, which we have sinned against thee: both I and
7 my father's house have sinned. We have dealt very corruptly[2] against thee, and
have not kept the commandments, nor the statutes, nor the judgments, which thou
8 commandedst thy servant Moses. Remember, I beseech thee the word that thou
commandedst thy servant Moses, saying, *If* ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad
9 among the nations: but *if* ye turn unto me and keep my commandments, and do
them; though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, yet
will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have
10 chosen to set my name there. Now these *are* thy servants and thy people, whom
11 thou hast redeemed by thy great power, and by thy strong hand. O Lord, I
beseech thee, let now thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servant, and to
the prayer of thy servants, who desire to fear thy name: and prosper, I pray thee,
thy servant this day, and grant him mercy in the sight of this man [*i. e.* Artaxer-
xes]. For I was the king's cup-bearer.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 4. וָאֱהִי צָם. Here and in 2 Sam. xii. 23 the participle. Here the auxiliary verb expressed. After יָמִים supply רַבִּים, as in Dan. x. 14.

[2] Ver. 7. חֲבֹל חָבַלְנוּ לָךְ. Aben Ezra and most of the Jewish commentators count this a Chaldaism as in Dan. vi. 23, 24 (22, 23). In Gen. vi. 12 כִּי־הִשְׁחִית כָּל־בָּשָׂר is translated by Onkelos אֲרֵי חַבִּילוּ כָּל בִּשְׂרָא. The meaning of "act corruptly" is, however, found in Job xxxiv. 31. It may be an early Aramaic signification.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Tidings from Jerusalem.*

Ver. 1. The title of the book is contained in its first four (Hebrew) words, *Divre Nehemyah Ben 'Hachalyah,** *i. e.*, **The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah.**—Even the prophets sometimes begin their books in this way (see Jer. i. 1, and Amos i. 1), although with them the *Devar Yehovah* (the Word of the Lord) finds its place soon after. The absence of the *Devar Yehovah* here is nothing against the inspired character of the book. Its presence in the prophets is simply a token of their prophetic character, as they speak to the people directly in God's name with a special message. In the historical books, even in the Pentateuch, the sacred foundation of them all, this phrase very naturally is not found. Here, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, and elsewhere, "the words of" are really "the words about," or "the history of." In Jer. i. 1, Amos. i. 1, *etc.*, they have the literal meaning. (Dathe rightly "historia Nehemiah"). (For the name and history of Nehemiah, see the Introduction).

The starting-point of Nehemiah's *words* (or history) is **in the month Chisleu, in the twentieth year, in Shushan the palace.**—Chisleu was the ninth month, Abib or Nisan (in which the passover fell) being the first. Chisleu would thus answer to parts of November and December. Josephus makes it (Χασλεὺ) the same as the Macedonian Apellæus (Ant. xii. 7, 6), which was the second month of the Macedonian year, whose first month Dius began at the autumnal equinox. Apellæus would thus be from the latter part of October to the latter part of November. Josephus was probably satisfied in identifying the two months of Chisleu and Apellæus, to find some portion of time belonging equally to both. They certainly did not coincide throughout.

Chisleu is not likely to be a Persian month-name, as has been conjectured. The Behistun inscription gives us eight Persian month-names, to wit., Bagayadish, Viyakhna, Garmapada, Atriyatiya, Anamaka, Thuravahara, Thaigarchish and Adukanish. It is true that in all but the first of these battles are recorded as occurring, so that they are not probably winter months. Yet the style of the names would scarcely warrant us in supposing that Chisleu would be in such a list. As Chisleu appears on a Palmyrene inscription (Chaslul), it may be of Syrian origin. This month-name occurs in the Hebrew only after the captivity, to wit, in this place and in Zech. vii. 1. Fuerst suggests *Chesil* (Orion-Mars) as the base of the name, the name being brought from Babylonia by the exiles; but the name is found in the Assyrian, as are the other (so-supposed) Persian month-names of the Jews, which is strong presumptive evidence of their Shemitic origin.

The "twentieth year" is, as in chap. ii. 1, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (Heb. *Arta'hshasta*), who reigned from B. C. 465 to 425. The year designated is therefore parts of B. C. 446 and 445, when the "age of Pericles" was beginning in Athens, and when Rome was yet unknown to the world. (For Artaxerxes, see Introduction). "Shushan the palace" (Heb. *Shushan Habbirah*) was the royal portion of the "city Shushan" (Esther iii. 15). Shushan or Susa (now *Sus*) lay between the Eulæus (Ulai) and Shapur rivers, in a well-watered district, and was the capital of Susiana or Cissia, the Scriptural *Elam* (Isa. xi. 11) the country lying between the southern Zagros mountains and the Tigris. It early furnished a dynasty to Babylonia (Gen. xiv. 1), was conquered by Asshur-bani-pal about B. C. 660, and shortly afterward fell to the lot of the later Babylonian Empire. When the Persians had conquered this Empire, Susa was made a royal residence by Darius Hystaspes, who built the great palace, whose ruins now attract the attention of archæologists. Artaxerxes (the king of Nehemiah's time) repaired the palace, whose principal features resembled those of the chief edifice at Persepolis, the older capital of the Persian Empire. The present ruins of Susa cover a space about a mile square, the portion of which near the river Shapur is probably "Shushan the palace."

Athenæus (xii. 8) says, *Κληθῆναι τὰ Σοῦσά φησιν 'Αριστόβουλος καὶ Χάρης διὰ τὴν ὡραιότητα τοῦ τόπου· σοῦσον γὰρ εἶναι τῇ* Ελλήνων (? 'Ελυμαίων) *φωνῇ τὸ κρίνον*. So Steph. Byzant, Σοῦσα, *ἀπὸ τῶν κρίνων, ἃ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πεφύκει ἐκείνῃ.* If this be true we must accord it a Shemitic origin, which is against other evidence. Shushan may be a Turanian or an Aryan word, whose likeness to "Shushan" (Shemit. for *lily*) has deceived the old writers. Susa was the court's principal residence, Ecbatana or Persepolis being visited for the summer only, and Babylon being sometimes occupied in the depth of winter.

Ver. 2. Nehemiah is informed of the sad condition of Jerusalem and the colony of Jews in Judea by Hanani and others. His words are **Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men of Judah,** *etc.* Hanani was literally brother to Nehemiah, as we see from chap. vii. 1. He afterward was appointed one of the assistant governors of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (ch. vii. 2). He is not to be confounded with Hanani, a priest, mentioned in chap. xii. 36, and (perhaps the same) in Ezra x. 20. *Of Judah* may be read *from Judah* as denoting place rather than tribal distinction. The words would thus refer to the verb "came," and naturally introduce Nehemiah's question. That the colony was called "Judah," see chap. ii. 7.

Nehemiah **asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem.** Heb. *happelêtah asher nisharu min hashshevi* (lit. "the deliverance which were left over from the captivity"). The abstract is used as a concrete collective noun. Although the greater part of the Jews preferred to live in the land to which their ancestors had been carried captive, yet to the pious heart those who returned to the old country were recognized as the "deliverance," or the "delivered ones," "escaped ones." The journey from Jerusalem to Susa by Tadmor or by Tiphsah is over a thousand miles long, and

* The Hebrew is transliterated for the benefit of the English reader.

at the usual rate of Oriental travelling would take at least 45 days. With the natural causes to retard so long a journey, we may safely call it a two months' travel. Ezra, with his caravan, was four months on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra vii. 9).

Ver. 3. Nehemiah's informers tell him that the **remnant** (*han-nisharim*, "the left-over ones") **in the province are in great affliction** (the general word for adversity) **and reproach** (the word explaining the cause of the adversity). They were the objects of scorn and contemptuous treatment from the neighboring peoples. The **wall of Jerusalem** they also represent as **broken down** and its **gates burned.** Nebuchadnezzar had broken down the walls a hundred and forty-two years before (2 Kings xxv. 10) and the attempt to rebuild them had been stopped by the Pseudo-Smerdis (the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7) seventy-six years before this embassy to Nehemiah. After that, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the temple had been finished, but the walls seem not to have been touched. The burnt gates were also, doubtless, the old wreck from Nebuchadnezzar's time. There is no reason for supposing that the walls had been rebuilt, and again destroyed. Hanani and the men of Judah add to their statement of the affliction and reproach of the province that the walls still remain in their old ruined condition.

Ver. 4. *Nehemiah's prayer.* The tidings brought by Hanani and the others deeply moved Nehemiah, and led him to a special season of humiliation and prayer. His grief was doubtless increased at the thought that all this evil existed in spite of Ezra's work, for Ezra had gone to Jerusalem thirteen years before. He **sat down and wept and mourned certain days and fasted and prayed.**—That is, he withdrew from his court duties, and spent a period of retirement (comp. Ps. cxxxvii. 1 for the phrase "sat down and wept") in most sincere sorrow, which compelled his fasting and prayer, as its godly manifestations. The phrase **God of heaven** (*Elohe hash-shamayim*) is supposed by some to be only found with the writers of the Babylonish or post-Babylonish period, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the author of the 136th Psalm, but we find it in Gen. xxiv. 3, 7, and in Jonah i. 9. The style is repeated in Rev. xi. 13 and xvi. 11 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). It was a natural epithet to distinguish Jehovah from the gods of earth, formed of earthly substances. The phrase cannot properly be called Persian, as the reference in Jonah proves. Moreover, it does not occur in the long Behistun inscription. If it was used by the later Persians, it is as likely to have been taken from the Jews as *vice versâ.*

Ver. 5. **Terrible** is *awe-inspiring*, נוֹרָא, the Niphal participle of יָרֵא (to tremble). **That keepeth covenant and mercy.**—Lit. *That keepeth the covenant and mercy*, by hendiadys for "the covenant of mercy," or "the merciful covenant" established in the world's Messiah, but centrally and typically in the Israelitish system. **Observe his commandments**—or *keep his commandments;* the same verb as before. God keeps the covenant for them who keep His commandments. This is not a doctrine of meritorious works, but of adhering faith. See its explanation in John vi. 28, 29, where the work of God is a sincere faith. The essence of faith is love, whose definition is given in 2 John 6. "The great and terrible God" is a phrase borrowed from Deut. vii. 21, and "that keepeth—— observe his commandments" is from the 9th verse of the same chapter. The Pentateuch has furnished much of the religious phraseology of the nation in all ages. (Comp. Dan. ix. 4.)

Ver. 6. After this address to Jehovah as the awe-inspiring and yet covenant-keeping God, he asks God to hear him as the representative of his nation. The phrase, **let thine ear be attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou mayest hear,** is peculiar. It is derived from Solomon's prayer (1 Kings viii. 29, 52), and has reference, doubtless, to the greater attention paid by the ear when the eyes are opened towards the source of the sound.

**Now, day and night.**—Lit. *to-day, day and night.* His prayer was oft repeated in the course of these days of separation and mourning at hours of the night, as well as at the usual hours of daily prayer. **Which we have sinned.**—Nehemiah has a clear sense of his identification with his people in sin as in misery. **Both I and my father's house have sinned.**—From this mention of his father's house we have a strong reason to believe that Nehemiah was of the royal house of Judah. It is hard to understand his special mention of his father's house, unless it had been a conspicuous family in the nation. (See the Introduction.)

Ver. 7. **The commandments, nor the statutes, nor the judgments.**—Heb.: *eth-ham-mitzoth weth-hahukkim weth-hammishpatim.* It is almost impossible to draw the distinction between the meanings of these three words. They were probably used in the fulness of the legal style. *Commandment, statute and judgment* are the nearest English equivalents, but here they are all subjected to the verb corresponding to the first noun ("command"), and we must thus loosely refer them to the various forms of the divine commandments. The 119th Psalm seems to use these words as synonymous. (See on ch. ix. 13, 14.)

Ver. 8. **Remember, I beseech thee, the word.**—After the confession of sin comes the plea of God's promise. See Deut. iv. 25–31, xxx. 1–10. Not the words, but the spirit of the promise, is given.

Ver. 11. **Who desire to fear thy name.**—The name of God is His expression in His word or work. The declaration of a *desire to fear God* is a modest assertion of a true fear of God, but with a consciousness of its imperfection. **This man**=King Artaxerxes.—Nearness to God enables Nehemiah to think of the "great king" as only a man. The "this" does not indicate that he was in the king's presence when he prayed, but that he was brought into close relations with the king. **For I was the king's cup-bearer.**—The position of cup-bearer to the king was an exalted one (comp. Gen. xl. 21). *Rab-shakeh* (the name given to one of Sennacherib's envoys to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 17) means "chief cup-bearer." The monuments of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia show the high rank of the cup-

bearer. Nehemiah's high position as cup-bearer is an additional argument for his relationship to the royal family of Judah, for the Oriental despots loved to have men of royal blood to wait upon them. (See Dan. i. 3.) This phrase, "for I was the king's cup-bearer," is added as explanatory of the allusion to the king.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The interest of Nehemiah in the forlorn condition of Jerusalem had a deep religious character. Patriotism and piety were closely related in a people whose land had been the scene of a theocracy, and in a man of Nehemiah's character the piety is conspicuous in every impulse of his patriotism. It is sad to reflect that when such opportunity for a return to the Holy Land had been given by Cyrus, that only 50,000 Jews availed themselves of it, out of, probably, an aggregate of millions. The manner in which the affairs of the Jewish province dragged from Cyrus' day to the time of Nehemiah, a period of nearly a hundred years, was not due only or chiefly to the opposition of local enemies, supported by the Persian government, but had its chief cause in the apathy and self-seeking of the Jewish people. Nehemiah's piety is thus no type of the religious condition of the Jews of his day, but is a conspicuous exception to the general state of his people.

2. Fasting, with the exception of that on the day of atonement, was with the Jews (before tradition supplanted God's word) left to the suggestion of the occasion. It grew out of a deep grief or an anxious foreboding. Nehemiah's fast, continuing for several days, must have been not a total abstention from food, but a withdrawal from all pleasurable forms of eating, his sorrow rendering him averse to all indulgence in the pleasures of the palate.

3. The "day and night" prayer of Nehemiah was no "vain repetition," as his wounded spirit and his humble faith gave life to every utterance. He had two facts before him—the greatness of God and the sinfulness of God's chosen people. On these he would graft the return of the people and the mercy of God. Some, like himself, were looking Godward, and had not God promised mercy to such? The favor of the Persian monarch would be the expression of God's grace.

4. The rule of obedience ("if ye turn unto me and keep my commandments, and do them," *etc.*) is not the way of salvation, but of continued prosperity. The love of God is assumed in his children. Their happiness now depends on their obedience. "If ye love me, keep my commandments." The Jews were in covenant with God. Keeping commandments had not brought them there, but keeping commandments would fill them with the blessings of the covenant.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–4. Genuine patriotism. 1) When and where it is roused: both at a distance and in those who, in their prosperity, could easily forget their country and the people to whom they belong. 2) Concerning what it asks: concerning the prosperity of those whom the Lord has preserved or selected, that they should strive for a better future. 3) What it finds the hardest to bear: that its country and people are in distress, and even in reproach, and that they are wanting in power to protect the goods confided to them.

Starke: In prosperity we should not forget our poor relations or acquaintances, but should ask after them, Gen. xliii. 27. We should make the necessities of the saints our own, and give account of them to others. Rom. xii. 12.

Our greatest and final wish: 1) Concerning what we ask; there remains to us, even in prosperity and high position, if indeed we are godly, still one question, that is, concerning the kingdom of God, and its approach, and indeed only this certainty can satisfy us, that it comes continually more to us, to our families and our people; without it nothing is of worth to us, for without it there is no stability. 2) Concerning what we mourn for; that thus far, always so much the opposite of that takes place which should take place in relation to the kingdom of God. 3) Before whom we bear it: before the Lord with mourning, fasting and prayer.

Starke: If the saints of God had great love and yearning for their fatherland, the earthly Jerusalem (Ps. li. 20; cxxxvii. 5), how much greater love and yearning should we have for the heavenly Jerusalem! Heb. xii. 22; xiii. 14. Although a Christian is neither bound to the Jewish nor to the Romish fasts of the present day, still he should practice sobriety. 1 Pet. iv. 8. The judgments of God cannot better be averted than by true humiliation, fervent prayer and honest reformation. Gen. xviii. 23 sq.

Vers. 5–11. The nature of the true petition (for Jerusalem, for the Church): 1) It proceeds from true love; is therefore persistent and fervent: Nehemiah prays (ver. 6) day and night for the children of Israel. 2) It rests upon the humble recognition of one's own worthlessness (although standing before God as priest, the petitioner includes himself nevertheless to the inmost with those for whom he prays). 3) It is full of faith, in spite of sin and punishment, on the ground of the divine promise.

The foundations for our faith in the time of oppression: 1) God's promise, after the chastisements which we have merited, to allow mercy again to rule. 2) God's former evident proofs of grace, particularly the greatest, that He has freed us by His great power (*shining deed*), and has made us His servants. 3) God's divine nature itself, which cannot be false to itself, and cannot leave unfinished that which it has begun.

Starke: The knowledge of God through the law and through the gospel must be united, otherwise the latter makes confident epicurean and rough people; but the former, hesitating and timid doubters (vers. 4, 5). Neither must we excuse the sins and transgressions of our ancestors. Dan. ix. 16.—Whoever stands in the consciousness of the poverty of his spirit does not exclude himself from sinners, but still always humbles himself before God. Dan. ix. 7; 1 Tim. i. 15; 1 John i. 8. God knows our weakness beforehand, and knows that we will stumble in the future. Matt. xxvi. 31. God's choice

**is unalterable, and He keeps faith forever. Ps. cxlvi. 6; Jer. iii. 12. We should grasp God's promises and favors by true faith, and base ourselves upon them in prayer. Ps. xxvii. 8; Mark xi. 24. We are God's property and servants, and have been dearly bought and freed. 1 Pet. ii. 9. If we wish to obtain anything from men, especially from those in power, we should first seek it in prayer from God, for their hearts also are in God's hand, and He can incline them as He will. Prov. xxi. 1; Esther iv. 16.**

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## CHAPTER II. 1-20.

1 AND it came to pass in the month Nisan in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes
the King *that* wine *was* before him: and I took up the wine and gave *it* unto the
2 king. Now I had not been *beforetime* sad in his presence. Wherefore [and]
the king said unto me, Why *is* thy countenance sad, seeing thou *art* not sick? this
*is* nothing *else* but sorrow of heart. Then I was very sore afraid, and said unto
3 the king, Let the king live for ever: why should not my countenance be sad, when
the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, *lieth* waste, and the gates thereof are
4 consumed with fire? Then the king said unto me, For what dost thou make re-
5 quest? So I prayed to the God of heaven. And I said unto the king, If it please
the king, and if thy servant have found favor in thy sight, that thou wouldest send
6 me unto Judah, unto the city of my father's sepulchres, that I may build it. And
the king said unto me, (the queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy
journey be? And when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and
7 I set him a time. Moreover I said unto the king, If it please the king, let letters
be given me to the governors beyond the river [Euphrates], that they may convey
8 me over [*i. e.* from country to country] till I come into Judah; and a letter unto
Asaph the keeper of the king's forest, that he may give me timber to make beams
for the gates of the palace which *appertained* to the house [*i. e.* temple], and for
the wall of the city, and for the house [*i. e.* temple] that I shall enter into [to in-
spect]. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me.
9 Then I came to the governors beyond the river [Euphrates], and gave them the
king's letters. Now the king had sent captains of the army and horsemen with
10 me. When Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard
*of it*, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare
11 of the children of Israel. So I came to Jerusalem, and was there three days.
12 And I arose in the night, I and some few men with me; neither told I *any* man
what my God had put in my heart to do at Jerusalem: neither *was there any* beast
13 with me, save the beast that I rode upon. And I went out by night by the gate
of the valley, even before the dragon-well and to the dung-port, and viewed the
walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed
14 with fire. Then I went on to the gate of the fountain, and to the king's pool, but
15 *there was* no place for the beast *that was* under me to pass. Then went I up in the
night by the brook, and viewed the wall, and turned back, and entered by the
16 gate of the valley, and *so* returned. And the rulers knew not whither I went, or
what I did; neither had I as yet told *it* to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the
nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that [afterwards] did the work.
17 Then said I unto them, Ye see the distress that we *are* in, how Jerusalem *lieth*
waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come and let us build up the
18 wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach. Then I told them of the hand
of my God which was good upon me; as also the king's words that he had spoken
unto me. And they said, Let us rise and build. So they strengthened their hands
19 for this good work [*or rather*, for good]. But when Sanballat the Horonite, and
Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian heard *it*, they laughed
us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What *is* this thing that ye do? Will ye

20 rebel against the king? Then answered I them, and said unto them, The God of heaven, he will prosper us; therefore [and] we his servants will arise and build: but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial [*i. e.*, record of remembrance] in Jerusalem.

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 6. שֵׁגָל. Only here and in Ps. xlv. 10. See Exegetical Note.

[2] Ver. 7. עַל־פַּחֲוֹת. This later use of עַל for אֶל, found in Ezra and Esther, is also found in Job frequently. Compare Exeg. Note on ch. i. 7.

[3] Ver. 8. לְקָרוֹת, infin. construct. of the Piel קָרָה, as in ch. iii. 3, 6. So 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11. See also Ps. civ. 3. בִּירָה. This late Hebrew word is applied to the temple in 1 Chron. xxi. 19, and to the royal portion of Susa in Neh. i. 1. (Comp. Ezra. vi. 2.) See Exeg. Note here, and on ch. vii. 2.

[4] Ver. 12. רֹכֵב בָּהּ for רֹכֵב עָלֶיהָ. Comp. Is. lxvi. 20.

[5] Ver. 13. שֹׁבֵר. In LXX. ἤμην συντρίβων. So also in ver. 15. Doubtless the correct reading is, with some MSS. and commentators, שָׂבַר, which, however, never elsewhere occurs in Kal.—הֵם פְּרוּצִים. The open Mem. suggests הַמְּפֹרָצִים as the proper reading. (Comp. ch. i. 3.)

[6] Ver. 14. לַעֲבֹר תַּחְתָּי. A clumsy form for אֲשֶׁר תַּחְתַּי לַעֲבֹר.

[7] Ver. 16. עַד־כֵּן, not "as yet," but "until so," *i. e.* עַד אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי כֵּן.

[8] Ver. 17. חֶרְפָּה for לְחֶרְפָּה.

[9] Ver. 18. נָקוּם וּבָנִינוּ for נָקוּם וְנִבְנֶה. So in ver. 20.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Interview with the King.*

Ver. 1. **The month Nisan** (called "Abib" in the Pentateuch, Exod. xiii. 4)—the first month of the Hebrew national year. This name Nisan is found in the Assyrian, but its derivation is obscure. It corresponded to parts of our March and April. **The twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king.**—Artaxerxes' reign-years counted from some other month than Nisan, for the preceding Chisleu was in the 20th year. The unlikely supposition (as by BP. PATRICK) that the "twentieth year" of chapter i. 1 refers to Nehemiah's life, is thus unnecessary. (See on chap. i. 1.) **Wine was before him.**—It is the custom among the modern Persians to drink before dinner, accompanying the wine-drinking with the eating of dried fruits. (See RAWLINSON'S *Herod.* I. 133, Sir H. C. R.'s note.) Compare the "banquet of wine" in Esther v. 6. **Now I had not been beforetime sad in his presence.**—Lit. *And I was not sad in his presence.* That is, it was not his wont to be sad in the king's presence. The exactions of Persian monarchs would not endure any independence of conduct in their presence. Everybody was expected to reflect the sunlight of the king's majesty.

Ver. 2. **Wherefore the king said.**—Lit. *And the king said.* The word translated "sad" in vers. 1, 2, 3, and the noun "sorrow" in ver. 2, are very general words for "bad" and "badness." But the bad countenance was the sad countenance (see Gen. xl. 7 for the same phrase).

Ver. 3. **Let the king live for ever.**—Heb. *hammelek l'olam yihyeh.* Compare 1 Kings i. 31; Dan. ii. 4; v. 10; vi. 6, 21. The mere formula of address to an Oriental king, so that even a Daniel used it without compunction. **The city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres.**—Lit. *the city, house of graves of my fathers.* This emphasis of "the house of graves" not only seems to prove Nehemiah a Jerusalemite in descent, *i. e.*, of the tribe of Judah, but also of the royal house. An obscure person would scarcely have chosen such a way of designating the city before the king. (Comp. on chap. i. 6.)

Ver. 4. **For what dost thou make request?**—Lit. *On what account this thou art asking?* The king takes for granted that the look of sadness is an assumed preliminary to asking a favor. There is a true Oriental touch in this. **So I prayed to the God of heaven.**—A beautiful mark of Nehemiah's piety. He first addresses the King of kings, and then the earthly monarch. He knew in whose hands were kings' hearts. For the phrase "God of heaven," see on chap. i. 5.

Ver. 5. **That I may build it**—This was Nehemiah's first great aim, to rebuild the city. Without walls and fortifications, it was but a large village, exposed to sudden ruin. Could the walls be rebuilt, its permanence would be secured, and the province of Judah have a strong centre. That Nehemiah saw that this was the true course to conserve the special interests of God's people, there can be no doubt. A man of his piety could not rest in the mere external view of things.

Ver. 6. **The queen also sitting by him.**—We have a good illustration of this scene in a sculpture from Asshur-bani-pal's palace (Koyunjik). The king reclines on one side of the table, and is in the act of drinking. The queen *sits* upright in a chair of state at the side of the table, near the king's feet, but facing him. She is also in the act of drinking. Attendants with large fans stand behind each. (See copy of this interesting scene in RAWLINSON'S *Ancient Monar-*

*chies*, Vol. I., p. 498). That the word "shegal" refers to the principal wife of the king seems clear from its use in Ps. xlv. 10. The chief wife of Artaxerxes at one time was Damaspia, according to Ctesias.

Ver. 7. **The governors.** — Heb. *pahawoth*, from *pechah*, the modern *pacha*, the Oriental name for a viceroy used by Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians. **Beyond the river**, *i. e.*, the river Euphrates. The course to Judea would leave the Euphrates probably at Tiphsah, 700 miles from Susa or Shushan, whence there would be 400 miles of travel through the Syrian countries before reaching Jerusalem. They were letters to governors or pachas in this Syrian region that Nehemiah requested.

Ver. 8. **Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest**, may have been a Jew, as the name is Israelitish. It may, however, be a form of Aspatha (Esther ix. 7), from the Persian *Aspa* (horse). The word translated "forest" is *pardes*, which is our familiar *paradise*. It is an Aryan word (Zend, *pairidaeza*), and signifies a *walled round* place, a preserve of trees and animals. There was probably a royal park set off for the king in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, and Asaph was its keeper. The word *pardes* is found in the Scriptures only here and in Sol. S. iv. 13 and Eccl. ii. 5. As it is not an old Persian word, but found in the Sanscrit and Armenian, no argument for the late date of Solomon's Song and Ecclesiastes can be derived from it. In Solomon's day, with that king's extensive connections with distant countries, the word may readily have entered into his vocabulary from any Aryan source. **The palace which appertained to the house.**—It is supposed by some that this is the well-known Birah or Baris (afterward Antonia) at the north side of the temple-area. But that was probably constructed at a later date. Nehemiah sought simply to reconstruct the old buildings. Now the palace next to the house (*i. e.*, to the temple, *the* house, as the house of God) was Solomon's palace, inhabited by all the kings after him, which was situated at the south-east corner of the temple-area. (See 2 Chron. xxiii. 12–15). **The house that I shall enter into.**—Not Nehemiah's own house (he was too high-minded to think of that), but the house of God, spoken of before. He desired timber (1) for the palace gates, (2) for the walls, and (3) for the house of God. "That I shall enter into" means "which I shall visit and inspect."

**According to the good hand of my God upon me.**—For this beautiful expression of piety, compare Ezra vii. 9 and viii. 18. In ver. 18 of this chapter we see it again, slightly varied in form.

*The Journey to Jerusalem.*

Ver. 9. **The king had sent captains of the army and horsemen with me.**—Nehemiah's high rank made this a matter of course. —Ver. 10. **Sanballat the Horonite.**—There were two Horons ("Beth-horons" in full) in Palestine, a few miles north of Jerusalem. There was also a Horonaim (lit. "the two Horons") in Moab (Isa. xv. 5). Sanballat was probably from the latter, and was a Moabite, as we find his associate is Tobiah, an Ammonite. He was probably satrap or pacha of Samaria under the Persians, and Tobiah was his vizier or chief adviser. The hatred of the Moabites and Ammonites toward Israel, and the equal hatred of the Israelites to Moab and Ammon appear to have grown stronger in the later ages of the Jewish state. In David's time, his family found refuge in Moab, as Elimelech's family had done long before, and Ruth a Moabitess was ancestress of the line of kings in Israel and Judah. After the attack upon Moab by Jehoshaphat and the terrible scene upon the wall of Mesha's capital (2 Kings iii. 27), there was probably nothing but intense bitterness between the children of Lot and the children of Israel. Sanballat and Tobiah represented the Moabitish and Ammonitish hatred.* The origin of the name Sanballat is uncertain. It seems akin to the Assyrian *Assur-uballat*, and may be, in its correct form, "Sinuballat," Sin being the moon (comp. Sin-akhi-irib or Sennacherib), or it may be San-uballat, San being the sun.

**Tobiah, the servant, the Ammonite.**—Tobiah is a Jewish name (see Ezra ii. 60 and Zech. vi. 10). We could scarcely expect to find the element Jah in the name of an Ammonite. Tobiah was probably a renegade Jew, who had become a slave among the Ammonites, and, by his talents and cunning, had risen into prominence, and was now chief adviser of Sanballat. Hence the epithet, which probably his enemies had fastened on him: "Tobiah the slave."—**It grieved them.**—Samaria had become the leading state west of the Jordan, and any restoration of Jerusalem would threaten this predominance.

Ver. 11. **And was there three days.**—Days, probably, of prayer and observation before any determinate action. (See Ezra viii. 32, for a precisely similar conduct on Ezra's part thirteen years before.)

*The Inspection.*

Ver. 12. **In the night—few men—neither told I any man.**—These facts and that of only one animal being used in the night-survey show the prudence of Nehemiah, who would avoid calling the attention of Sanballat to any survey of the walls until all was ready for building. Any formal survey made in the day-time would soon have reached Sanballat's ears, for he and Tobiah were both closely allied by marriage-alliances with the Jerusalem Jews (ch. vi. 18 and xiii. 28).

Ver. 13. **The gate of the valley,** *Sha'ar hag-gai* (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Neh. iii. 13), was probably a gate overlooking the great valley of Hinnom, which is called in Jer. ii. 23 simply "the valley." It was between the Tower of the Furnaces (*Migdal hat-tannurim*) and the Dung-gate. We may place it about twelve hundred feet south of the present Jaffa Gate. — **The dragon-well** (*Ain hattannin*) is perhaps the present great pool, Birket Sultan, along the

* The Sanballat of Josephus is evidently a very different person, living a century later. He may have been a descendant of this one, inheriting his office and his hostile tactics toward the Jews.

eastern side of which and above it would be Nehemiah's course southward from the Jaffa-gate. The strange name (*Fountain of the Sea-monster*) may have been given to it because some curious large water-snake or crocodile was kept in it in Nehemiah's time.—**The dung-port** (*Sha'ar ha-ashpoth*) is rather *the rubbish-gate*, and was probably the gate in the valley before which the rubbish of the city was cast and burned. It was the "east gate" (lit. *pottery-gate*) of Jer. xix. 2. So the Jewish authorities. We may suppose this gate was at the southern extremity of Zion. The false rendering of "dung-port" has given rise to the idea that it was near the temple; that through it the filth from the animals offered in sacrifice was carried. It is possible that this filth may have been carried over the bridge to Zion, and through this gate to the brink of Hinnom's deepest portion, and there dumped with the other rubbish. But the *rubbish-gate* or dung-port was only one thousand cubits from the valley gate (see ch. iii. 13), and no gate near the temple could have been thus near the valley-gate, if the valley-gate were anywhere on the west of the city. We should consider the Rubbish-gate as directly before that part of Hinnom known as Tophet (Jer. vii. 31, 32, and xix. 6, 11, 12, 13, 14). (But see Excursus.)

Ver. 14. **The gate of the fountain,** *Sha'ar ha-ayin*, is certainly a gate in front of the pool of Siloam (see ch. iii. 15). It would be where the ancient wall turned northward beyond its south-eastern corner.—**The king's pool,** *berechath hammelek*, must be the pool of Siloam. Comp. ch. iii. 15. The "virgin's fountain" of to-day is too far away. It probably received this name from its watering the king's garden (ch. iii. 15). See Joseph. *Ant.* 7, 14, 4. Also Jerom. Com. on Jer. vii. 30.

**There was no place for the beast that was under me to pass.**—The ruin was so great, and the rubbish so accumulated, along Ophel, that Nehemiah could not pursue his course along the wall any further (ver. 15), but was obliged to go down into the valley of the Kidron (**the brook,** *nachal*), up which he went and surveyed the wall, and then turned back and pursued the same route back again to the valley-gate. It is evident that this survey was confined to the southern and eastern walls, which were perhaps the most ruined and the most neglected, as being on the sides of greater natural defence.*

Ver. 16. **Neither had I as yet told it to the Jews.**—Rather: *Neither did I, until I had done thus, tell it to the Jews.*—**The rulers** (*seganim*, a Persian word) were the executive officers of the colony. Neither to the Jews in general nor to the rulers, priests or nobles specially had Nehemiah communicated the fact of his survey. He, however, now summons an assembly, and urges them to build the walls, showing them as arguments God's mercies to him and the king's favor.—**The rest that did the work,** *i. e.* the others engaged in the public service. Or (more probably) it may be proleptic for "those that afterward engaged in the wall-building."

Ver. 18. **So they strengthened their hands for this good work,** or *for good, i. e.,* for a prosperous time.

Ver. 19. **Geshem** or Gashmu (vi. 6), who was third with Sanballat and Tobiah in hostility to the Jews, was perhaps chief of those Arabs whom Sargon had settled in Samaria (see Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.*, Vol. II., p. 146).

Ver. 20. **Ye have no portion nor right nor memorial in Jerusalem.**—This was Nehemiah's firm protest against the slightest interference on the part of these heathen chiefs. He will not acknowledge their right even to complain, and refuses to answer their false charge implied in their question. With such enemies there should be a clear understanding from the first. One of the strong points of Nehemiah's character was his uncompromising and prompt method in all things.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Like Joseph and Daniel, Nehemiah carried into a high office near the throne of an Oriental despot the vigor of a holy life. It did not make him a recluse, nor yet a sad-faced servant of the king. His sad visage at this time was a thing remarkable. He had been an acceptable officer of the court, and the king's treatment of his request shows the high favor in which he stood. True religion does not incapacitate one from office, but furnishes the man with a power to please, while it preserves him from the temptations of rank.

2. No doubt there had been from the foundation of the Persian empire a sincere sympathy on the part of the Persians with the Jews. The monotheism of the Jews gained them favor with the Persian throne, and was, doubtless, the chief reason of Cyrus's edict concerning their return to Jerusalem. By the twentieth year of Artaxerxes this sympathy had probably diminished (as under Magian influences it had been previously hindered), and yet the king's readiness to send an escort with Nehemiah (chap. iv. 23), and to make his way easy, may be attributed in part to this traditional regard for the Jewish hostility to polytheism.

3. Nehemiah's secrecy was a part of his executive ability. Although he had the king's endorsement, he knew the value of keeping his own counsel, for there were jealous foes around the Jews ready to throw hindrances in his way. Moreover these had allies among the Jews themselves—men high in rank and position—and the distance was so great from the Persian capital that Nehemiah's firman needed great wisdom on his part to make it efficient.

4. The encouragement which Nehemiah held out to his countrymen to rebuild the walls was not simply the king's willingness, but the guiding hand of God. He saw behind the throne of Persia the power of Israel's Jehovah, and sought to strengthen his brethren by the same view. Piety teaches the heart to see second causes as only indicators of the Divine will and action, and law, whether it be from man's mouth or in the

* It is generally thought that Nehemiah made the full circuit of the walls; but, although the language might allow such an interpretation, the want of any hint of another way back (no mention of the Fish-gate or Old-gate or any other prominent land-mark on the north and west side) seems to force us to take *shuv* in the sense of going back in the way he went out.

forces of external nature, is rightly referred to an overruling Providence that guides and guards the people of God. It was this consideration that formed Nehemiah's answer to Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1-9. Love towards suffering Jerusalem: 1) Its sorrow (vers. 1, 2), in spite of personal prosperity, and even in the midst of the enjoyments of the royal banquet. 2) Its confession (vers. 2, 3); it is not ashamed of belonging to the congregation of the Lord; neither is it ashamed of its poor brethren, but declares itself candidly as love, and indeed in spite of the danger of displeasing in a very hazardous way. 3) Its petition (vers. 4, 5): it begs for help, first indeed of God the Lord, and then also of men, but particularly for the permission to give its own aid, and that too with self-denial. 4) Its joy (vers. 6, 9): its prayer is not only granted, but it receives almost more than it could hope for. BRENTIUS: *Hæc enim est vera amicitia, quæ in afflictionibus perdurat. Exemplum imitandum: si quid petendum est ab homine, primum a Deo petamus, qui hominis cor nobis amicum reddere potest.*

STARKE: To speak to princes of weighty matters demands great precaution. 2 Sam. xiv. 2. O Soul, if a heathen lord takes a servant's griefs so tenderly to heart, how should not the Father of mercy allow thy griefs to penetrate His heart! Jer. xxxi. 20, 25. The sighs of the godly are powerful petitions before God. Ps. xii. 6. One should not frighten timid supplicants still more, but speedily encourage their petition by generous bounty. Matt. v. 32; Rom. xii. 8. Princes and lords should willingly listen to the complaints of their subjects, and grant as much as possible. 2 Sam. iii. 16. God gives according to His great goodness more than we can hope or ask for. Eph. iii. 20; 1 Kings iii. 13.

The sorrow for suffering Jerusalem: 1) In spite of our own prosperity; 2) On account of the sad position of the congregation; 3) In presence of those who are able to help, and must be gained over.—The self-denial of a patriot: 1) He grieves in spite of his own prosperity, for the misery of his country; 2) He risks his position by a frank confession; 3) He wishes to relinquish his position, in order to aid his fatherland.

STARKE: It is a token of a godless spirit when one does not reverence his fatherland; but it is villainy when one desires to injure it. 2 Macc. v. 8.

Ver. 10. The conduct of the worldly-minded towards the congregation of the Lord: 1) Their latitudinarianism: Sanballat and Tobiah maintained friendship with the Jerusalemites. Chap. vi. 10, 17; xiii. 4-9, 28. 2) Their narrowness: they cannot endure that any one should seek to advance the welfare of the congregation of the Lord, as such.

VENERABLE BEDE: *Notanda animarum rerumque diversitas, quia supra quidem dicti sunt hi, qui remanserunt de captivitate in Juda, in afflictione magna et opprobrio fuisse; sed et Nehemiam longum cum fletu et precibus duxisse jejunium, eo quod muros Hierusalem dissipatos, et portæ illius essent igne combustæ, et nunc versa vice hostes ejusdem sanctæ civitatis contristati et in afflictione sunt magna constituti, eo quod ædificia illius restauranda. Unde colligendum, etiam in hac vita sententiam domini posse compleri, qui cum dixisset: Amen, amen, dico vobis, quia plorabitis et flebitis vos, mundus autem gaudebit, vos autem contristabimini, continuo subjecit: sed tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium.*

Vers. 11-18. Bright zeal in the concerns of God: 1) It foresees (vers. 11, 12) and hastens at times because dangers threaten; 2) It looks around (vers. 13-15) to fully estimate the difficulty of the work to be performed; 3) it looks, and points, on high (vers. 17, 18), to God's help, to the hand of God, which is extended in favor above it, and therefore succeeds with those whose help is necessary.

VENERABLE BEDE: *Diversa urbis destructæ loca lustrandro pervagatur. . . . . Sic et doctorum est spiritualium, sæpius nocte surgere ac solerte indagine statum sanctæ ecclesiæ quiescentibus ceteris inspicere, ut vigilanter inquirant, qualiter ea, quæ vitiorum bellis . . . . dejecta sunt, castigando emendent et erigant.*

STARKE: When one has suitable means at hand for avoiding the danger, he must not despise them. Josh. ii. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 33. When something is granted to us by the authorities through favor, we must ascribe it to God. When one will perform anything great, he must keep it secret. 1 Sam. xiv. 1. When the Church sleeps, God awakens pious people, who work and watch for its welfare. There is a time for speaking and a time for silence. Well begun is half gained.

Vers. 19, 20. In our work for the kingdom of God what position must we take towards the objections of the world? 1) We must be prepared for scorn, contempt, and anxiety. The worldly-minded consider the aim which we truly have as foolish, as it is too elevated for them; they therefore attribute to us another aim, which is foreign to us; and in this way they give a most suspicious look to our activity. 2) We must not, however, lay any importance upon this; that which they consider foolish is our highest task, that we should keep ourselves unspotted from the world, and therefore concede to them, in so far as they are the world, no part or right in our intercourse.

Vers. 17-20. The admonition to build up the kingdom of God. 1) It complains: you see the distress, *etc.*, for it always finds again the reason that it may pass beyond to the demand: come, let us build, resting upon the former proofs of the Lord, who also has known how to make the kings of the earth serviceable to His ends. 2) It excites the ridicule and the suspicions of the world, but overcomes them through reference to the God of heaven, who causes His people to succeed, but never allows the evil to prevail. — VENERABLE BEDE: *Doctores sancti, immo omnes, qui zelo Dei fervent, in afflictione sunt maxima, quamdiu Hierusalem, hoc est, visionem pacis, quam nobis Dominus reliquit et commendavit, per bella dissensionum cernunt esse desertam, et portas virtutum, quas juxta Esaiam laudatio occupare debuerat, prævalentibus inferorum portis dejectas atque opprobrio habitas contuentur.*—STARKE: It is a

good sign when envious people combat a work; for one can conclude from that that it provokes the devil, and that makes us the more joyful. Gen. xxxvii. 4; 1 Sam. xvii. 28. The devil is never idle: therefore when he can undertake nothing actively against the people of God, he makes use of poisonous tongues; but whoever fears God has a secure fortress. Sir. xiv. 26, 31. One should be firm in his confidence in God, and allow nothing to be abstracted from it.

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CHAP. III. 1–32.

1 THEN Eliashib, the high-priest, rose up with his brethren the priests, and they
builded the sheep-gate; they sanctified it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the
2 tower of Meah they sanctified it, unto the tower of Hananeel. And next unto
him [*lit.* at his hand] builded the men of Jericho. And next to them [*rather*, next
3 to him, *i. e.*, next to Eliashib] builded Zaccur the son of Imri. But [and] the
fish-gate did the sons of Hassenaah [sons of Senaah] build, who *also* laid the beams
thereof, and set up the doors thereof, the locks [sockets] thereof, and the bars thereof.
4 And next unto them repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah, the son of Koz [Hak-
koz], and next unto them repaired Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, the son
5 of Meshezabeel. And next unto them repaired Zadok, the son of Baana. And
next unto them the Tekoites repaired; but their nobles put not their necks to the
6 work of their Lord. Moreover [and] the old gate repaired Jehoiada the son of
Paseah and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah; they laid the beams thereof, and set
7 up the doors thereof, and the locks [sockets] thereof, and the bars thereof. And
next unto them repaired Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite,
the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah [the Mizpah which belonged] unto the
8 throne of the governor on this side the river. Next unto him repaired Uzziel the
son of Harhaiah, of the goldsmiths. Next unto him also repaired Hananiah the
son of *one of* the apothecaries [the son of Shelemiah of the apothecaries (?)], and
9 they fortified Jerusalem unto the broad wall. And next unto them repaired Re-
phaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part [half the circuit] of Jerusalem.
10 And next unto them repaired Jedaiah the son of Harumaph, even over against his
11 house. And next unto him repaired Hattush the son of Hashabniah. Malchijah
the son of Harim, and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab, repaired the other piece
12 [a second piece], and the tower of the furnaces. And next unto him repaired Shal-
lum the son of Halohesh, the ruler of the half part [half the circuit] of Jerusalem.
13 The valley-gate repaired Hanun and the inhabitants of Zanoah; they built it, and
set up the doors thereof, the locks [sockets] thereof, and the bars thereof, and a
14 thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung-gate [rubbish gate]. But [and] the
dung-gate [rubbish gate] repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part
[the circuit] of Beth-haccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks
15 thereof and the bars thereof. But [and] the gate of the fountain repaired Shallum
the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of part [the circuit] of Mizpah; he built it, and co-
vered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks [sockets] thereof, and the bars
thereof, and the wall of the pool of Siloah [Shelah] by [that appertained to] the
16 king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David. After
him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk the ruler of the half part [half the cir-
cuit] of Beth-zur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the
17 part that was made, and unto the house of the mighty. After him repaired the
Levites, [under] Rehum the son of Bani. Next unto him repaired Hashabiah the
18 ruler of the half part [half the circuit] of Keilah in his part. After him repaired
their brethren, [under] Bavai the son of Henadad, the ruler of the half part [half
19 the circuit] of Keilah. And next to him repaired Ezer the son of Jeshua, the ruler
of Mizpah, another piece [a second piece] over against the going up to the armory

20 at the turning *of the wall* [armory of the corner]. After him Baruch the son of
Zabbai earnestly repaired the other piece [a second piece], from the turning *of the*
21 *wall* [from the corner] unto the door of the house of Eliashib the high-priest. After
him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz [Hakkoz] another piece
[a second piece] from the door of the house of Eliashib even to the end of the house
22, 23 of Eliashib. And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain. After
him repaired Benjamin and Hashub over against their house. After him repaired
24 Azariah the son of Maaseiah the son of Ananiah by his house. After him repaired
Binnui the son of Henadad another piece [a second piece] from the house of Aza-
riah unto the turning *of the wall* [unto the corner], even unto the corner [and unto
25 the turret]. Palal the son of Uzai [repaired] over against the turning *of the wall*
over against the corner]. and the tower which lieth out from the king's high house,
that was by the court of the prison. After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh [re-
26 paired.] Moreover [and] the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel unto *the place* over against
27 the water-gate towards the east, and the tower that lieth out. After them [him]
the Tekoites repaired another piece [a second piece], over against the great tower
28 that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel. From above the horse-gate repaired
the priests, over against his house. After them (him, *i. e.*, the last one of these
29 priests] repaired Zadok the son of Immer over against his house. After him re-
30 paired also Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of the east gate. After him
repaired Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the sixth son of Zalaph, ano-
ther piece [a second piece]. After him repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah
31 over against his chamber. After him repaired Malchiah the goldsmith's son unto
the place [house] of the Nethinim and of the merchants over against the gate
32 Miphkad [gate of the visitation] and to the going up of the corner [turret]. And
between the going up of the corner [turret] unto the sheep-gate repaired the gold-
smiths and the merchants.

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

9. פֶּלֶךְ. In this sense of "circuit" the word is Chaldee. See Targum on Josh. xvii. 11. In Heb. it means "staff," or "distaff." See 2 Sam. iii. 29; Prov. xxxi. 19.

13. הָאַשְׁפּוֹת. The omission of the א is to be noted as comp. with ver. 14. Gesenius considers the א as prosthetic, and makes the root שָׁפָה, but it is as likely to be אָשַׁף.

30. שֵׁנִּי, a lapsus for שֵׁנִית.

נִשְׁכָּה, here and in ch. xii. 44 and ch. xiii. 1, seems to be a varied form of לִשְׁכָּה.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Wall-Building.*

**Ver. 1. Eliashib the high-priest.**—This man was afterwards closely allied to Jerusalem's enemies, one of his grandsons having married Sanballat's daughter (ch. xiii. 28). His alliance with Tobiah became so close that he prepared a room for Tobiah in the temple (ch. xiii. 4, 7). Eliashib may have excused this desecration on the ground that Tobiah was a Jew by birth. (See on ch. ii. 10.) Eliashib was grandson of Jeshua, who, with Zerubbabel, led the original return. Notwithstanding the unworthiness of this high-priest and his probable want of sympathy with Nehemiah's piety and patriotism, he could not refuse to take the lead in the wall-building. Public opinion was too strong under the appeals of Nehemiah.

**The sheep-gate,** *Sha'ar hatz-tzon,* must have been by the temple, or else the priests would not have been selected to build it. It is probably the προβατικῄ of John v. 2, translated in E. V. "sheep-market." It seems to have been at the north-eastern corner of the temple-area, in the neighborhood of the present St. Stephen's gate. It might derive its name from the fact that through this gate the sheep and goats (for the word refers to all small cattle) destined for the sacrifices were driven. (See Excursus.)

**They sanctified it and set up the doors of it.**—This gate is the only one which is said to be sanctified (*kidshuhu*), and we cannot tell whether it was done at once, so soon as it was built by the priests, or afterwards when the doors were set up (ch. vi. 1). The other gates were purified (another verb, *taher*) after the completion of the wall (ch. xii. 30). This seems to indicate a special connection with the temple. It probably opened into the temple-area. The setting up of the doors was not done until afterwards, but is here anticipated.* (See ch. vi. 1.)

**The tower of Meah,** *migdol ham-meah,* . . . **the tower of Hananeel,** *migdol hananeel.*—These two towers were between the sheep-gate and the fish-gate. They may have occupied the

* This gate and the water-gate and horse-gate and gate Miphkad (vers. 26, 28, 31) all appear to have been within the temple-precinct or its neighborhood, and all appear to have been destitute of locks and bars; for these are spoken of with regard to all the other gates (vers. 3, 6, 13, 14), but not with regard to these. These gates may have been kept constantly open, but guarded by an armed force.

north-eastern corner of the temple-enclosure, and the corner west of that, where the city-wall from the north joined the wall of the temple-enclosure. Hence they would (like the sheep-gate) be both connected with the temple, and hence they were sanctified. (See Excursus.) (**They sanctified it** in the second occurrence seems to refer to the wall including the two towers.)—The tower of Meah may have been the place where the nobles and rulers collected their *hundredth* (ch. v. 11), Meah being the Heb. for the "hundredth:" but?

Ver. 2. **And next unto him builded the men of Jericho. And next to them builded Zaccur the son of Imri.**—This should read literally: *And at his hand builded the men of Jericho, and at his hand builded Zaccur the son of Imri.*—Zaccur may have been leader of the men of Jericho. The English version misleads.

Ver. 3. **The fish-gate,** *Sha'ar had-dagim*, was east of the present Damascus-gate in the north wall. It is mentioned 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 and Zeph. i. 10. (See Excursus.)

**The sons of Hassenaah.**—Rather: *the sons of Senaah.* (See Ezra ii. 35.) Senaah was a city, or more likely a large territory (if we are to judge from the large numbers in Ezra, *l. c.*), near Jericho. In the Onomasticon we find a Senna, seven miles north of Jericho.—**The locks thereof** were probably the sockets into which the bars fitted.

Ver. 4. **Meremoth, the son of Urijah,** is the same who is called in Ezra viii. 33 "Meremoth, the son of Uriah the priest." (See ch. x. 5.) He was of the family of **Hakkoz,** written wrongly in E. V. in this place Koz. See 1 Chron. xxiv. 10.

**Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, the son of Meshezabeel.**—This Meshullam was allied to Tobiah, for Tobiah's son Johanan had married Meshullam's daughter (ch. vi. 18). Nehemiah made the Jews, allied to the enemies of Judah, to commit themselves to the welfare of the city, as against their chosen intimates of the heathen. The "Meshezabeel" may be the same mentioned in ch. x. 21 and xi. 24.—**Zadok, the son of Baana,** seems to be the same as the Zadok of ch. x. 21. Both Meshullam and Zadok were probably of the tribe of Judah.

Ver. 5. **The Tekoites.**—Tekoa (still bearing its old name) is nine miles due south of Jerusalem, and about two miles south-west of the conspicuous Frank Mountain.—**Their nobles put not their necks to the work of their Lord.**—Nehemiah's task was an immense one, to unite a people, in many of whom there was no sympathy with the cause, for a rapid and successful movement. The fashionable part of Jerusalem was in virtual league with the enemies of God. Some of these were constrained (as Eliashib) by circumstances to take part in the work of rebuilding the Holy City, but others (as these Tekoite nobles) resolutely kept aloof.

Ver. 6. **The old gate** must have been in the north wall, east of the present Damascus-gate. Keil reads: "gate of the old wall" with Arnold and Hupfeld, as referring to the old wall in distinction from the "broad wall," which was newer. If we are to read Jeshanah as a genitive, it is possible that the gate was "the gate of Jeshanah" as leading to that town (2 Chron. xiii. 19). (See Excursus.)

Ver. 7. **Meronothite.**—Here and in 1 Chron. xxvii. 30 only. Meronoth may have been a dependent village of Mizpah.—**Unto the throne of the governor on this side the river.**—They did not repair unto (*i. e.* as far as) the throne, *etc.* Then the preposition would have been *'ad*, but it is *l* (*i. e. el*). It connects the description with Mizpah, and describes this Mizpah as belonging to the throne (or sway) of the governor beyond the river (*i. e.* beyond the river from Susa and the empire's centre), or as our version has it "the governor on this side the river." Perhaps this was to distinguish it from the Gilead Mizpah, which was under another governor (Judg. x. 17, *etc.*). In this case the "river" would be the Jordan. Some place Mizpah at Neby Samwil, some at Scopus.

Ver. 8. **The son of one of the apothecaries.**—Probably the name Shelemiah (ver. 30) has dropped out here. The goldsmiths and apothecaries (makers of spices, ointments and perfumes) worked under these leaders. These apothecaries are supposed by some to have been priests (1 Chron. ix. 30).

**Fortified Jerusalem.**—Here and at ch. iv. 2, the Heb. word *'azab* is translated in E. V. "fortify." Fürst derives it from an original meaning of "knot" or "bind;" hence "fasten" or "repair." Ewald gives it the meaning of "shelter." But in Ex. xxiii. 5 it seems to mean "help," though Fürst there gives it the meaning of "loosen." A common meaning of the word is "to forsake" as in Deut. xxxi. 16. This last meaning Fürst and Gesenius retain in ch. iv. 2 by translating: "will they (the governors) *forsake the matter* to them?" or "will they *allow* them?" May not this general notion be intended here: "they loosened (*i. e* freed from exposure and peril) Jerusalem?" Keil retains the common meaning of *azab*, and reads: "they (the builders, or else the Chaldeans) left Jerusalem untouched as far as the broad wall."

**The broad wall,** *hahomah harehavah* (ch. xii. 38) seems to have been a special fortification at the north-west corner of the city. Keil would identify it with the four hundred cubits destroyed by Joash, and afterward rebuilt by Uzziah. (See Excursus.)

Ver. 9. **Ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.**—Compare vers. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. *Pelek* means a circuit, and is a governmental term. Rephaiah was ruler of half the circuit of Jerusalem, and Shallum (ver. 12) was ruler of the other half. The circuits of Beth-zur and Keilah had each two rulers also (see vers. 16, 17, 18). These circuits were probably districts deriving their names from their chief towns.

Ver. 11. **The other piece,** *middah shenith*, "a second piece," as in vers. 19, 21, 27, 30. The first piece ("first," perhaps, because first assigned to them) which they repaired is mentioned in ver. 23, where Malchijah is called Benjamin. The Harim and the Pahath-moab, who are mentioned as the fathers of Malchijah and Hashub, who repaired this second piece, were probably remote ancestors, Harim being the third of the twenty-four who in David's time

gave name to the priestly divisions or courses (1 Chron. xxiv. 8), and Pahath-moab being one of the chiefs of families who came back with Zerubbabel a century before (see ch. vii. 11). The name Pahath-moab (governor of Moab) is one of the evidences of a close connection with Moab on the part of some of the families of Israel. Elimelech's residence in Moab and David's use of Moab as a place of safety for his family are other evidences. (See also 1 Chron. iv. 22 for another allusion.)

**The Tower of the Furnaces**, *Migdal hat-tannurim* would naturally fall into the neighborhood of the Jaffa Gate, and may be represented by the north-eastern tower of the citadel, which Dr. Robinson identifies with Herod's tower of Hippicus. (See Excursus.)

Ver. 12. **Shallum, the son of Halohesh.** Halo'hesh, or Hallo'hesh, is another ancestral name, and not that of an immediate father. (See ch. x. 24.) **He and his daughters** not ruling, but building. The zeal of these women is emphasized.

Ver. 13. **The valley-gate.** See on ch. ii. 13. **Hanun and the inhabitants of Zanoah.**—Hanun is called in ver. 30, "the sixth son of Zalaph." Zanoah was about twelve miles west of Jerusalem.

**The dung-gate.** See on ch. ii. 13.

Ver. 14. **The ruler of part of Beth-haccerem,** or *the ruler of the circuit of Beth-haccerem.* Beth-haccerem was near Tekoa, and was a height where a beacon could be displayed (Jer. vi. 1). It is identified by modern travellers with Jebel Fureidis, or the Frank Mountain.

Ver. 15. **Gate of the Fountain.**—See ch. ii. 14. **Shallum the son of Col-hozeh,** a Judahite (ch. xi. 5). **The ruler of part of Mizpah,** or *the ruler of the circuit of Mizpah.* The circuit of Mizpah, and Mizpah itself, had different rulers. (See ver. 19.) **Covered it.** Probably equivalent to "laid the beams thereof" of vers. 3, 6. **The pool of Siloah, by the king's garden,** *Berĕchath hash Shelah, legan ham-melek.* It is *Shiloah* in Isaiah, and *Shelah* here. The pool is the present Birket Silwan, and probably includes the Birket el-Hamra. It was outside the city, near the Tyropœon valley, where it enters the valley of the Son of Hinnom. Just at this junction was the king's garden (see 2 Kings xxv. 4, and Joseph., *A. J.* 7, 11), watered by this pool. It receives its water through a subterranean canal under the lower end of Ophel (the ridge running south from the temple-area) from the Fountain of the Virgin, on the west side of the Kidron valley. The old wall probably embraced all Zion, running along its southern brow, and stretched over to Ophel, in the neighborhood of the pool of Siloam, the fountain-gate being near by.

**The stairs that go down from the city of David** would then be an access to the Tyropœon from Zion, ending in this neighborhood of the pool. (See Excursus.)

Ver. 16. **The ruler of the half part of Beth-zur,** or *the ruler of half the circuit of Beth-zur.* Beth-zur is about four miles north of Hebron. **Unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty.**—The sepulchres of David were probably the same as the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chron. xxviii. 27, *et al.*), and we may place them somewhere on Zion (1 Kings ii. 10). The part of the wall here designated would be that on Ophel, opposite that portion of Zion where the sepulchres were, the valley of the Tyropœon being between. The "pool that was made" may be the present fountain of the Virgin, which perhaps Hezekiah formed with its remarkable galleries (see Capt. Warren's account in "the Recovery of Jerusalem") for the supply of Ophel (see 2 Kings xx. 20). The "house of the mighty" (*beth-hag-geborim*) we have no clue to.

Ver. 17. **The ruler of the half part of Keilah in his part,** or *the ruler of the half circuit of Keilah for his circuit.* Those of the other half-circuit of Keilah are next mentioned.

Ver. 19. **The ruler of Mizpah another piece.**—The first piece is given in ver. 7. **Over against the going up to the armory at the turning of the wall.**—Rather, *from opposite the ascent of the armory of the corner.* The armory of the corner was perhaps at an angle in the eastern Ophel wall.

Ver. 20. **Baruch the son of Zabbai** is honorably mentioned for his distinguished zeal. He worked at a second piece from the corner mentioned above to the high-priest's house, which seems to have been on Ophel. Perhaps this Baruch's first piece of work has slipped from the text. Zabbai may be the same mentioned in Ezra x. 28. Baruch may be the priest of ch. x. 6.

Ver. 21. **Meremoth, the son of Urijah, the son of Koz.**—See on ver. 4. As a conspicuous priest, it was appropriate that he should be connected with the work on the wall in front of the high-priest's house.

Ver. 22. **The men of the plain.**—The word translated "plain" is *kikkar,* which is generally used for the Jordan valley, but in ch. xii. 28 it is used of the environs of Jerusalem. It literally signifies a *circuit.* As no qualifying word or phrase is found here, this *kikkar* is probably the Jordan valley.

Ver. 23. **Benjamin** (see on ver. 11) one of the descendants of Harim. (See Ezra x. 32.) **Hashub** was son (or descendant) of Pahath-moab. (See on ver. 11.) **Their house** may refer only to Benjamin, who was a priest (one of the Bene-Harim), Hashub, perhaps, being in some way allied to him.

**Azariah** may be the Levite mentioned in ch. viii. 7.

Vers. 24, 25. **Binnui** is the Levite mentioned in chs. x. 9 and xii. 8. **Unto the turning of the wall, even unto the corner.**—Or, *unto the corner of the wall and unto the turret.* By this seems to be intended the corner, where the "tower which lieth out" (ver. 25) formed a projection. Capt. Warren found about four hundred feet south-west of the south-east corner of the temple area the remains of an outlying tower to the wall, which he conjectures may be the "tower which lieth out." This tower is described in the next verse as **the tower which lieth out from the king's high house.**—Solomon's palace, doubtless, occupied the south-east corner of the present Haram. It probably had a high fortified position extending south to the Ophel

wall (see Capt. Warren's map). This part was perhaps built by Jotham (2 Chron. xxvii. 3), or Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 5), or Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14). The *height* of Manasseh's building is especially mentioned.

**The court of the prison** is spoken of in Jer. xxxii. 2 as appertaining to the king's house.

Ver. 26. **Moreover the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel.** Some with the Syriac, insert the relative and read, "the Nethinim who dwelt in Ophel," and then supply the verb "repaired." This is not needed. We may count this an interjected statement, showing what an important site had been given to the Nethinim. See, moreover, the אַחֲרָיו of ver. 27, referring to Pedaiah. **The water-gate** was, perhaps, a gate opening into the subterranean water galleries, lately discovered by Capt. Warren. If so, then the Nethinim dwelt in all Ophel from a point a little north of the Fountain of the Virgin to this "tower which lieth without," that is, along a distance of about eight hundred feet. This position of the water-gate answers to the narrative in ch. xii. 37. (See Excursus.)

**The Nethinim** (*i. e.*, dedicated ones) were servants of the temple, who performed the menial duties of the precinct. In Josephus they are *ἱερόδουλοι* (temple-servants). They were appointed by David (Ezra viii. 20), as another guild of service (Solomon's servants, or Andhé Shelomoh) was appointed by Solomon (Ezra ii. 58). The Levites, as compared with the priests, were called Nethunim (Num. viii. 19), a word of the same signification as Nethinim. (Comp. the K'tib of Ezra viii. 17.) Perhaps David's Nethinim were the Gibeonites (hewers of wood and drawers of water) restored to their service in a regular manner, after a dispersion of their number in Saul's time. (See 2 Sam. xxi. 2.)

Ver. 27. **The Tekoites** repaired their first piece near the old gate (ver. 5).

**The great tower that lieth out** is probably the same as "the tower that lieth out" of ver. 25.

**The wall of Ophel** would be the southern wall of the temple-area where it joined the district of Ophel.

Ver. 28. **The horse-gate** was where Athaliah was slain. It was between the temple and the palace. This would put it about 200 feet north of the present S. E. corner of the Haram. (See 2 Chron. xxiii. 15, and Jer. xxxi. 40). The part from the "wall of Ophel" to the horse-gate (Sha'ar Has-susim) was probably in good order, as it was the wall of the old royal palace, and had been occupied by the governors of the city. Hence it is not mentioned as rebuilt at this time, but the next builders to the Tekoites begin *from above* (*i. e.*, up the Kidron) *the horse-gate.* (See Excursus).

Ver. 29. **The keeper of the east gate.**—This *Sha'ar ham-mizrah* is the *sha'ar hak-kadmoni* of Ezek. xi. 1, one of the inner temple-gates, not a city gate. If this **Shemaiah, the son of Shechaniah,** is the same as the one mentioned in 1 Chron. iii. 22, then he was a descendant of the kings, and his title may have been one of honor only. He may, however, have been another and a Levite.

Ver. 30. **Hananiah.** See on ver. 8. **Hanun another piece.**—See on ver. 13. **Meshullam the son of Berechiah.** See on ver. 4.

Ver. 31. **The place of the Nethinim and of the Merchants over against the gate Miphkad and to the going up of the corner.** Lit. *The house of the Nethinim and the traders opposite the gate of the visitation even to the ascent of the projecting turret.* The "house" of the Nethinim and traders was not their dwelling-place, but, we suppose, the place where under the direction of the Nethinim the traders (see Matt. xxi. 12) brought their doves, *etc.*, for sale to worshippers. We may place it near the north-east angle of the Haram. For the gate Miphkad, see Excursus. The ascent of the turret would be the stairs at the north-east angle leading up to a corner-tower, not far from the sheep gate.

Ver. 32. **The goldsmiths** may have been also connected with these matters of the Nethinim and traders.

For a plan of the walls of the city, see Excursus.

From this outline it will be seen that only those gates whose bars and locks and doors are mentioned do we consider as belonging to the city wall, to wit:

1. Sheep-gate, ver. 1.
2. Fish-gate, ver. 3.
3. Old-gate, ver. 6.
4. Valley-gate, ver. 13.
5. Dung-gate, ver. 14.
6. Fountain-gate, ver. 15.

The other gates are not spoken of as now constructed, and we take them to be inner gates belonging to the inner temple and palace divisions, to wit:

1. Water-gate, ver. 26.
2. Horse-gate, ver. 28.
3. East-gate, ver. 29.
4. Gate Miphkad, ver. 31.

We also consider the wall along the southern brow of Zion to have continued across the Tyropœon to Ophel near the pool of Siloam.

## HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Eliashib's connection with Sanballat and Tobiah (chap. xiii. 7, 28) must have taken place at a later date, when Nehemiah had returned to Susa, and was not expected to revisit Jerusalem. If the high-priest had already made those scandalous alliances, Nehemiah certainly would have taken him to task, and the record of such reprimand would have been here given. With a heart disaffected, Eliashib nevertheless takes his place in the rebuilding of the wall. His prominence in the work was doubtless a great help to Nehemiah.

2. It is an interesting feature of this wall-building that those whose local interests were far off, as at Jericho, Tekoah, and Beth-zur, took

such deep interest and such conspicuous part in the work. The old love for Zion and for the temple was still warm in the breasts of the returned Jews. They felt that the true life of the nation flowed from Jerusalem as the central heart. Their union in this work was a powerful means of renewing their patriotic affection and strengthening the interests of the commonwealth. Co-working for defence always brings souls together; and when the co-working is in defence of the citadel of religion and country, the strongest bond of union is formed. The wall-buildings formed a strong basis, on which Nehemiah could introduce his reforms.

3. However, there must have been many who refused the service, and were apathetic, if not hostile to the work. Otherwise we should not see some of them engaged doing a *second* piece of the wall, and perhaps a longer list of leaders in the service would be recorded. It is not to be believed that, if the high-priest himself was inclined to ally himself to Sanballat, there were not many others who had no hearty interest in the restoration of Jerusalem's glory. The nobles of Tekoah (ver. 5) were but samples of a large number.

4. And yet, again, the thirty-four leaders whose names are given us cannot be considered as the only chief men engaged in the wall-building. Other prominent men whose names occur later in the book may have held office under them, and hence are here unmentioned.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ver. 1. The importance of Zion's walls. 1) For uniting the congregation, the congregation must be able to shut itself off and secure itself to protect its peculiar goods. 2) For exclusion of the world,—the world must be kept at a distance, so long as it only strives to rob the goods of the congregation.

Vers. 1, 2. The precedence of the high-priest in making the city of God secure. 1) He himself is the first to build. 2) By this he consecrates the work of the others. 3) He is a pledge for the success of the work.—The duty of building the walls of Zion. 1) For those in authority (as Nehemiah), who have to incite and uphold the priests and people in their work. 2) For the priests who are not exalted above the common obligation.—3) For the people whose members must not forget in their household and inferior cares, those which are higher and more universal.—Bede: *Qui portas et turres ædificant, per quas vel cives ingrediantur vel arceantur inimici, ipsi sunt prophetæ, apostoli, evangelistæ, per quos nobis forma et ordo fidei ac rectæ operationis, per quam unitatem ecclesiæ sanctæ intrare debeamus, ministrata est, quorumque verbis, qualiter adversarios veritatis redarguamus ac repellamus, discimus. Qui vero reliquis verbis extruunt, ipsi sunt pastores et doctores.*—Starke: The clergy should set to work first in building the city of God, and precede others by a good example. The memory of those who have rendered services to the church and to the commonwealth remains, justly, blessed. Prov. 10:7. The most powerful and richest people do, generally, the least in the temporal and spiritual edifice of the city of God. Happy he who willingly puts on the light and easy yoke of Christ at the building of the spiritual Jerusalem.

Ver. 31. The honor of the mechanics and artists. 1) They may be, and shall be at the same time priests of God. 2) Their products can and shall serve for God's honor. 3) Their doing has in itself worth and reward.

Vers. 33–35. Why the world so easily pretends that our work will have no result. 1) Because in truth of ourselves we are not capable of great efforts: only the sacrifice and the power of Christ can make us willing and endow us with perseverance. 2) Because in truth the work is indeed altogether too lofty and glorious,—only the Spirit of Christ can consecrate us to it. 3) Because the world only sees that which is before its eyes; there is, however, something higher.—Starke: Fleshly-minded spirits consider the undertaking and the work of God's children as contemptible and small, and measure it according to their standard. Wisd. v. 3; 2 Kings xix. 10. There are different degrees among the godless, in regard to their wickedness. The worst are those who not only do wickedly themselves, but also cannot bear to see others doing good, and express their rage in poisonous jeers. John x. 32; Ps. cix. 4.

Vers. 36–38. Prayer is the most powerful weapon against the enemy. 1) It secures to us the best allies. 2) It makes us sure of the weakness of the enemy. If they are God's enemies at the same time, they have God's holiness opposed to them, before which nothing which is evil can endure. 3) It pledges the final victory to us. They can only escape by change of heart.—Starke: When we are in the greatest straits, there God is our safety, our rock, our strength and refuge, and we must fly to Him in prayer. 2 Chr. xx. 12; Prov. xviii. 10; Nah. i. 3.

Ver. 38. The blessing of the oppression which the scorn of the world exercises upon us. 1) We work the more steadily under it, we do not indeed know how long the evening will permit us to work. 2) The joy in the work increases as surely as it is elevating to bear the disgrace of Christ. 3) The work advances so much the better. Starke: In the work of the Lord we must confidently proceed, heedless of all opposition. 2 Tim. iv. 3–5. At pleasure's call all work seems small, therefore be not slothful in what you should do. Rom. xii. 11; Prov. vi. 6. If God has given us successful progress in our work, this should be an admonition to us that we should the more boldly persist in pursuing our calling.

CHAPTER IV. 1–23.

1 BUT [and] it came to pass that when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall,
2 he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. And he spake
before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said, What do these feeble Jews?
Will they fortify themselves? Will they sacrifice? Will they make an end in a
day [by day, *i. e.*, openly]? Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the
3 rubbish which are burned? Now [and] Tobiah the Ammonite *was* by him, and
he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their
4 stone wall. Hear, O our God; for we are despised [a contempt]: and turn their
reproach upon their own head, and give them for a prey in the land of captivity.
5 And cover not their iniquity, and let not their sin be blotted out from before thee;
for they have provoked *thee* to anger before [they have acted vexatiously against]
6 the builders. So built we [and we built] the wall; and all the wall was joined
together unto the half thereof: for [and] the people had a mind [heart] to work.
7 But [and] it came to pass, *that* when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and
the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made
up [that a bandage was applied to the walls of Jerusalem], *and* that the breaches
8 began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together
to come *and* to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it [to do wickedness to it].
9 Nevertheless [and] we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them
10 day and night, because of them. And Judah said, The strength of the bearers of
burdens is decayed, and *there is* much rubbish; so that [and] we are not able to
11 build the wall. And our adversaries said, They shall not know, neither see, till we
12 come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease. And
it came to pass, when the Jews which dwelt by them came, they said unto us ten
times, From all places whence ye shall return unto us *they will be upon you* [they
said unto us ten times, *i. e.*, frequently, from all places, Ye shall return unto us].
13 Therefore [and] I set in the lower places [lowest parts] behind the wall [at the
place behind the wall], *and* in the higher places [in the exposed parts], I even set
14 the people after their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows. And
I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest
of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, *which is* great and
terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives,
15 and your houses. And it came to pass when our enemies heard that it was known
unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned all of us to
16 the wall, every one unto his work. And it came to pass from that time forth [from
that day], *that* the half of my servants wrought in the work, and the *other* half of
them held both the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the habergeons; and the
17 rulers *were* behind all the house of Judah. They which builded on the wall and
they that bare burdens, with those that laded, [while carrying] *every one* with one
18 of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other *hand* held a weapon. For
[and] the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and *so* builded.
19 And he that sounded the trumpet was by me. And I said unto the nobles, and to
the rulers, and to the rest of the people, The work *is* great and large, and we are
20 separated upon the wall, one far from another. In what place *therefore* ye hear
21 the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us: our God shall fight for us. So
[and] we labored in the work: and half of them held the spears from the rising of
22 the morning till the stars appeared. Likewise at the same time said I unto the
people, Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, that [and] in the

23 night they may be a guard to us, and labor on the day [by day]. So [and] neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, *saving that* every one put them off for washing.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

16. The ו seems to be misplaced. It should be with הַמָּגִנִּים, and not with הָרְמָחִים. Or the words may have changed places.

17. In עֹכְשִׁים the שׁ takes the place of ס.

22. Note the absence of ל with מִשְׁמָר and מְלָאכָה.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Hindrances* (1) *From Sanballat and his allies.*

(N. B.—Vers. 1–6 are in the Heb. vers. 33–38 of ch. 3).

Ver. 1. **Mocked the Jews.**—Sanballat was evidently afraid to use violence directly on account of the favor shown by the Persian monarch to the Jews. His great rage could exhibit itself only in mockery.

Ver. 2. **Before his brethren**, *i. e.*, Tobiah and his brethren in council. **The army of Samaria.**—It is likely that Sanballat had actually brought an armed force in sight of the city to intimidate the Jews. In a speech to his officers he uses the language of mockery here given, **Will they fortify themselves?**—Perhaps, *will they help themselves?* Keil, comparing Ps. x. 14, reads it "will they leave it to themselves?" which is harsh. (See on ch. iii. 8 for the use of this word *azab*). **Will they make an end in a day?** Rather, *will they make an end* (*i. e.*, accomplish it) *by day* (*i. e.*, openly). So *bayyom* in Gen. xxxi. 40; Prov. xii. 16; Judg. xiii. 10.

Ver. 3. **Now Tobiah the Ammonite was by him.**—The style of phrase in this verse suggests what we have already supposed, that when Sanballat addressed his armed men he was in sight of Jerusalem, looking with Tobiah and others at the Jews' work.

Ver. 4. **Hear, O our God.**—Eight times in this book Nehemiah interjects a prayer. They are prayers while writing, not while acting. The grounds of this prayer are, (1) God's people are despised; (2) excited to fear by the enemy. As in the imprecatory psalms, there is a prophetic power in this prayer. The prayer anticipates God's justice.

Ver. 5. **They have provoked thee to anger before the builders.** Rather, *they have vexed* (with alarm) *the builders*. So *kaas* in Ezek. xxxii. 9. The *leneged* is that of hostility as in Dan. x. 13.

Ver. 6. **Unto the half thereof in height. The people had a mind to work.**—The disaffected (including probably the high-priest or at least many of his family) were a few, and they had to yield to the zeal of the great mass. Patriotism, piety and security made the wall-building a popular work. (The fourth chapter in the Heb divisions begins here).

Ver. 7. **The Arabians.**—Those in Samaria. See on ch. ii. 19. **The Ammonites.**—Tobiah's influence had probably induced many Ammonites to take active part with Sanballat in opposing the Jews. If Sanballat was a Moabite (as we suppose), that fact would account for an Ammonitish alliance, as the two nations of Moab and Ammon were always closely united, especially against Israel. **The Ashdodites**, with the Philistine traditional hatred, remained hostile to the Jews until Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus, three hundred years after this, destroyed Ashdod at the defeat of Apollonius. **That the walls of Jerusalem were made up.**—Lit., *that a bandage was applied to the walls of Jerusalem.* So in 2 Chron. xxiv. 13.

Ver. 8. **To hinder it.**—Lit., *to do wickedness to it.* (So the word *to'ah* in Isa. xxxii. 6). These various nationalities might suppose that by acting in concert, they could show to the Persian king they were only acting in his behalf for the safety of the empire against an insurrectionary movement of the Jews. An attack of Sanballat *alone* might readily be understood at court as a matter of personal jealousy and aggrandizement. Hence the confederacy.

Vers. 10–12. **And Judah said .... and our adversaries said ... the Jews which dwelt by them said.** Here were three sources of discouragement: (1) The severity of the work. (2) The threat of destruction by the confederacy. (3) The recall of the country Jews from the work by their timid fellows.

**They said unto us ten times, From all places whence ye shall return unto us they will be upon you.**—Rather, *They said unto us ten times* (*i. e.*, frequently), *From all places ye shall return unto us.* The Jews from the outside towns that were near the enemy came to Jerusalem and endeavored to make their townsmen desist, through fear of injury from Sanballat. [The Heb. *Asher* as in Esther iii. 4.]

Ver. 13. **Therefore set I in the lower places behind the wall and on the higher places I even set**, *etc.*—Rather, *Therefore set I in the lowest parts at the place behind the wall, in the exposed parts, I even set, etc.* Nehemiah placed detachments, properly armed, at such points of the wall as had attained the least height and were thus most exposed to attack. These detachments were formed of the families who had been working at the portions of the wall where these gaps were. There was a temporary cessation from the work. "The lowest parts" and "the exposed parts" are in apposition. "The higher places" (E. V.) is a mistaken rendering. The word *tsehihi* means "a dry or bare place (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 4–14), and hence by a metaphorical use, an exposed part of the wall.

Ver. 14. **And I looked.**—Implying perhaps an observation of some fear on the part of the

different classes of the community. Or it may refer to a simple review of the defenders in their positions.

Ver. 15. **We returned all of us to the wall every one unto his work.**—This shows that there had been a cessation of the work at the first alarm.

Ver. 16. **My servants** cannot be equal to "my subjects" as some hold, for *naar* could not be so used by Nehemiah, nor would he consider the people of Judah in the light of subjects. Nehemiah had probably a special band of men attached to his person, either by order of the king of Persia, or by the will of the people at Jerusalem. To these we suspect reference is here made. There is a distinction made between these and the others. These divided themselves into two parts, the one working while the other kept guard; but the others held a weapon while they wrought (ver. 17). *Habergeon.* Old English for "coat of mail." From *hals* (neck) and *bergen* (to protect).

Ver. 17. Read *The builders of the wall and the burden-bearers while carrying.* The builders and the burden-bearers each bore a javelin (*shelah*) in one hand, the builders (as distinct from the burden-bearers) also wearing a sword, as we see in ver. 18.

Ver. 18. **For.**—Read "And." The signal trumpet was directly under Nehemiah's order, as commander of the defence.

Ver. 22. **Lodge within Jerusalem.**—That is, during the alarm, those that had their homes in the villages and distant towns should now continue night and day in the city.

Ver. 23. Only Nehemiah and his immediate family and attendants are here referred to as not putting off their clothes. It became them to be patterns of watchfulness and and diligence to the rest.—**Saving that every one put them off from washing.**—A puzzling sentence. It is literally "man his weapon the water." The rendering of the E. V. is in accordance with the old Jewish authorities who regard *shilho* as a verb of equivalent meaning with *pashat* (to put off). Probably some words are lost.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The wrath and great indignation of Sanballat prove the insincerity of his taunts. If the Jews were so feeble a folk in his estimation, he would not have sought an alliance (ver. 8) to fight against them. He had good reason to fear the sudden restoration of the Jewish power, and was merely exercising that which is praised as political wisdom when he used every energy to thwart Nehemiah's purpose. It is probable that in Galilee there existed a growing remnant of Israel (the men of Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath and Sepharvaim (2 Kings xvii. 24) having been settled by the King of Assyria in *Central* Palestine), who, of course, sympathized with the movement at Jerusalem. Sanballat, situated between these two fragments of Israel, was the more alert to see danger in Israel's growth. Hence his forwardness to move in the matter, for he was evidently the chief mover, although Arabians, Ammonites and Ashdodites were ready enough to take part.

2. The prayer of Nehemiah that the enemy's reproaches might be turned upon their own head, and that their sin might never be forgiven (comp. Ps. lxix. 27, 28, and Jer. xviii. 23), can only be understood by the soul that is so allied to God as to see His judgments proceeding forth from His holiness. The final judgment by the saints as assessors with God (Ps. cxlix. 6–9 and Rev. iii. 21) has the same character. Where the natural mind can only imagine revenge, the spiritual mind sees faith and holiness.

3. Prayer did not slacken the energy of the Jews. They experienced the redoubled zeal and activity which all true prayer produces. They made their prayer to God, and set a watch against their foes day and night. All the natural means whether of mind or matter form channels through which God conveys His grace in answer to prayer. To stop these channels is to cancel prayer. Prayer was never intended to foster idleness or diminish responsibility.

4. The remembrance of the Lord is the sure safe-guard against our afflictions. David says: "I have set the Lord always before me; because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved" (Ps. xv. 8).

Remembering the Lord is an act of faith, a new grasp upon His divine help, and, at the same time, a purification of the heart. Forgetfulness of God is the unguardedness of the soul.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–17. Our abiding tasks. 1) From work to conflict. (Vers. 1–8.) a) On account of defying enemies from without and within. b) In spite of faint-hearted friends. c) With faith in the Lord. 2) From conflict to work. Vers. 9–17.) a) Work remains the principal task. b) It can and must be advanced even during the preparation for conflict; the preparation for conflict does not hinder, but makes us active, zealous, and strong. c) Laziness and ease must be renounced, with self denial. STARKE: We must guard ourselves well on all sides, that the devil may not make a breach, for he goes about us like a roaring lion, 1 Pet. v. 8. In the common struggle against Satan and his hosts we must support and help one another. True builders of the church of Christ must not only industriously build, *i. e.*, teach and preach, but also diligently act on the defensive, and resist all the powerful incursions of the devil, and all godless conduct, Tit. i. 9. In the church militant we must work in full armor, and have the sword of the Spirit at hand, that we may be a match for temptations, Eph. vi. 16, 17. God can easily put to naught the crafty attacks of the enemy, Job v. 12.

Vers. 1–8. The assaults of the people of God. 1) How they originate against it. a) Through enemies who threaten to undo His work. b) Through weak friends, who, in spite of, or, on account of watching and prayer, become depressed and dissuaded from the work. 2) How they are to be overcome. a) By readiness for the conflict. b) By confidence in the great, only-to-be-feared God, who fights for His people.—BEDE: *Plane hæc ira hæreticorum, hæc verba eorum sunt, qui se Samaritanos, hoc est, custodes legis*

*Dei, frustra cognominant, cum sint maxime Deo contrarii ac legibus ejus, ut pote jamdudum a domo David, hoc est, ab unitate Christi et ecclesiæ per hæreses aut schismata aut mala opera segregati; qui ne sua forte impugnetur atque excludatur impietas, muros fidei ædificari metuunt. . . . Tales solent imbecilles appellare Judæos, hoc est, confessores fidei, et facile a gentibus superandos, dum in quotidiano animarum certamine plus amant vitia quam virtutis victoriæ palmam obtinere.*—Starke: To pray and keep good watch are the best means in the time of danger, Eph. vi. 18. This is the way of many people; they make, indeed, a good start in the Lord's work, but when it becomes hard they draw back, and wish to take no trouble, Matt. xiii. 20, 21. Honest souls should not allow themselves to be frightened back by them. Nothing makes one more courageous in war than to be entirely assured that God is with us, and fights for us, Rom. viii. 31; Ps. xxvii. 1.—Our task at the time of attack. 1) Towards defying enemies—to pray and watch, *i. e.*, to be prepared for conflict (vers. 1–3). 2) Towards depressed friends, who yet increase the defiance of the enemy—to confirm their confidence in Him who alone is to be feared, and to sharpen their consciousness of the duty of the conflict (ver 8).—What attacks befall the servants of the Lord (as Nehemiah) in their work for the honor of God. 1) Through dangers on the part of defiant enemies, who cannot endure the difference between the kingdom of God and the world. 2) From the dejection, hesitation, and foolishness on the part of weak friends, who easily interrupt the work and put it back. 3) Through the breaches in the walls of Jerusalem, which render the defences of the city difficult.—Our duty to watch and pray. 1) Its cause—the malice of the enemy, their power, their aim, the whole attitude of their hearts towards the kingdom of God. 2) Its result: its fulfilment is difficult to many, certainly faithlessness, increased defiance of the enemy, and dissuasion from the work on the part of weak friends are excited; but in contrast to these are a) watchfulness—b) readiness for the conflict—and c) the increasing the confidence in the Lord.—Bede: *Hoc est unicum adversus hostes universos ecclesiæ suffugium oratio videlicet ad Deum, et industria doctorum qui die noctuque in lege ejus meditantes corda fidelium contra insidias diaboli ac militum ejus prædicando, consolando, exhortando præmuniant.*

Vers. 9–17. What obligation does the enmity of the world against the building of the kingdom of God lay upon us? 1) To advance the building with all our might, in spite of dangers (vers. 9. 10). 2) To be armed while at work (vers. 11, 12). 3) To heed the signal of the leader, when he calls to conflict (vers. 13, 14). 4) Perseverance in the preparation for war (ver. 15); joyful, sacrificing zeal in the work (ver. 16). In all positions severity towards ourselves, particularly towards our love of ease, and laziness.—Starke: The church always needs those distinguished people, who can comfort the weak in faith, and timorous, and can give them a certain hope in the help of God, 1 Thes. v. 14. In Nehemiah the rulers of the city, and heads of the church, have an example of godliness in his confidence in God—of foresight and diligent watchfulness in his management of this important work, and his arrangement of such good order and war discipline, also of courage and boldness in his proved heroic spirit in the midst of such great fear, danger, and difficulty as that with which he was surrounded on every side in this difficult work. Also in the spiritual conflict it is obligatory upon teachers and watchmen of the church that they should set the example in watchfulness and perception of the public good, and not allow themselves to be annoyed by any trouble. Rev. xvi. 15; Luke xii. 35.

Vers. 11, 12. The preparation for war of the Christian. 1) Why it is necessary the Christian has to build. His building is an attack upon the world, which is irritated by it to the conflict. 2) In what it consists. The Christian bears, even at work, the right weapons. 3) At what it aims. We must and will secure the continuance of the work, and cultivate the feeling of joy and assurance. God will exercise us at the same time in sobriety, self-denial, and activity. Vers. 18–21. The voice of our general in face of the enemy 1) What it takes for granted—that we are prepared for the conflict, even when at work. 2) Of what it reminds us—of the greatness of the work which imposes upon us the building of the kingdom of God in others, and particularly in ourselves; and on the many dangers connected with it. 3) What it demands—that we should heed the signal for conflict, and join ourselves with all the faithful in the strife. 4) What it promises—that God will fight for us, and finally cause our work to succeed.

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## Chapter V. 1–19.

1 And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren
2 the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters *are* many;
therefore we take up corn [*perhaps*, our sons and our daughters we mortgage, that
3 we might buy corn] *for them*, that we may eat and live. *Some* also there were that
said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy
4 corn, because of the dearth. There were also that said, we have borrowed money
5 for the king's tribute, *and that upon* our lands and vineyards. Yet [and] now our

flesh *is* as the flesh of our brethren, our children [sons] as their children [sons]:
and lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters *to* be servants, and *some*
of our daughters are brought into bondage *already:* neither *is it* in our power [and
our hand is not to God] *to redeem them;* for [and] other men have our lands and
6, 7 vineyards. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then
I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto
them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against
8 them. And I said unto them, We, after our ability, have redeemed our brethren
the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren?
or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found nothing *to*
9 *answer* [and found no word]. Also [and] I said, It is not good that ye do: ought
ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen our
10 enemies? [And] I likewise, *and* my brethren, and my servants might exact of
11 [have lent] them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury. Re-
store, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive
yards, and their houses, also the hundredth *part* of the money, and of the corn, the
12 wine and the oil, that ye exact of [lent] them. Then [and] said they, We will re-
store *them*, and will require nothing of them; so will we do as thou sayest. Then
[And] I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according
13 to this promise. Also I shook my lap [bosom], and said, So God shake out every
man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise [word],
even thus be he shaken out and emptied [empty]. And all the congregation said,
Amen, and praised the LORD. And the people did according to this promise
14 [word]. Moreover from the time that I was appointed [he (Artaxerxes) appointed
me] to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto
the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, *that is*, twelve years, I and my
15 brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor. But [And] the former gover-
nors that *had been* before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of
them bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare
16 rule over the people: but [and] so did not I, because of the fear of God. Yea,
also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my
17 servants were gathered thither unto the work. Moreover [And] *there were* at my
table a hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, besides [and] those that came
18 unto us from among the heathen that *are* about us. Now [and] *that* which was
prepared *for me* (*i. e.*, at my expense) daily [for one day] *was* one ox *and* six choice
sheep; also fowls were prepared for me (*i. e.*, at my expense), and once in ten days
store [large quantity] of all sorts of wine: yet [and] for *all* this required not I the
19 bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people. Think
upon [remember to] me, my God, for good, *according* to [*om. according* to] all that
I have done for this people.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 5. The E. V. rightly supplies an equivalent to לְפָּרֹתָם.

[2] Ver. 6. וַיִּמָּלֵךְ. This Niphal evidently carries the Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan meaning of the verb. Comp. Dan. iv. 24 (27) where the derivative noun is used. The literal translation here is "and my heart was consulted upon me." Why the lexicographers give it a Kal meaning I know not.

[3] Ver. 15. אַחַר is rightly rendered "besides." *After* the forty shekels salary they received the bread and wine.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*Hindrances* (2) *from the Tyranny of Jews over one another.*

It might at first sight seem as if this episodical chapter was out of place, and should properly follow chap. viii.; but there is no sound reason why we should not consider the complaint to have been made while all were engaged in the important work of fortifying the city, as a time when it would be the easier to remedy the evil under the pressure of the common danger.

Ver. 2. **We, our sons and our daughters, are many,** *etc.* The error of the Heb. text here in writing *rabbim* for *orebim* (requiring only one letter prefixed in the Hebrew) is very evident (according to Houbigant), so that it should read in English, *we have mortgaged our sons and our daughters that we might buy corn.* Compare the structure of the next verse. The complaint was three-fold: 1. We mortgage our children for food. 2. We mortgage our estates for food. 3. We mortgage our estates for the royal tribute. In all these their brethren were the exactors, not only acting tyrannically towards them, but break-

ing the written law of God in its spirit (Ex. xxii. 25–27) as well as in its letter (see ver. 7).

Ver. 5. *Neither is it in our power.* Lit. "and our hand is not to God." So Gen. xxxi. 29.

Ver. 7. **Then I consulted with myself.**—The Niphal use of *malak* (*wayyimmalek*) is peculiar, and suggests a peculiar sense in this place. The Syriac use of the word as "consult" (see Dan. iv. 24, 27) is probably the right one here. **Ye exact usury.**—The words refer both to the pledges and the interest (ver. 11). **And I set a great assembly against them.**—In the midst of the necessity of the wall-building Nehemiah summons a great mass-meeting of the Jews (see the word *Kehillah* in Deut. xxxiii. 4) to have this fraternal outrage stopped instantly by the force of public opinion.

Ver. 8. The Jewish colony had probably often redeemed Jews from captivity.

Ver. 9. **Because of the reproach of the heathen.**—That is, so as to avoid giving them an opportunity to reproach us.

Ver. 10. **I likewise, and my brethren and my servants might exact of them.**—Rather: *I likewise, that is, my brethren and my servants exact of them*, or rather "lent them." It is a confession of Nehemiah that he too was implicated from the fact that he had found his own family engaged in the oppression. Hence he says: "let *us* leave off this usury." The law expressly forbade lending money to Jews on interest. See Ex. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36; Deut. xxiii. 19. All the lands those rich men had acquired had been obtained in thisway.

Ver. 11. This **hundredth part** was probably a monthly interest, that is, an interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum. *That ye exact of them.* Rather: "that ye lent them."

Ver. 12. The moral force of the great assembly produced an immediate conformity to Nehemiah's demand. His action was a master-piece of management. The oath would have greater solemnity as administered by the priests.

Ver. 13. **My lap.**—This is the bosom of the outer garment (*sinus togæ*), which was used as a pocket. (See for this significant action Acts xviii. 6.)

Ver. 14. This verse and those which follow form an interruption of the narrative. They show that Nehemiah was for twelve years governor of Judah, and did not write this history till the expiration of that time. The parallel between Nehemiah and Washington in refusing salary while saving the nation is striking.

Ver. 15. **Forty shekels of silver.**—This (like the interest in ver. 11) is probably to be reckoned for the month. The former governors had received their table and 480 shekels a year as salary. The 480 shekels would be only $360 in amount of silver; but this would represent in value a large official salary in that day.

Ver. 16. A second point to which Nehemiah refers with satisfaction and as a proof of his disinterested conduct is his allowing no speculation in land on his own part or that of his immediate attendants.

Ver. 17. A third point is his free entertainment of a hundred and fifty Jews, and besides this visitors from surrounding nations.

Ver. 18. **The bondage.**—The service needed to the king of Persia and also that which was needed for the restoration of their national welfare.

Ver. 19. **Think upon me, my God,** *etc.*—Rather: *Remember to me for good all which I have done to this people.* It becomes necessary sometimes for a man of God to declare his integrity against the oppositions and insinuations of enemies. In such cases he can without presumption expect God to vindicate His faithfulness. See Paul's words before the Sanhedrim (Acts xxiii. 1), and compare also 2 Cor. i. 12; iv. 4; 2 Tim. i. 3; Heb. xiii. 18.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The advantage taken in troublous times for men to prey upon their associates and kindred exhibits the deep depravity of human nature. The violence of open enemies and the presence of surrounding dangers should have encouraged the virtue and piety of the Jews by the odiousness of the opposite and their sense of weakness and need of the Divine help. But as often sailors on a wreck, or as men (*e. g.* the Florentines) in the midst of the plague, have given themselves up to debauchery and revelling, so the Jewish remnant, persecuted and straitened, oppressed one another. It was no little bravery in Nehemiah to face these tigers of his own nation, while guarding Jerusalem from the foreign foe. A weak spirit would have reasoned that it was enough to do the latter, and that domestic evils must be endured until a more propitious time for their cure. That "great assembly" was a grand token of Nehemiah's marvellous energy and fertile resources.

2. Nehemiah's refusal of official salary was like Paul's refusal of support at Corinth and Thessalonica (2 Cor. ii. 9; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8), a waiving of an undoubted right for the sake of the higher good. *Summum jus summa injuria* is a sentiment which every tender conscience must often put into exercise. It sees that the only right is to give up right. A sublime spirit discerns when *lex*, no longer *rex*, becomes *nex*.

3. Nehemiah's soul was frank with God. There is freedom of access to a throne of grace for every believer (Heb. iv. 16). "Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people," is not a presumptuous conceit, but a child-like simplicity. The gross mind of the world would confound the two. Where we know that God has led us in paths of righteousness, we may well use that knowledge and encourage our souls by it. Nehemiah had but few around him who could reach high enough to sympathize fully with him, and it was thus his great comfort to pour out his soul, *according to truth*, before the God, whose good hand had guided him. God wishes no mock modesty from us. His grace in our hearts and lives should be acknowledged (comp. 1 Tim. i. 12).

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–13. The most powerful hinderances to the development of the congregation. 1) That they are discords and separations, but especially the complaints of the poor against the rich. 2)

Whence they arise: from want of love. 3) What do they teach: they challenge to a more powerful proving of love, and lead, when such proof is given, to a new impulse in the life of the congregation, but particularly to new praising of the Lord in common.

The old, and ever new, need 1) In what it consists; want, poverty, and misery are ever in the Lord's congregation. 2) Whence this arises, a) From sin (that of others, but also our own), from laziness, discontent, ingratitude, *etc.* b) From God's wise intention: He knows the sins, and wishes to remove them; He wishes to give opportunity to the rich to exercise their love, and to the poor to struggle against their discontent. 3) How it is removed: not through all sorts of new social regulations and laws—not through home missionary societies, in so far as their work is scarcely experienced by the poor as a mark of love, and is easily looked upon by them as help owed to them, but through an awaking of the heart to the proving of true love and benevolence as the Lord ever anew renders possible.—Starke: God scourges not alone with a single, but also at times with a double rod, and sends one cross and misfortune upon another. Job x. 17. But the godly have great consolations and promises on the other hand. Ps. xxxiii. 19; Ps. xxxvii. 19, 25. Usury against our poor brethren is forbidden. Lev. xxv. 36; Ps. xv. 5; Ez. xviii. 13; xxii. 12; for whoever builds his house with the property of others, gathers stones for his own grave. Sir. xxi. 9. It is a bad case when we show ourselves to our fellow-Christians in such a way that they must sigh and cry to God against us. Gen. xviii. 21; Sir. iv. 6.

Vers. 7–13. What renders the admonition to exercise love effective? 1) Mildness in example. 2) Readiness of the preacher and his friends to take precedence in the example of love (ver. 10). 3) The assurance that God rejects the unloving from His communion, and robs him of His blessing (ver. 13).

Starke: Anger in office is not, indeed, forbidden, yet one should be angry so as not to sin, Ps. iv. 5, and moderate himself properly. Sir. xxx. 26. As storming showers beat down the grain to the earth, but gentle drops, on the contrary, revive and ripen it, so is it also with speech. Friendly language has more effect than severe rebuke, particularly with the irascible and people of rank, who cannot submit to hard reproof.

Vers. 7–19. How important, but how difficult it is to go forward as an example in true proving of love. 1) How important (vers. 7–13). *a*) When one condemns hard-heartedness, but is himself hard-hearted, he shows that he was not in earnest in his condemnation. b) When one makes claim to the God of love against the unloving, but is himself unloving, he shows that he does not really possess the fear and faith of God, but hypocritically pretends to have it. c) Those who support their word by their actions always make the greatest impression. 2) How difficult. It is not sufficient to exercise love in that one particular in which one desires proofs of love, much more must love, self-denial, and self-sacrifice be shown in every relation (ver. 14), and indeed beyond common obligations (ver. 15), in spite of particular deeds, on account of which one could be entitled to make claims (ver. 16) in spite of the great sacrifice which the willingness for immolation imposes (vers. 17, 18). Schluss: The example of true deeds of love is (ver. 19) particularly also so important on this account because it gives us the assurance and the joyful sentiment of the love and care of God, but it is always on this account so difficult because with sin is joined such want of love, so that we Christians can only find the prayer of Nehemiah (ver. 19) justified in the mouth of Christ, and only for Christ's sake are allowed to dare to beg for God's care and love.—Starke: When necessity or other cogent reasons demand it, one should willingly forego that which otherwise he would with good reason demand and take. Matt. x. 10; 1 Cor. ix. 18; 1 Tim. v. 18. He never rules well who does not do everything he can. God will reward good works, not according to the worthiness of the merit, but from grace. Luke xvii. 18.

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## Chapter VI. 1–19.

1 Now [and] it came to pass, when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, and the rest of our enemies, heard that I had builded the wall, and *that* there was no breach left therein; (though at that time I had not set up the doors upon
2 the gates); that Sanballat and Geshem sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in *some one of* the villages in the plain of Ono. But [and] they thought
3 to do me mischief. And I sent messengers unto them, saying, I *am* doing a great work, so that [and] I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I
4 leave it and come down to you? Yet [and] they sent unto me four times after this sort [word]; and I answered them after the same manner [after this word].
5 Then [and] sent Sanballat his servant unto me in like manner [after this word] the

6 fifth time with an open letter in his hand; wherein *was* written, It is reported
among the heathen [*i. e.*, nations] and Gashmu [*i. e.*, Geshem] saith *it, that* thou
and the Jews think to rebel: for which cause thou buildest the wall, that thou
mayest be their king [and thou art to them for king] according to these words.
7 And thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem, saying,
*There is* a king in Judah, and now shall it be reported to the king according to
these words. Come now therefore [and now come], and let us take counsel together.
8 Then [and] I sent unto him, saying, There are no such things done as thou sayest
[there is not according to these words which thou sayest], but [for] thou feignest
9 them out of thine own heart. For they all made us afraid, saying, Their hands
shall be weakened from the work, that it be not done [and it shall not be done].
10 Now therefore, [And now], *O God*, strengthen my hands. Afterward [and] I
came unto the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel, who
was shut up; and he said, Let us meet together in the house of God, within the
temple, and let us shut the doors of the temple: for they will come [are coming] to
slay thee; yea [and], in the night will they come [are they coming] to slay thee.
11 And I said, Should such a man as I flee? and who is there that being as I am
12 would go into the temple to save his life [and live]? I will not go in. And lo, I
perceived that [And I perceived and lo] God had not sent him, but that [for] he
pronounced this prophecy against me, for [and] Tobiah and Sanballat had hired
13 him. Therefore was he hired, that I should be afraid, and do so, and sin, and *that*
they might have *matter* for an evil report [name], that they might reproach me.
14 My God, think thou upon [remember] Tobiah and Sanballat according to their
works, and on the prophetess Noadiah, and the rest of the prophets, that would
15 have put me in fear. So [and] the wall was finished in the twenty and fifth *day*
16 of *the month* Elul, in fifty and two days. And it came to pass that when all our
enemies heard *thereof*, and all the heathen that *were* about us saw *these things*, they
were much cast down in their own eyes: for [and] they perceived that this work
was wrought of our God.
17 Moreover in those days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto Tobiah [mul-
tiplied their letters passing to Tobiah] and *the letters* of Tobiah came unto them
18 [and those which of Tobiah came unto them]. For *there were* many in Judah
sworn unto him, because he *was* the son-in-law of Shechaniah the son of Arah; and
his son Johanan had taken [to wife] the daughter of Meshullam the son of Bere-
19 chiah. Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to
him. *And* Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 2. בַּכְּפָרִים, as if from כְּפִיר, and not from כָּפָר. This peculiarity helps the hypothesis that כְּפִירָה may be intended.

[2] Ver. 3. עֲלֵיהֶם. The use of עַל for אֶל is noticeable. See ver. 17, *et al.*

[3] Ver. 6. גַּשְׁמוּ, for גֶּשֶׁם, not after the analogy of the prop. names in יָהוּ (where the variation is owing to a form of the divine name), but rather to be compared with יֶתֶר (Ex. iv. 18) and יִתְרוֹ (Ex. iii. 1).

[4] Ver. 8. בּוֹדָאם, Aramaic for בּוֹרְאָם. See 1 Kings xii. 33, for the only other use of the verb.

[5] Ver. 13. לְמַעַן is properly "to the intent that." The first one here anticipates the other two, thus "*To this intent* he was hired, *to the intent that, etc.*"

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

**(8)** *Hindrances from the Heathen and their Jewish Confederates.*

Ver. 2. The omission of Tobiah's name is an indication that he was merely an attaché of Sanballat. Notice also (in the Heb.) that the prep. is not repeated before Tobiah, as it is before Geshem.—**Villages.**—Some take this as a proper name, *Chephirim.*—**Ono**, with Lod and Hadid, is mentioned in ch. vii. 37 between Jericho and Senaah, as if it might be in the Jordan depression; but the name of Lod is generally identified with Ludd or Lydda in the Sharon plain, twenty-five miles north-west of Jerusalem. If so, the ordinary siting of Ono in that plain is doubtless correct. Eusebius places it at three miles from Lydda.

Why Sanballat should select so distant a spot is puzzling, unless he happened to be stationed there himself at the time. Otherwise he would know that the invitation would arouse Nehemiah's suspicions. There may be another Ono near Chephirah, which is ten miles north-west

of Jerusalem, and Chephirim (villages) may stand for Chephirah.

Ver. 5. **An open letter**, that its contents might alarm all the Jews, and create opposition to Nehemiah.

Ver. 6. **Gashmu**, *i. e.* Geshem.—**According to these words.**—Sanballat throughout makes no accusation, but refers to rumor. Nehemiah's answer is (ver. 8): *There is not according to these words which thou sayest*, *i. e.* there is no such rumor.

**Strengthen my hands.**—This interjected prayer must be taken from Nehemiah's journal at the time. When he writes the narrative, he quotes his ejaculation, as showing where his dependence was at that trying time.

Ver. 10. **Shemaiah** evidently (see ver. 12) was a prophet. The gift of prophecy did not prevent a man from selling himself to lie for others (see 1 Kings xxii. 22).—**Shut up.**—See Jer. xxxvi. 5. He was shut up perhaps in performance of a vow; Keil suggests as a symbol of his charge to Nehemiah. This use of *'azar* is related to the derivative *'asarrah* (a court).

**The temple**, *i. e.* the innermost building, the temple proper.

Ver. 11. **Would go into the temple to save his life.**—Lit.: "would go into the temple and live." The last clause may refer to the death of any one violating the sanctity of the temple. See Num. xviii. 7. It may also mean what our translators give.

Ver. 13. **Do so and sin**, *i. e.* shut myself up in fear, and enter the holy place, into which only the priests could enter.

Ver. 14. Sanballat evidently had a strong party in Jerusalem, and among them many of prophetic rank hired with his money.

Ver. 15. **Elul** was the sixth month corresponding to parts of August and September.—**Fifty and two days.**—Hence the work was begun on the fourth of Ab, the fifth month. The work went on during the hottest part of the year (say, from July 19th to Sept. 8th).

Ver. 16. The marvellously short time in which the work had been done, and that, too, by Jews, whom Sanballat knew to be divided into mutually hostile parties, impressed him and his coadjutors with the sense of a divine co-operation with Nehemiah.

Josephus turns the fifty-two days into eight hundred and forty days, probably in his desire to tone down the marvellous for his readers.

Ver. 18. **Meshullam.** See ch. iii. 4.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Nehemiah, when persistently declining the invitation to meet Sanballat at the plain of Ono, exposed himself to the charge of opposing peace measures. This is one of the hardest trials of virtue, to continue steadfast in a true course at the risk of impugned motives and damaged reputation. Sanballat's fifth message and open letter sought to endanger Nehemiah with the king, while it seemed to show Sanballat's devotion to the king's interests. The refusal now to attend a conference would appear the worse. Yet the sturdy patriot and man of God rests upon his integrity and trusts in God. This *persistence* in the right, come what would, makes Nehemiah a *great* man as well as a *good* man.

2. "Shemaiah" was such a common name among the Jews, that it is impossible to identify this prophet with any other person of his name (as *e. g.* the one in Ezra x. 21). He must, however, have been a man of prominence, and one, too, who had been in Nehemiah's confidence, or else the attempt would never have been made by Tobiah and Sanballat through him. It may have been the high position and reputation of Shemaiah that led the prophetess Noadiah and the rest of the prophets (ver. 14) into the false dealings with Nehemiah.

3. The expression of Nehemiah's soul for their punishment from God is the outcry for vindication, which one's very purity of heart demands. In such outcry the persecuted and innocent soul finds rest. Let none confound this with revenge.

4. It is not strange that Sanballat saw that the wall-building was wrought of Israel's God. The trouble with God's enemies is not that their knowledge is defective, but that their hearts are alienated. Evidences are multiplying constantly before them, but produce no change in their opposition. Sanballat was vexed because he was thwarted by the Lord God of Israel. Those fifty-two days of wall-building were clearly to his mind a token of divine assistance; but this knowledge did not stop his opposition.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–3. Can the enticements of the dissembling world really make any impression upon us? 1) What are they? They all come to this one thing in the end, that we shall care before all for ourselves, that is, for our temporal well-being, and therefore shall descend from our due height as children of God, and they aim not towards our salvation, but towards our destruction. 2) What have we to place in opposition to them? That we have a great work to do, the building of the walls of Jerusalem, that is, the securing the kingdom of God in others, and particularly in ourselves, the spreading and the improvement thereof, only through the most faithful performance of this great, infinite work, can we reach the high goal of our salvation.—Bede: *Nehemias personam fidelium doctorum tenens, nequaquam ad profanos descendere neque eorum hostiis inquinari sentit, sed in conceptis virtutum operibus devotus persistit; et quo acrius terrere nitebantur inimici, eo magis ipse bene operando terribilis eisdem inimicis fieri contendit.*

Vers. 1–9. The behaviour of those who grudge independence to the congregation. 1) They act as if they wish to aid it. 2) They seek to intimidate, as if the representatives of freedom were rendering themselves worthy of suspicion in a dangerous way. 3) Their only design is to rob the congregation of its capable leaders.

Vers. 10–19. The friends of the enemy. 1) They pretend that they are caring for the well-being and the security of the good. 2) They serve the enemy. 3) They only aim at destroying the good leaders.

Vers. 15–19. The most repulsive enemies. 1) They are not those from without who are grieved

when the independence of the congregation is secured, and its work crowned with success. 2) They are much rather the false brethren, who always desire to incite the outside enemy anew to disturbing interference by smooth words.—BEDE: *Semper habent electi foris pugnas, intus timores; nec solum apostolis, sed et prophetæ periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis ex falsis fratribus suspectam vitam agebant.* STARKE: What Paul writes concerning false brethren (2 Cor. xi. 26) that has Nehemiah also experienced for his portion. And it is indeed one of the heaviest griefs of the true servants of God, when they must see that that those connected with them in religion, yes, indeed at times their colleagues, who labor with them in the same work, stand in prejudicial intercourse with the enemies of Christ and His church, and yet wish to be considered as co-members, striving for the honor of God. Those whom God awakens for spiritual building should conduct themselves circumspectly and courageously against the snares of the enemy, and not allow themselves to be frightened off by their slander, but cheerfully proceed. In the end the enemy will be cast down with fear in their consciences, and must acknowledge that the work is of God. Acts v. 39. When we wander in the midst of anxiety God refreshes us, and stretches His hand over the rage of His enemies, and helps us with His right hand. Ps. xcvii. 11.

Vers. 1–19. Concerning the most critical and saddest hinderance which opposes us in defence of the congregation. 1) From whom it proceeds. Not principally from the outside enemy, not even then when they feign friendship, and, under the pretence of helping us, aim at the worst, but much more from false prophets, who make common cause with the outside enemy, and yet pretend that they wish to protect us from their snares. They excite our humanity to allow ourselves, for our security or ease, that which can become ruinous to us. 2) How it serves us. Our zeal, our fidelity and perseverance, and our watchfulness must be so much the greater; we shall have opportunity to keep ourselves in sufferings, not for our injury, but for our salvation. 3) How it is to be overcome. Through precaution and fearlessness, through the fear of God in which are united humility and genuine high courage, also through great watchfulness.—STARKE: Great lords, who seek to further the good of the church of God and of the commonwealth, are a thorn in the devil's eye. The cross is often never lifted from the godly, that they may live in continual communion with God. Ah, my God, I have also a great business to perform, namely, to save my soul, and better that of my neighbor. Grant that I may be faithful therein, then shall it go on well and succeed.

## CHAPTER VII. 1–73.

1 Now [AND] it came to pass when the wall was built, and I had set up the doors,
2 and the porters and the singers and the Levites were appointed, that I gave my
brother Hanani and Hananiah the ruler of the palace, charge over Jerusalem, for
3 he was [as] a faithful man, and feared God above [*i. e.* more than] many. And
I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot;
and while [until] they stand by, let them shut the doors and bar *them:* and appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every
4 one *to be* over against his house. Now [And] the city was large [broad on both
hands] and great; but the people *were* few therein, and the houses *were* not builded.
5 And my God put into my heart to gather [and I gathered] together the nobles,
and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And
I found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and found
6 written therein. These *are* the children [sons] of the province, that went up out
of the captivity of those that had been carried away [of the carrying away],
whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away, and [who]
7 came again to Jerusalem and to Judah, every one unto his city; who came
with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah. The number, *I say,* of the
8 men of the people of Israel *was this;* The children [sons—*so everywhere in this*
9 *list*] of Parosh, two thousand a hundred seventy and two. The children of She-
10 phatiah, three hundred seventy and two. The children of Arah, six hundred fifty
11 and two. The children of Pahath-moab, of the children of Jeshua and Joab, two
12 thousand and eight hundred *and* eighteen. The children of Elam, a thousand two

13 hundred fifty and four. The children of Zattu, eight hundred forty and five.
14, 15 The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and three-score. The children of Binnui, six hundred forty and eight.
16, 17 The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and eight. The children of Azgad,
18 two thousand three hundred twenty and two. The children of Adonikam, six
19 hundred three score and seven. The children of Bigvai, two thousand three-score
20, 21 and seven. The children of Adin, six hundred fifty and five. The children
22 of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight. The children of Hashum, three hundred
23 twenty and eight. The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and four.
24, 25 The children of Hariph, a hundred and twelve. The children of Gibeon, ninety
26 and five. The men of Bethlehem and Netophah, a hundred four-score and eight.
27, 28 The men of Anathoth, a hundred twenty and eight. The men of Beth-azma-
29 veth, forty and two. The men of Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven
30 hundred forty and three. The men of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and
31, 32 one. The men of Michmas, a hundred and twenty and two. The men of
33 Beth-el and Ai, a hundred twenty and three. The men of the other Nebo, fifty
34 and two. The children of the other Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.
35, 36 The children of Harim, three hundred and twenty. The children of Jericho,
37 three hundred forty and five. The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven hun-
38 dred twenty and one. The children of Senaah, three thousand nine hundred and thirty.
39 The priests: The children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred
40, 41 seventy and three. The children of Immer, a thousand fifty and two. The
42 children of Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven. The children of Harim, a thousand and seventeen.
43 The Levites: The children of Jeshua, of Kadmiel, *and* of the children of Hodevah, seventy and four.
44 The singers: The children of Asaph, a hundred forty and eight.
45 The porters: The children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai, a hundred thirty and eight.
46 The Nethinim: The children of Ziha, the children of Hashupha, the children of
47 Tabbaoth, the children of Keros, the children of Sia, the children of Padon,
48 the children of Lebana, the children of Hagaba, the children of Shalmai,
49, 50 the children of Hanan, the children of Giddel, the children of Gahar, the
51 children of Reaiah, the children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda, the children
52 of Gazzam, the children of Uzza, the children of Phaseah, the children of Besai,
53 the children of Meunim, the children of Nephishesim, the children of Bakbuk,
54 the children of Hakupha, the children of Harhur, the children of Bazlith, the
55 children of Mehida, the children of Harsha, the children of Barkos, the children
56 of Sisera, the children of Tamah, the children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.
57 The children of Solomon's servants: The children of Sotai, the children of So-
58 phereth, the children of Perida, the children of Jaala, the children of Darkon,
59 the children of Giddel, the children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the
60 children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the children of Amon. All the Nethinim and
61 the children of Solomon's servants, *were* three hundred ninety and two. And these *were* they which went up *also* from Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, Addon, and Immer: but they could not show their father's house, nor their seed, whether they
62 *were* of Israel. The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six hundred forty and two.
63 And of the priests: The children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai, which took *one* of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite to wife, and
64 was called after their name. These sought their register *among* those that were reckoned by genealogy, but it was not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put
65 from the priesthood. And the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood *up* a priest with Urim and Thummim.
66 The whole congregation together *was* forty and two thousand three hundred and
67 three-score. Besides their man-servants and their maid-servants, of whom *there*

*were* seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and they had two hundred
68 forty and five singing men and singing women. Their horses, seven hundred thirty
69 and six: their mules, two hundred forty and five: *their* camels, four hundred
thirty and five: six thousand seven hundred and twenty asses.
70 And some of the chief of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave
to the treasure a thousand drams of gold, fifty basins, five hundred and thirty
71 priests' garments. And *some* of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the
work twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand and two hundred pounds
72 of silver. And *that* which the rest of the people gave *was* twenty thousand drams
of gold, and two thousand pounds of silver, and three-score and seven priests' gar-
73 ments. So the priests, and the Levites, and the porters, and the singers, and *some*
of the people, and the Nethinim, and all Israel, dwelt in their cities; and when
the seventh month came, the children of Israel *were* in their cities.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 Ver. 3. יָגִיפוּ for יִסְגְּרוּ, ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. The Targum Jonathan on 2 Kings iv. 4, וְסָגַרְתְּ הַדֶּלֶת is וְתָגִיפִין דָּשָׁא.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Ordering of the City.*

Ver. 1. The setting up of the doors on the gates is anticipated in the description in chap. iii. (See ch. iii. 1, 3, 6, 13, 14, 15.) It occurred after the wall was completed. (Comp. chap. vi. 1). **The porters and the singers and the Levites** (comp. ch. xii. 45-47). For the temple-porters in David's time, see the accounts in 1 Chron. ix. 17–27, and xxvi. 1–19. The Korhites or descendants of Korah, who were porters, were also singers, to whom are inscribed so many psalms. All of these porters and singers were Levites. Hence the threefold titles might not indicate distinct classes, but we might read it as a *hendiatris* "the Levitical singing porters." Yet from the later portions of this book (ch. x. 28; ch. xi. 15–19) we may gather that the singers and porters formed two distinct guilds, separate from one another and separate from the other Levites. Hence the three terms here represent three bodies of men. It is probable that the opening and shutting of the temple-gates were made with song. Perhaps some of the psalms inscribed to the Bene-Korah were so used.

Nehemiah seems to have set these Levitical porters at all the city gates, perhaps to give a more religious aspect to his work of defending Jerusalem.

Ver. 2. **Hanani.**—See ch. i. 2. **Hananiah's** position as **ruler of the palace** (*sar habbirah*) was probably the old office of the monarchy (*'al-habbayith*) which Eliakim held (2 Kings xviii. 37) and which Jotham held while Uzziah still lived (*'al beth-hammelek*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 21). See note on ch. ii. 8. The old office was probably retained and its incumbent acted as vizier or prime officer to the governor. Nehemiah probably contemplated temporary returns to Persia, and therefore consolidated the government in this way, putting faithful men in the highest positions.

Ver. 3. **While they stand by.**—Rather, *until they stand by*. The command is, not to open the gates till high day, and not even then, unless the guard is ready to stand by and defend them. The **watchers** were stationed throughout the city. These were formed of the inhabitants generally.

Ver. 4. **The houses were not builded.**—A general expression. The city was full of waste places.

Ver. 6. Here begins a copy of the list of Zerubbabel's company of ninety years before. See Ezra ii. It continues through this chapter. Verses 6 and 7 form the title of the list. **Province.**—Judea was now a province of the Persian empire.

**That went up out of the captivity of those that had been carried away whom Nebuchadnezzar,** *etc.*—Rather, *that went up from exile, the captives whom Nebuchadnezzar, etc.*

Ver. 7. **Nehemiah.**—Not the Nehemiah of this book. **Azariah.**—In Ezra ii., *Seraiah*. **Raamiah.**—In Ezra ii., *Reelaiah*. **Nahamani.**—Not mentioned in Ezra ii. Perhaps a mistaken repetition of Nehemiah. **Mispereth.**—In Ezra ii., *Mizpar*. **Nehum.**—In Ezra ii., *Rehum*.

Ver. 10. The 652 of this verse is 775 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 11. The 2818 of this verse is 2812 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 13. The 845 of this verse is 945 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 15. **Binnui.**—In Ezra ii. *Bani*. The 648 of this verse is 642 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 16. The 628 of this verse is 623 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 17. The 2322 of this verse is 1222 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 18. The 667 of this verse is 666 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 19. The 2067 of this verse is 2056 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 20. The 655 of this verse is 454 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 22. The 328 of this verse is 223 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 23. The 324 of this verse is 323 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 24. **Hariph.**—In Ezra ii. *Jorah*.

Ver. 25. **Gibeon.**—In Ezra ii. *Gibbar*.

Ver. 26. The 188 of this verse is 179 in Ezra ii., and divided into two parts. At this verse,

when "children" changes to "men," the names of towns (instead of those of fathers) begin.

Ver. 28. **Beth-azmaveth.** In Ezra ii. *Azmaveth.*

Ver. 32. The 123 of this verse is 223 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 33. **The other Nebo** (*Nebo A'her*). In Ezra ii. *Nebo* simply.

Ver. 34. The word "children" resumed, but the names of fathers are resumed for two verses only.

Ver. 37. The 721 of this verse is 725 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 38. The 3930 of this verse is 3630 in Ezra ii. In Ezra we find "the children of Magbish a hundred fifty and six," which is omitted in this copy of Nehemiah.

Ver. 43. **Hodevah.**—In Ezra ii. *Hodaviah.*

Ver. 44. The 148 of this verse is 128 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 45. The 138 of this verse is 139 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 46. **Hashupha.**—Heb. *Hasupha.*

Ver. 47. **Sia.**—In Ezra ii. Siaha.

Ver. 48. In Ezra we find "the children of Akkub, the children of Hagab," which is here omitted. **Shalmai.**—Heb. *Salmai.*

Ver. 52. In Ezra we find "the children of Asnah," which is here omitted. **Nephishesim.**—In Ezra ii. *Nephusim* (K'ri).

Ver. 54. **Bazlith.**—In Ezra ii. *Bazluth.*

Ver. 57. **Perida.**—In Ezra ii. *Peruda.*

Ver. 59. **Amon.**—In Ezra ii. *Ami.*

Ver. 60. Thirty-five families of Nethinim were represented, and ten of Solomon's servants. Hence there was an average of less than nine to each family.

For **the Nethinim** see on ch. iii. 26.

**Solomon's servants** were doubtless those whom Solomon enslaved of the Canaanites. (See 1 Kings ix. 20, 21). Their descendants were probably regarded as engrafted into Israel, as were the Gibeonites.

Ver. 61. **Addon.**—In Ezra ii. *Addan.*

Ver. 62. The 642 of this verse is 652 in Ezra ii.

Ver. 65. **The Tirshatha.**—This title is given expressly to Nehemiah in ch. viii. 9, but in this list of those who came with Zerubbabel nearly a century before, it, of course, cannot refer to Nehemiah, unless we suppose that both in Ezra's list and in this of Nehemiah's there had been interpolated in the original record this 65th verse, to show a decision made by Nehemiah in his time. If that be the case, which is perfectly possible, then the latter part of the 70th verse is also an interpolation of Nehemiah to show his gifts to the work of separation in his time. If we do not accept this explanation, we must believe that Zerubbabel was the Tirshatha of Nehem. vii., and Ezra ii. Fuerst derives the word from *tarash*, and supposes this root means "to fear," or "to reverence," and refers Teresh (Esth. ii. 21) to the same. But may it not be from the more common root *yarash* (to possess)? The Persian *torsh* (revere) is in favor of the former. It is used as synonymous with *pe'hah* (governor). See ch. xii. 26.

**Till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim.**—This seems to be a circumlocution for "forever." The Urim and Thummim (whatever they were) were connected with the High-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 30) and with the oracular response of God on application by the High-priest (comp. Num. xxvii. 21 and 1 Sam. xxviii. 6). When these responses ceased or when the Urim and Thummim were lost, we cannot tell. We hear nothing of them after David's reign. The prophets seem to have taken their place. The Urim and Thummim being absent, there was no authority in Israel to determine the priestly status of these unregistered ones.

Ver. 66. **The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore.**—The numbers given in this chapter, up to this verse, amount to only 31,089. In Ezra ii. the amount is 29,818. If we add to the former sum the number of servants given in ver. 67, we have only 38,671, or 3,689 less than the gross amount of this verse. We have noted the omission in this list of four families. The differences in the numbers of the two lists also show how liable are numbers to be changed in transcription. The grand total, being the same in both lists, is probably correct.

Ver. 67. **Singing men and singing women,** *meshorerim umeshoreroth.* Comp. Eccl. ii. 8. These were probably a guild of servants, dating from Solomon's day.

Ver. 70. **The work** of restoration. **The Tirshatha.**—See on ver. 65.

Ver. 71. The repetition of **the chief of the fathers** seems to support the view of the Tirshatha sentence being an interpolation by Nehemiah. The 20,000 drams of gold here is 61,-000 in Ezra ii., and the 2200 pounds here are 5000 pounds there, but if we add the people's gift of ver. 72 (not found in Ezra) we have here 40,000 and 4200 against 61,000 and 5000 there. So the sixty-seven priests' garments here are one hundred there. See remark on numbers in ver. 66.

**The children of Israel were in their cities.**—This seems to be the real ending of the quotation from the old register of Zerubbabel's day, and then Nehemiah's narration begins again, using almost the same words as Ezra's concerning the first migration. In Ezra it is *wayyeasphu ha'am keish e'hadh*, and in Nehemiah it is *wayyeasphu khol ha'am keish e'hadh.* This likeness was doubtless designed.

HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The walls were not to be substitutes for, but encouragements of, watchfulness. A perfect system of opening, shutting, barring and guarding the gates was to follow the successful upbuilding of the city-bulwark. Faithful men were to be put into the highest positions, and a larger number of Jews were to be induced to dwell in Jerusalem in order to its defence. The order, security and growth of Jerusalem, as the city of the Great King, Jehovah of Israel, formed the undivided aim of the son of Hachaliah.

2. The genealogies occupied an important place in Israel. They contained the certificate of church-membership for each Israelite. They

also contained the claims to official dignity that belonged to priest and Levite. The family-idea thus received a marked emphasis in God's redemptive government—an emphasis which is echoed by Malachi (Mal. iv. 6) and the angel that appeared to Zacharias (Luke i. 17). The appearance of the Nethinim in the genealogies is a forcible illustration of the impartial grace of God. That grace which would bring in all the Gentiles as children was foretokened by the brotherly position of the Nethinim (of Gentile blood) among the people of God, the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

3. Those priests whose names were not in the lists were counted the same as polluted, that is, not simply as having a *blemish* (see Lev. xxi. 17-21), for such priests could eat of the holy things, but as having an *uncleanness* (see Lev. xxii. 3-6), which prevented all contact with holy objects. This shows the prominence of externals in the Jewish religion—a necessary prominence where the externals had a precise spiritual significance. For, after all, it was the spiritual truth which was the basis of such exactness, and by no means the mere intrinsic value of externals.

4. The entire number of Jews who returned in Cyrus' day to Jerusalem was small—about 50,000, out of millions. Piety, patriotism and desire for change were three motives at work in the 50,000. But what a vast mass were unmoved by any of these motives, and were well satisfied with their exile! Some, however, like Daniel, remained from high and holy motives. The Jewish people is a *remnant*.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The Lord, on His side, appoints watchmen on the walls of Jerusalem, who must allow themselves no rest day or night, and must not even give the Lord Himself any rest until He fortifies Jerusalem, and makes it for a praise in the earth. Isa. lxii. 6, 7. But now, when Jerusalem is scantily rebuilt, Nehemiah appoints watchmen, who shall guard the city and its gates. The first thing necessary for the congregation is praying hearts, whose petitions shall not slacken until the Lord is persuaded; these the Lord Himself must give. But when the prayers have been granted care must be taken for the preservation and using of that which has been granted. That the congregation itself must see to. And that they themselves can and must watch, that they must remain separated from the world, and that they will be secured in the maintenance of their peculiarity and independence, is their honor and joy. 2. There are always two tasks in the congregation, or church, of the Lord. As there are always enemies remaining (so long as the kingdom is not of God and of His Christ), who cannot endure the spread of the blessing, which might proceed from the church, who would much rather indeed win its possessions and gifts, and would wish to make it like the world, so these enemies, especially then, when the powers of life are most active in it, come out to attack it most energetically, and fall upon its representatives most sharply in word and deed, therefore it must always have some to keep watch, to protect it, and fight the enemy. But again: so long as everything is in embryo, and the conclusion has not been reached, and there are yet those to be found capable of receiving and becoming participants in the goods and gifts of the church and in the salvation of the Lord, that is, those who can and will enter the congregation of the Lord, and increase and extend the Lord's kingdom, therefore, just on this account, such are necessary as will be engaged in the winning and reception of new members to the kingdom, who understand the situation, and can point out the spot where they also can build. 3. As Jerusalem, in Nehemiah's time, extended far on both sides, and was scantily populated, so also the city of God in all times has had space for new additions to its population. For, in truth, the rich possessions which God has prepared in His church for mankind, would only then be sufficiently turned to profit when every one called man should enjoy them, and it were itself full and sufficiently built out, and all had entered in. For that God, who has made all things for Himself, and for that Lord who has redeemed all, the totality alone, from which none is lost, forms a sufficiently great people.—BEDE: *Præcepit autem Nehemias, ne aperiantur portæ Hierusalem usque ad calorem solis, hoc est toto tempore noctis, ne videlicet aut oblectus tenebris hostis erumpat, aut certe aliquis incautus exiens ab hoste captus pereat. Quod etiam in hujus sæculi nocte tota custodes animarum debent solerter agere, ne observantia piæ conversationis neglecta diabolus aut cohortem fidelium perturbaturus subintret aut de ipsorum numero fidelium quempiam perditurus rapiat. Apparente autem sole justitiæ et clarescente luce futuræ beatitudinis jam non opus erit claustris continentiæ; quia nec adversariis ultra dabitur facultas impugnandi sive tentandi fideles, utpote sempiterna cum suo principe ultione damnatis. Unde in Apocalypsi sua Joannes de futura ejusdem sanctæ civitatis gloria dicit; et portæ ejus non claudentur per diem; nox enim non erit illic.*—STARKE: This is the final cause why cities and countries, kingdoms and principalities are founded, and filled with people that God may dwell there, and His church may have a certain shelter. God provides help, protection, and rest for His church, and as human protection is very insignificant, God with His angels is the best watchman.

### Chapter VIII. 1–18.

1 And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that
*was* before the water-gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book
2 of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the
priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all
that could hear with understanding [that understood in hearing] upon the first
3 day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the street that was before
the water-gate from the morning until midday [from the light until half of the
day], before the men and the women, and those that could understand [and the
understanding]; and the ears of all the people *were attentive* unto the book of the
4 law. And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit [tower] of wood, which they had
made for that purpose; and beside him stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah,
and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand
Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah
5 *and* Meshullam. And Ezra opened the book in the sight [to the eyes] of all the
people; (for he was above all the people;) and when he opened it, all the people
6 stood up. And Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God. And all the people an-
swered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands: and they bowed their heads,
7 and worshipped the Lord with *their* faces to the ground. Also [and] Jeshua, and
Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita,
Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites, caused the people to under-
8 stand the law: and the people *stood* in their place. So [And] they read in the
book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused *them* to under-
9 stand the reading. And Nehemiah, which *is* the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest
the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This
day *is* holy unto the Lord your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people
10 wept, when they heard the words of the law. Then [And] he said unto them, Go
your way, eat the fat [fat things], and drink the sweet [sweet things], and send
portions unto them [him] for whom nothing is prepared: for *this* day *is* holy unto
11 our Lord: neither be ye sorry; for the joy of the Lord is your strength. So
[And] the Levites stilled all the people, saying, Hold your peace, for the day *is*
12 holy; neither be ye grieved. And all the people went their way to eat, and to
drink, and to send portions and to make great mirth, because they had understood
13 the words that were declared unto them. And on the second day were gathered
together the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests and the Levites, unto
14 Ezra the scribe, even to understand [consider] the words of the law. And they
found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by [by the hand of]
Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh
15 month; and that they should publish and proclaim [cause the voice to be heard
and to pass] in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount,
and fetch olive branches, and pine [oil-tree] branches, and myrtle branches, and
palm branches, and branches of thick [thick-leaved] trees, to make booths, as *it is*
16 written. So [And] the people went forth, and brought *them*, and made themselves
booths, every one upon the roof of his house [upon his roof], and in their courts,
and in the street [square] of the water-gate, and in the street [square] of the gate
17 of Ephraim. And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the
captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Jeshua, the
son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was
18 very great gladness. Also [And] day by day, from the first day unto the last
day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days;
and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly according unto the manner [statute].

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 6. וַיִּקְּדוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ. This frequent combination, the former verb being never without the latter, indicates the two steps of the movement: "they stooped and bowed down." The verbs שָׁחָה, שָׁחַח and שׁוּחַ are stronger than קָדַד.

[2] Ver. 7. The Hiphil of בִּין is used in vers. 7, 8, 9, with the true Hiphil force; but in vers. 2, 3, 12, it has the Kal sense.

[3] Ver. 10. לְאֵין נָכוֹן לוֹ for לַאֲשֶׁר אֵין נָכוֹן לוֹ, by suppression of the relative, which is far harsher than the Eng suppression of the antecedent, *e. g.* "Honor to whom honor is due." Comp. 1 Chron. xv. 12.

[4] Ver. 17. Notice the alliterative use of the three roots שָׁבָה, יָשַׁב and שׁוּב.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Instruction of the People.*

Ver. 1. **Street.**—Rather "square" or *plaza.* **The water-gate,** according to our view (see on ch. iii. 26 and xii. 37), was an inner gate connected both with the temple and with the subterranean water galleries of Ophel, by which there seems to have been a large open square for public assemblies. (See Excursus). **Ezra the scribe,** *Ezra hassopher.* In the next verse it is **Ezra the priest,** *Ezra hakkohen.* This is the first mention of Ezra in the book of Nehemiah. He had come to Jerusalem thirteen years previously, with about three thousand returning Jews (1754 males), holding a commission from Artaxerxes to appoint magistrates in Judæa. He had forced the Jews to separate from their heathen wives, and had then probably returned to Persia, as we find the Jews had relapsed into their former condition. As we do not meet with his name in Nehemiah till now, it is probable he followed Nehemiah to Judea to assist him in another movement of reform.

Ver. 2. **All that could hear with understanding.**—Lit., *All that understood in hearing, i. e.,* those old enough to understand. **The first day of the seventh month.**—This was a special "Sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, a holy convocation." (Lev. xxiii. 24). A specific offering was appointed for that day, beside the burnt-offering of the month. (Numb. xxix. 1–6).

Ver. 3. **From morning.**—Lit., *from the light, i. e.,* from daylight or an hour as early as was available. The reading must have occupied at least six hours. About one-quarter of the Pentateuch might be read in that time.

Ver. 4. **Pulpit.**—Probably the same that is called *stairs* in ch. ix. 4. The word here is strictly *tower* and there *ascent.* It was doubtless a very high platform so as to overlook a large crowd. (Comp. ver. 5). **Anaiah.**—See chap. x. 22. **Urijah.**—See ch. iii. 4. **Hilkiah.**—Not the Hilkiah of xii. 7. He lived in Zerubbabel's day. **Maaseiah.**—See xii. 41. **Malchiah.**—See x. 3. **Zechariah.**—See xii. 41. **Meshullam.**—See x. 7. All these named as standing with Ezra may have been priests. If so, the Anaiah of ch. x. 22 must be a different one from this one here named. As far as we can trace the other names, they appear to be priests.

Ver. 7. **Jeshua.**—See ch. x. 9. **Bani.**—See ch. x. 13. **Sherebiah.**—See ch. x. 12. **Jamin.**—Perhaps the Benjamin of ch. iii. 23. **Akkub.**—See ch. xii. 19. **Shabbethai.**—See ch. xi. 16. **Hodijah.**—See ch. x. 10. **Maaseiah.**—Probably not the Maaseiah of ver. 4, or of ch. x. 25, or of ch. xi. 5, but possibly the Maaseiah of ch. iii. 23. **Kelita.**—See ch. x. 10. **Azariah.**—Perhaps the priest mentioned ch. x. 2. **Jozabad.**—See ch. xi. 16. **Hanan.** See ch. x. 10. **Pelaiah.**—See ch. x. 10. **And the Levites,** *i. e., and other Levites,* for the thirteen mentioned were Levites. These Levites seem to have read after Ezra and to have explained it to different parts of the crowd, while the Amens, the lifting up of the hands, the bowing and the worshipping (in ver. 6) occurred at intervals during the reading. The explanation may have been principally of archaic Hebrew words.

Ver. 8. **So they read.**—That is Ezra read and the Levites re-read and explained where necessary.

Ver. 9. **The Tirshatha.**—See on ch. vii. 65. The holiness of the day is used as an argument against mourning. Note the fact that the high-priest on whose mitre was written "Holiness to the Lord," was forbidden to mourn. (See Lev. xxi. 10. Comp. Lev. x. 6).

Ver. 10. **Send portions.**—See the spirit of this enjoined in Deut. xvi. 11, 12, with regard to the Pentecost season.

**The joy of the Lord is your strength,** *i. e.,* a mirthfulness which springs from right relations to God is an element and sign of spiritual strength.

Ver. 13. **To understand.**—Rather, "to consider."

Ver. 14. **In the feast of the seventh month,** *i. e.,* the feast of tabernacles. See Lev. xxiii. 34-43.

Ver. 15. This is a pregnant sentence, thus: *And that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities* (Lev. xxiii. 4); *so they proclaimed in Jerusalem, etc.* The order is given on the 2d of Tisri, and the work is done in readiness for the 15th. The narrative runs the two together, confusing the time to the careless reader. **Unto the mount,** *i. e.,* mount of Olives. **Pine branches,** *'alê 'etz shemen,* branches of the oil-tree (Isa. xli. 19). Mr. Houghton (in Smith's Dict.) thinks it may be the Zackum or Balanites Ægyptiaca. **Branches of thick trees,** *'ale 'etz 'avoth;* either specifically "branches of the Avoth tree," or branches of tangled trees."

In Lev. xxiii. 40, the command is to use,

1. The fruit of goodly trees.
2. The leaves of palm trees.
3. The boughs of Avoth trees.
4. Willows of the brook.

Here the olive tree, the oil tree, and the myrtle would come under the first head ("fruit" being used for any produce), while the willow-tree is omitted, perhaps because there happened to be none near Jerusalem at that time.

Ver. 16. **Street of the water-gate.**—See on ver. 1. **Street of the gate of Ephraim.**—From 2 Kings xiv. 13 and Neh. ch. xii. 39, we see that this gate was near the north-west corner of the city, between "the broad wall" and the "old gate," the "old gate" and "corner-gate" being perhaps the same. According to Keil, the Gate of Ephraim may have been attached to the broad wall and not have been destroyed. Hence it is not mentioned in chap. iii. There was, we may suppose, a large open place in the N. W. part of the city, corresponding to that by the water-gate in the S. E. part.

Ver. 17. **Done so.**—That is, kept the feast of Tabernacles with such gladness.

Ver. 18. **He read,** *i. e.*, Ezra.

**They kept the feast,** *i. e.*, of tabernacles. They had been from the second day (ver. 13), to this the 15th day of Tisri (Lev. xxiii. 34) preparing for it. The solemn fast-day of the 10th of Tisri had doubtless been excepted. It is passed over without mention in the narrative. **A solemn assembly,** *atzereth* (comp. Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35; Deut. xvi. 8; Jer. ix. 2; Amos v. 21). It seems to have been something more than the "mikra-kodesh" (holy convocation), and yet what more we cannot say. It is applied to the last day of the feast of tabernacles and to the last day of the passover week. Josephus (*Ant.* 3, 10, 5) applies it to Pentecost (in the Greek form *Asarth*), as especially belonging to that day, which is the use of the word by the later Jews.

HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The constant study of God's word by the people was always, and is still, a distinguishing characteristic of the Jewish nation. The Levites were originally entrusted with the duty of reading the law before Israel every seventh year (Deut. xxxi. 9–13), and when Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 7–9) sent Levites throughout all the cities of Judah to teach the people from the book of the law of the Lord, he was doubtless using the Levites in a way familiar to the nation from the first. God's people were to keep in mind that they were not to follow the light of nature, but to consult the divine oracles for all their guidance (Rom. iii. 2).

Redemption was a *plan*, and the Church was a *scheme*, and the soul of the scheme was the written word of God.

2. The tears of penitence naturally lead to joy. When men mourn for sin, the Lord comforts them, saying: "Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet." The sinful woman who bathed our Saviour's feet with tears heard him say: "Go in peace" (Luke vii. 50). There may have been much that was only mere excitement, without a religious basis, both in the weeping and the merriment of this month of Tisri; yet we cannot but believe that there was a nucleus of true devotion in the movement, a mark of the holy succession that reached down to Simeon and Anna.

3. The booths of the tabernacle-feasts were memorials of the booth life of Israel (on leaving Egypt) that began at Succoth. The memory would encourage humility and gladness, bringing the thoughts of the people back to first principles, and making them to feel the Divine presence and protection (see Lev. xxiii. 43). The roofs of the houses were battlemented so as to preclude danger (Deut. xxii. 8) and the houses were low. The building of booths on the roofs was therefore a very natural thing. They would not be in the way of the multitude, and would have in each case somewhat of domestic privacy.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–12. The holiday of the Lord's congregation. 1) Its cause: the exterior one lies in the time, it is the seventh month, the true one in the proofs God has given, since He has secured the existence of the congregation before the world, fortified their city, *etc.* 2) Its celebration. The congregation shows a longing for God's word, uses it in good order, and listens to it with reverence. 3) Its blessing: sadness turned into joy. The ever permanent elements in the true service of God. 1) On the side of the congregation: hunger for the word of God. 2) On the side of the teachers—the right handling of the word of God—commences with the praise of God, which awakens the assenting acknowledgment of the congregation, communication of the divine word, the explanation and application of the same. On both sides resignation to God's word and being.—Bede: *Rogaverunt ipsi pontificem suum, ut allato libro mandata sibi Legis, quæ agere debeant, replicaret, ut cum civitate ædificata, operis quoque placiti Deo structura consurgeret, ne sicut antea propter negligentiam religionis civitatis etiam ruina sequeretur.*—Starke: Even the common people must take care that they shall have the word of God pure and clear. Young people should be made to listen to the divine word from their childhood, that they may learn to fear God. If in the Old Testament all without exception have been obliged to listen to the law, how inexcusable it is if the papacy does not allow this to the people. Hearers should not become tired and impatient even if the sermon is rather long. The principal part of the service of God consists in praise, and in this we resemble the God-praising angels. The singing of Collects, prayers and Thanksgivings should be in an intelligible language, that the hearer may understand and be able to respond Amen. The Amen in a public assembly should be sung by each and all. If we should bow the knees of our hearts in particular before the Lord, it is proper that in outward gestures also we should show our humility before God. Preachers must not forget prayer in the arrangement of divine service. If teachers publicly kneel down and pray to God, it is proper that the hearers also should fall upon their knees with them. Teachers should aim at lucidity in explaining the word of God. If God gives us a joyful day we should not forget the poor.

Rejoice in the Lord always! That is 1) possible, for in communion with the Lord we have

consolation, promise, help, refreshment, *etc.*, in spite of all the calamities and difficulties of earth. 2) Necessary; for every day is holy to the Lord, and our conduct must always honor the Lord. 3) Wholesome; for joy in the Lord is our strength, and puts us in the position to wait with patience, makes us skilful, and guards us from all straying. Joy in the Lord is our strength, for 1) in ourselves we are weak and hesitating. 2) In the fulness of the Lord is grace for grace. 3) Precisely the joy in the Lord is fitted to cause us to have all that is comprehended in strength. With the prayer, gladden me with Thy help, and let my joy in Thee be my strength, can one gain anew each day consolation and joy, whatever task be before him.

Vers. 13–18. The festival of the people. 1) Its foundation—the divine command—God wishes that the congregation should celebrate the holiday. 2) Its form; it exhibits itself also externally; in the Old Testament by booths, which have their signification; in the New Testament through other ceremonies, which are not less full of meaning. 3) Its effect. Resignation to God's word and will, and from that a glorification of the entire life.—STARKE: Christians have in the world no continuing city, and their life is vain and fleeting. Well for them, then, if they strive to dwell in the eternal tents. Heb. xiii. 14. As the Jews had their holidays and festivals, so have we Christians, but upon the condition of Christian freedom. Colos. ii. 16. The exercise of true religion gives a tranquil heart and joyful conscience; but false worship gives much annoying trouble, and tortures the conscience.

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## CHAPTER IX. 1–38.

1 Now [And] in the twenty and fourth day of this month the children of Israel
were assembled with fasting, and with sackclothes, and earth upon them [*i. e.*, upon
2 their heads]. And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all strangers [sons
of strangeness], and stood and confessed their sins, and the iniquities of their fathers.
3 And they stood up in their place and read in the book of the law of the LORD their
God *one* fourth part of the day; and *another* fourth part they confessed, and wor-
4 shipped the LORD their God. Then [And] stood up upon the stairs *of* the Levites,
Jeshua, and Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, *and* Chenani, and
5 cried with a loud voice unto the LORD their God. Then [And] the Levites Je-
shua, and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabniah, Sherebiah, Hodijah, Shebaniah *and* Petha-
hiah said, Stand up *and* bless the LORD your God for ever and ever [from eternity
to eternity], and blessed be [they blessed] thy glorious name [the name of thy
6 glory], which [and *it*] is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou, *even thou,*
*art* LORD alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host,
the earth, and all *things* that *are* therein, the seas and all that is therein, and thou
7 preservest them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth thee. Thou *art* the LORD
*the* God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chal-
8 dees, and gavest him the name of Abraham; and foundest his heart faithful before
thee and madest a [the] covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, the
Hittites, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, to
9 give *it, I say,* to his seed, and hast performed thy words; for thou art righteous:
and didst see the affliction of our fathers in Egypt, and heardest their cry by the
10 Red Sea [Sea of weeds]. And shewedst signs and wonders upon Pharaoh, and on
all his servants, and on all the people of his land: for thou knewest that they dealt
proudly against them. So didst thou [and thou didst] get thee a name, as *it is* this
11 day. And thou didst divide the sea before them, so that [and] they went through
the midst of the sea on the dry land; and their persecutors thou threwest into the
12 deeps, as a stone into the mighty waters. Moreover [and] thou leddest them in the
day by a cloudy pillar; and in the night by a pillar of fire, to give them light in
13 the way wherein they should go. Thou camest down also [And thou camest down]
upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right
14 judgments and true laws [laws of truth], good statutes and commandments: and
madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts,

15 [and] statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant: and gavest them bread
from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock
for their thirst, and promisedst them that they should go in to possess the land
16 which thou hadst sworn [lifted up thy hand] to give them. But [And] they and
our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened their necks, and hearkened not to thy
17 commandments, and refused to obey, neither were mindful of thy wonders that
thou didst among them; but [and] hardened their necks and in their rebellion appointed a captain to return to their bondage [*in place of* "*in their rebellion*," in
Egypt]; but thou *art* a God ready to pardon [a God of pardons] gracious and mer-
18 ciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and forsookest them not. Yea, when
they had made [Yea, they even made] them a molten calf, and said, This is thy
God that brought thee up out of Egypt, and had wrought [and wrought] great pro-
19 vocations; yet [and] thou in thy manifold mercies forsookest them not in the wil-
derness: the pillar of the cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the
way; neither the pillar of [the] fire by night, to show them light, and the way
20 wherein they should go. Thou gavest also [And thou gavest] thy good Spirit to
instruct them, and withheldest not thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them
21 water for their thirst. Yea forty years [And forty years] didst thou sustain them
in the wilderness, *so that* they lacked nothing; their clothes waxed not old, and
22 their feet swelled not. Moreover [And] thou gavest them kingdoms and na-
tions, and didst divide them into corners [*or* districts]: so they possessed the land
of Sihon, and the land of the king of Heshbon [*perhaps*, the land of Sihon, the king
23 of Heshbon], and the land of Og, king of Bashan. Their children also multipliedst
thou [And their children thou didst multiply] as the stars of heaven, and brought-
est them into the land, concerning which thou hadst promised to their fathers, that
24 they should go in to possess *it*. [So [And] the children went in and possessed the
land, and thou subduedst before them the inhabitants of the land; the Canaanites,
and gavest them into their hands, with their kings, and the people of the land, that
25 they might do with them as they would. And they took strong cities, and a fat
land, and possessed houses full of all goods, wells digged [cisterns hewn], vineyards
and oliveyards, and fruit trees in abundance: so [and] they did eat, and were filled,
26 and became fat, and delighted themselves in thy great goodness. Nevertheless
[And] they were disobedient, and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind
their backs, and slew thy prophets which testified against them to turn them to thee,
27 and they wrought great provocations. Therefore [And] thou deliveredst them into
the hand of their enemies who vexed them: and in the time of their trouble when
they cried [their oppressors who oppressed them: and in the time of their oppres-
sion they cried] unto thee, [and] thou heardest *them* from heaven; and according
to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand
28 of their enemies [oppressors]. But after they had rest, they did evil again [they
returned to do evil] before thee: therefore leftest thou [and thou leftest] them in
the hand of their enemies, so that they had the dominion over them yet when
[and] they returned, and cried unto thee, [and] thou heardest *them* from heaven;
29 and many times didst thou deliver them according to thy mercies; and testifiedst
against [to] them, that thou mightest bring them again unto thy law: yet [and]
they dealt proudly, and hearkened not unto thy commandments, but [and] sinned
against thy judgments, which if a man do, he shall live in them [which a man shall
do and live in them], and withdrew the shoulder [gave a resisting shoulder], and
30 hardened their neck, and would not hear [did not hear]. Yet [And] many years
didst thou forbear them [*i. e.*, act forbearingly towards them], and testifiedst against
[to] them by thy Spirit in thy prophets [by the hand of thy prophets]; yet would
they not give ear [and they did not give ear] therefore gavest thou [and thou
31 gavest] them into the hand of the people of the lands. Nevertheless [And] for
thy great mercies' sake [in thy great mercies] thou didst not utterly consume them,
32 nor forsake them; for thou *art* a gracious and merciful God. Now therefore [and
now], our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who keepest covenant
and mercy [the covenant and the mercy], let not all the trouble [distress] seem
little before thee, that hath come upon us [found us], on our kings, on our princes,

and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people,
33 since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day. Howbeit [And] thou *art* just
in all that is brought [comes] upon us; for thou hast done right, but [and] we have
34 done wickedly: neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers
kept [done] thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments and thy testimonies,
35 wherewith thou didst testify against [to] them. For they have not served thee in
their kingdom and in thy great goodness [blessings of prosperity] that thou gavest
them, and in the large and fat land which thou gavest before them, neither turned
36 they from their wicked works. Behold, we *are* servants this day, and [*as*] *for* the
land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof,
37 behold, we *are* servants in it: and it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom
thou hast set over us because of our sins: also [and] they have dominion over our
38 bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we *are* in great distress. And
because of all this we make a sure *covenant*, and write *it;* and our princes, Levites,
*and* priests seal *unto it* [are on the sealed covenant].

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 8. כָּרוֹת inf. abs. for כְּרֹת.

[2] Ver. 22. וַעֲמָמִים. This Aramæan form is found in Judges v. 14, where it is poetical.

[3] Ver. 26. גַּוָּם, In this phrase (see 1 Kings xiv. 9; Ezra xxiii. 35, and here) the Tsere becomes Pattahh, as if from גַּו not גֵּו.

[4] Ver. 28. רַבּוֹת עִתִּים for עִתִּים רַבּוֹת.

[5] Ver. 38. אֲמָנָה. That this is not an adjective with בְּרִית understood is evident from its use in chapter xi. 23.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Confession.*

The confession recorded in this chapter uses largely the language of the older Scriptures. For ver. 6 see Ps. lxxxvi. 10; Ex. xx. 11, and Deut. x. 14. For ver. 9, see Ex. iii. 7. For ver. 10, see Jer. xxxii. 20. For ver. 11, see Ex. xv. 5, 10. For ver. 12, see Ex. xiii. 21. For ver. 13, see Ex. xix. 20. For ver. 15, see Ps. cv. 40, 41. For ver. 16, see 2 Kings xvii. 14. For ver. 17, see Ps. lxxviii. 11; Ex. xxxiv. 6. For ver. 25, see Deut. vi. 10, 11. For ver. 27, see Judg. ii. 14, 18. For ver. 29, see Lev. xviii. 5. For ver. 33, see Ps. cvi. 6. For ver. 35 and ver. 36, see Deut. xxviii. 47, 48.

Ver. 1. **The twenty and fourth day of this month.**—The 'Atzereth was the 22d day of Tisri. Two days after is this special day of fasting and confession. It must not be confounded with the *Yom-hak-kippurim* or Day of Atonement, which was the 10th of Tisri.

**Earth upon them,** *i. e.*, on their heads (see 1 Sam. iv. 12). Both earth and ashes were used on the head as a sign of sorrow. Comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 19. Our Eng. version has written here **sackclothes**, but everywhere else has used *sackcloth* for the Heb. plural.

This fasting, mourning and confession was not a swing of the pendulum to the other extreme from the joy and gladness of the Tabernacle's feast, but the action of the same religious spirit which recognized God's great favors, but which at the same time recognized the great errors of the people.

Ver. 2. The *Bene-nechar* or **strangers** were foreigners who had become mixed with the Jews by commercial interest or by marriage. Comp. chap. xiii. 3, 27.

Ver. 3. **And read.**—Probably as before, Ezra reading from the high platform to the great multitude, and the Levites explaining in different parts of the crowd. **One-fourth part of the day.**—Probably half way to noon. **Another fourth part.**—Probably the rest of the time till noon. Comp. chap. viii. 8.

Ver. 4. **Stairs.**—See on chap. viii. 4. **Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Sherebiah** appear again in ver. 5, but **Bunni, Bani** (2) and **Chenani** are replaced there by **Hashabniah, Hodijah,** and **Pethahiah.** So there appears to have been two movements. The Levites mentioned in the fourth verse opened the service with a loud cry, perhaps a doxology, and then the Levites mentioned in the fifth verse began the confession. **Bunni** is perhaps *Binnui* of chap. x. 9. **Bani** (2) is perhaps Benina of chap. x. 13. **Chenani** is probably Hanan of chap. x. 10.

Ver. 5. **Hashabniah.**—In chap. x. 11 *Hashabiah.* **Hodijah.**—See chap. x. 10. **Pethahiah.**—Perhaps *Pelaiah* of chap. x. 10. The only Levites mentioned as sealing in chap. x. who are not mentioned here are, then, Kelita, Micha, Rehob, Zaccur, Shebaniah (2), Hodijah (2).

**Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever.**—This the eight Levites cry out to the people (some having perhaps seated themselves), and then they make the confession to God, doubtless from a written document prepared for the occasion, so that all the eight speak together, and so make a strong voice to be heard by all. The Hebrew of this confession is quite pure and largely borrowed from the older books.

**And blessed be thy glorious name.**—Here the Fut. Piel is, with *wav conversive*, an assertion made by Nehemiah himself in an ejaculatory form to God, thus: "The Levites said,

Stand up and bless the Lord, *etc.*, and they [*i. e.*, the people] blessed thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise." The words of the people then begin with ver. 6.

Ver. 6. **Heaven of heavens.**—Intensive, for the unseen as well as seen heaven. **Host of heaven**—*i. e.*, the angels.

Ver. 7. **Ur of the Chaldees** cannot be Mugheir by the Persian gulf, as is the present prevailing theory. The Chaldees or Casdim in Abraham's day (or in Moses' day) were not so far south. Ur was more likely in northern Mesopotamia, though scarcely so near to Haran as Oorfa. The Semitic stock to which Abraham belonged seem to belong to northern Mesopotamia.

Ver. 8. The Hivites are left out of this enumeration, perhaps to please their descendants, the Nethinim. (See Josh. ix. 7.)

Ver. 11. **Mighty**—in the sense of violent. Comp. Ex. xv. 5 for the figure.

Vers. 13, 14. **Judgments, laws, statutes, commandments, precepts.**—In Hebrew the words are (in the singular) *mishpah*, *torah*, *hok*, *mitzwah*. The last word is translated in E. V. by "commandments" and "precepts." The *mishpah* has the idea of discrimination and decision in it. The *torah* is a code. The *hok* is a separate decree. The *mitzwah* is a simple order. The adjectives "right," "true," and "good," are exactly appropriate.

Ver. 17. **Appointed a captain.**—In Num. xiv. 4 it is only stated that they proposed to appoint one. The proposition had been really carried out. **In their rebellion.**—LXX.: ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, reading מצרים for מרים. The LXX. is probably right. Comp. Num. xiv. 4. The words in Heb. come after "to their bondage."

Ver. 18. **This is thy God.**—Here "this thy Elohim," and in Exod. xxxii. 4 "these thy Elohim." In each case only one God is referred to. The plural style of the sentence in Exodus, both as to the demonstrative and the verb, is simply a conformity to the plural *form* of Elohim. The molten calf may have been a copy of Apis or Mnevis, or it may have been a cherub. Indeed Apis and Mnevis may have been Egyptian forms of the primeval cherubim.

Ver. 19. **To show them light and the way wherein they should go.**—Better: *to shed light on them and the way, etc.*

Ver. 20. **Thou gavest also thy good Spirit.**—Referring to the event described in Numb. xi. Comp. Isa. lxiii. 11.

Ver. 22. **And didst divide them into corners.**—Rather: *And didst distribute them into districts.* The words "and the land of the," *weth eretz*, before "king of Heshbon," seem to be an error of transcription. "The land of Sihon, king of Heshbon, and the land of Og, king of Bashan" is probably the right reading (comp. Deut. ii. 26, 30, and 36), or the old formula may have been corrupted, "the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon," Deut. iii. 2, *etc.*

Ver. 24. **With their kings.**—Rather, *both their kings.*

Ver. 25. **Became fat.**—This is Hiphil as in Isa. vi. 10, and must be strictly rendered "made fat," *i. e.*, themselves.

Ver. 26. **Slew thy prophets.**—See 1 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.

Ver. 27. **Their enemies who vexed them, and in the time of their trouble.**—Better: *their oppressors, who oppressed them, and in the time of their oppression.*

Ver. 29. **Testifiedst against.**—Rather, *testifiedst to.*—So in ver. 30 and ver. 34.

Ver. 32. **Since the time of the kings of Assyria,** *i. e.*, the days of Pul and Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 19, 29). This time was more than three centuries before Nehemiah's day.

Ver. 35. **In thy great goodness that thou gavest them.**—That is, *in the great prosperity* (*from thee*) *which thou gavest them.* So in ver. 25. "Thy goodness" is not God's moral attribute, but the prosperity He gave them.

Ver. 38. This verse is the first of the tenth ch. in Heb. Although the word "covenant" is inserted, it is warranted by the use of the verb "carath," the full expression being "carath berith."

## HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. If we marvel at the readiness of Israel to fall away into alliances with the heathen, we must also marvel at their readiness to return to their separation before the testimony of their law. There is no greater wonder displayed to us in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah than the speediness of the work of these reformers in drawing away the people of Israel from alliances, where pecuniary interest and personal affection had formed a double and most potent bond. There must have been a prodigious vitality in the old Mosaic commonwealth. No mere philosophic reformers would have dared to venture on so radical a movement against the deep-seated tendencies of the people, and no people but those who had a truly divine side to their life would have hearkened to such a proposition. With all their errors, how much there is to admire in Israel!

2. Every covenant with God must, on man's side, be founded on penitential confession of sin. For God's grace, which is the content of His part of the covenant, cannot enter a soul that harbors its wickedness. When David acknowledged his sin unto God, God's forgiveness poured in upon his soul. (Ps. xxxii. 5.) After this chapter of confession comes the chapter of the covenant, with its natural issues of reform.

3. This confession is a prayer, although it has no petition in it. It is the laying of the soul before God in the attitude of awaiting. Often the best part of a prayer is its rehearsal of God's goodness and our own short-comings. This increases the receptivity of the soul. It removes worldliness, increases faith, makes the spiritual eyesight clearer, and brings it *en rapport* with heaven.

4. The distress of Israel under its political burdens is recognised as part of the discipline which God had exercised over the nation through its entire history. The covenant is not considered as broken by God in all this. He had been faithful. In this way Israel sees God's grace in the midst of the afflictions. An infidel heart would have regarded God as abandoning

His people, and have seen in their vicissitudes only the ordinary fate of nations. Events are to be judged not by their outward appearance, but by the subjective truth, on which they really depend. A godly soul understands this secret, and draws from it great peace and strength.

## HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–3. The penitential and fast-days of the Lord's congregation. 1) Their time and cause. They must alternate with facts and festivals; even God's favors must prompt us to observe them. 2) Their aim—to confess sins, our own as well as those of our ancestors, and to praise God's mercy as contrasted with them (ver. 2). 3) The manner of their celebration. Occupation with God's holy law forms the foundation which helps us to a right understanding of sin, and a right appreciation of the grace. The aim is penitence, as also faith, which worships the Lord (ver. 8).—BEDE: *Manifestius ostenditur, quanta gratia devotionis omnes eorum personæ novum post festa skenopægia conventum fecerint, ut videlicet se tota intentione a scelerum contagiis expurgatos divino fœderi conjungerent, ipsamque sancti fœderis conditionem et sermone confirmarent et scripto, acsi ab impiorum consortio separati securiores implerent opus, quod jam dudum cœperant; id est, congruos factæ urbis cives de numero piorum instituerent.*—STARKE: Confession of our sins before God is an effect of true contrition for the same. Such confession is necessary 1). As regards God who demands it (Jer. iii. 12, 13), who also wishes to be recognised by men as holy, just, and true, and will not forgive any sin without confession. (Ps. xxxii. 5.) As regards the Mediator; for as He confessed our sins and the sins of the whole world before God, with words and deed through suffering punishment for His people, so must we, much more, confess our own sins, if indeed we wish to be partakers of the merit of Christ. (1 John i. 7, 8.) 3) As regards the Holy Spirit's office of correction, whose work it is to convince the sinner. 4) As regards ourselves, for if we will not confess we remain under God's wrath. (1 John i. 8). 5) As regards our neighbor: for if we have provoked him, such provocation must be done away, and thereby the honor be given to God. God wishes that public assemblies should be held in the church. Heb. x. 15. When we keep penitential and fast-days, or go to the holy communion, we should fast, lay aside all adornment, and appear in plain dress, with honest, humble hearts.

Vers. 4–15. God's faithfulness to the covenant. 1) Its preparative activity. It lets itself far down, and gives the prospect of great and glorious things (vers. 4–8). Its saving activity (vers. 9–11). It takes pity upon misery, overcomes the oppressor, and removes hinderances and perplexities even in nature. 3) Its preserving and perfecting activities. It shows the way, and provides for God's flock, in body and soul, and incites it to appropriate the promises (ver. 8.) The goal of the Old and New Testament covenant life is, the earthly and heavenly inheritance. 1) The promise of the same. At the calling of Abraham; then in the gospel. 2) The way to it. Through the wilderness of Arabia; then through the wilderness of life. 3) The power which proceeds from it, particularly for Israel after it had obtained the same for us already, while we yet hope for it.—STARKE: Our good, heavenly Father gives earthly goods in possession to His children, in order that they may have good hope of the heavenly inheritance.

Vers. 16–25. God's pardoning grace. 1) He does not refuse it in spite of our disobedience (ver. 16), in spite of faithlessness (ver. 17), in spite of open backsliding (ver. 18). Much more, He shows His gracious presence to lead us to the high prize of the calling (ver. 19), gives His good and Holy Spirit for instruction; gives also the bread and water of life for hunger and thirst (ver. 20). 2) He punishes indeed, but affords, even in the time of punishment experiences, proofs, and advances of grace (vers. 21–23). 3) He brings us richly blessed to the prize of the calling (vers. 24, 25).

Vers. 20, 21. God's gracious care. 1) He provides both for bodily and spiritual necessities. 2) He provides it by great and small, startling and insignificant miracles. 3) He provides it during the march through the wilderness, that He may bring His people into Canaan.

Ver. 21. The wisdom of the divine care. 1) Its manner: God often helps, not in a startling, but in an insignificant way, quietly, yes, secretly blessing. 2) Its reason. The faith of His people is best tried, exercised, and strengthened in this way. 3) Its aim. That the godly may accustom themselves in all things, even in the insignificant, to perceive God's helping father hand, and shall learn the art to let all and everything, even the daily common-place, be a cause of thanks and of joy.—STARKE: God punishes the persecutors of His people energetically. Our pillar of cloud, which shows us the way to our everlasting fatherland, is the ministry of the gospel, in which God is truly present and powerful. Although God does not immediately place all the godly in fruitful and pleasant places, nor give them bread from heaven, nor water from the rock, still He gives them, notwithstanding, necessary nourishment and clothing wherewith they should be satisfied. Matt. vi. 31, 32; 1 Tim. vi. 8. The wickedness of mankind is so great when left to itself, that they are not bettered by the divine benefits, but indeed become worse, and in the highest ingratitude towards our God, return evil for good. Although with us is a multitude of sins, with God is plenteous redemption. Ps. cxxx. 7. Let no one therefore say with Cain, My sins are greater than it is possible to forgive. Gen. iv. 13.

Vers. 26–31. God's educating wisdom. 1) God indeed chastises, but He again has mercy (vers. 26, 27). 2) God has mercy many times, but He also admonishes to follow His precepts, in the observance of which man has his life (vers. 28, 29). 3) He admonishes a long while, and punishes and increases His punishment to the utmost if He is not listened to, but nevertheless He never gives him entirely up whom it is possible to help (vers. 30, 31).

Vers. 26–37. The grounds for the petition for forgiveness and mercy. 1) God's unwearied mercy in the past (vers. 26–31). 2) God's justice and our guilt in the present, particularly as

they are to be recognised in connection with our troubles (verses 32–35). 3) The greatness of our need and trouble (vers. 36, 37).

Vers. 32–37. The debasement of the congregation at the present time. 1) Wherein it consists. 2) What is its cause. 3) What its aim.—STARKE: It is very consoling to think of the mercy of God which He has shown to our ancestors, for the same God lives yet. We must hold ourselves in true faith to the promises of God, for they will never fail. When the godly are involved in the greatest danger God cares for them the most, and knows how to rescue them. We are chastised by God that we may not be condemned with the world. When God wishes to deliver His people, He does not look at what they have deserved, but at what His immeasurable mercy demands. Those who have provoked God to anger by their sins have little happiness to expect so long as they go on without penitence. True confession—confession of the name of God and believing prayer, are the right means by which the enemy are again to be driven away. Lord, when trouble is present, they seek thee, *etc.* Isa. xxvi. 16. Although a false religion may have a great appearance of sanctity and piety before people, yet is it in the sight of God a great abomination. What beautiful surnames has God. Oh soul! mark them well, that thou mayest remember them when conscience accuses, and when thou art in trouble, that thou mayest not despond.

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## CHAPTER X. 1–39.

1 Now those that sealed [and on the sealed documents] were Nehemiah, the Tir-
2 shatha, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah [*i. e.*, Zedekiah] Seraiah, Azariah, Je-
3, 4, 5 remiah, Pashur, Amariah, Malchijah, Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch, Harim,
6, 7 Meremoth, Obadiah, Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch, Meshullam, Abijah, Mijamin,
8, 9 Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah: these *were* the priests. And the Levites: both Je-
10 shua the son of Azaniah, Binnui of the sons of Henadad, Kadmiel; and their bre-
11 thren, Shebaniah, Hodijah, Kelita, Pelaiah, Hanan, Micha, Rehob, Hashabiah,
12, 13, 14 Zaccur, Sherebiah, Shebaniah, Hodijah, Bani, Beninu. The chief of the
15, 16 people: Parosh, Pahath-moab, Elam, Zatthu, Bani, Bunni, Azgad, Bebai, Ado-
17, 18 nijah, Bigvai, Adin, Ater, Hizkijah [*i. e.*, Hezekiah], Azzur, Hodijah, Hashum,
19, 20, 21 Bezai, Hariph, Anathoth, Nebai, Magpiash, Meshullam, Hezir, Meshezabeel,
22, 23, 24 Zadok, Jaddua, Pelatiah, Hanan, Anaiah, Hoshea, Hananiah, Hashub, Hal-
25, 26 lohesh, Pileha, Shobek, Rehum, Hashabnah, Maaseiah, and Ahijah, Hanan,
27 Anan, Malluch, Harim, Baanah.

28 And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, the
Nethinim, and all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands
unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters every one having
29 knowledge *and* having understanding; they clave to their brethren, their nobles,
and entered into a curse and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given
by [the hand of] Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the com-
30 mandments of the LORD our Lord, and his judgments and his statutes; And that
we would not give our daughters unto the people of the land, nor take their daugh-
31 ters for our sons: And *if* the people of the land bring ware or any victuals on the
Sabbath day to sell, *that* we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath or on the
holy day: and that we would leave [*i. e.*, leave the land to lie untilled] the seventh
32 year and the exaction [loan] of every debt [hand]. Also [And] we made ordi-
nances for us, to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the ser-
33 vice of the house of our God; for the shewbread [the bread of arrangement], and
*for* the continual meat-offering, and for the continual burnt-offering of the Sabbaths,
of the new moons, for the set feasts, and for the holy *things*, and for the sin-offer-
ings, to make an atonement for Israel, and *for* all the work of the house of our God.
34 And we cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood-
offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at
times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of the LORD our God, as *it is*
35 written in the law: And to bring the first-fruits of our ground, and the first-fruits

36 of all fruit of all trees, year by year, unto the house of the LORD: also the first-
born of our sons, and of our cattle, as it is written in the law, and the firstlings of
our herds and of our flocks, to bring to the house of our God, unto the priests that
37 minister in the house of our God: and *that* we should bring the first-fruits [begin-
ning] of our dough [groats], and [*of*] our offerings [oblations], and [*of*] the fruit
of all manner of trees, of [new] wine and of oil, unto the priests, to the chambers of
the house of our God; and the tithes of our ground unto the Levites, that the same
Levites might have the tithes [*perhaps*, and they the Levites pay tithes] in all the
38 cities of our tillage [service]. And the priest the son of Aaron shall be with the
Levites, when the Levites take [*perhaps*, pay] tithes: and the Levites shall bring
up the tithe of the tithes [tithe] unto the house of our God, to the chambers, into
39 [belonging unto] the treasure house. For the children [sons] of Israel and the
children [sons] of Levi shall bring the offering [oblation] of the corn, of the new
wine, and [of] the oil, unto the chambers, where are the vessels of the sanctuary,
and the priests that minister, and the porters, and the singers: and we will not for-
sake the house of our God.

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 31. נִטֹּשׁ אֶתהַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית [or וּמַשָּׁא] וּמַשָּׁא כָּל־יָד. The ellipsis is to be filled from Ex. xxiii. 11. וְהַשְּׁבִיעִת תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה וּנְטַשְׁתָּהּ, where the pronoun refers to אֶרֶץ of the preceding verse.

[2] Ver. 37. הַמְעַשְּׂרִים here and בְּעַשֵּׂר in ver. 38. (Piel part. and Hiph. inf. of עָשַׂר), if we follow the analogy of Deut. xiv. 22, and xxvi. 32, must refer to the paying and not to the receiving tithes.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Covenant.*

Vers. 1-8. Because of these twenty-three names fifteen are supposed to be found in the list (ch. xii. 1-7) of the priests who came with Zerubbabel in the preceding century, it is held by many that this list contains only family names, and that these families were represented by descendants in the signing, Ezra, for example, signing for his ancestor Seraiah. But as we find Nehemiah in the list, and also the very Levites (vers. 9-18), who individually stood upon the stairs on the 24th of Tisri (chap. ix. 4, 5), it is better to suppose that the similarity of the names is accidental, and that family names only occur in the list of the people, vers. 14-27, if even there. The only alternative is harsh in two features: first, that the Levites on the stairs should be called, in a plain historical statement, by their family names; and secondly, that family names and personal names should be so strangely mixed. Moreover, it is to be noted that the family names of chap. vii. and of Ezra ii. are not all repeated here. We have abundant evidence of the very common use of the same names among the Israelites, and a theory, which that fact will explain, seems the easier one here.

Vers. 9-27. See above note.

Ver. 28. **The rest of the people,** *i. e.*, besides the chiefs given in vers. 14-27. The word *rest* (Heb. *shear*) seems to carry its force to the other classes enumerated, to wit, *the rest of the priests, etc.;* that is, besides those enumerated. **Every one having knowledge and having understanding.**—This evidently qualifies the general phrase before it. Not all the rest, but those who had knowledge and understanding, joined their brethren in the reform.

Ver. 29. **Clave to their brethren, their nobles.**—That is, to their brethren, the chiefs above mentioned. **Commandments,** *etc.*—See on chap. ix. 13, 14.

Ver. 31. **We would leave the seventh year and the exaction of every debt.**—The verb *natash* (leave) here seems to have a pregnant meaning. *We would leave fallow the land each seventh year* (comp. Exod. xxiii. 11), *and remit at that time* (lit.) *the debt of every hand.* See Deut. xv. 2.

Ver. 32. **The third part of a shékel.**—This tax, thus first laid, became afterward a half shekel. (See Matt. xvii. 24, where the Greek is *didrachma, i. e.*, a half shekel.) The half shekel tax of Ex. xxx. 13 is another matter, not an annual tax, but ransom money to be taken at a census as a mark of the Lord's ownership.

Ver. 33. **The shew-bread.**—Heb. *lehem hammaareketh* (bread of arrangement). The older phrase is *lehem happanim* (bread of the face). **The continual meat-offering.**—Heb. *minhath hattamidh.*—**The continual burnt-offering.**—Heb. *olath hattamidh.* So the shew-bread is called *lehem hattamidh* (Num. iv. 7). So called as oft-recurring in distinction from the occasional offerings. Here, as we see, the offerings are those of each day, **of the sabbaths, and of the new moons.**—The **set feasts** are mentioned separately with *lamedh* (for).

Ver. 34. **For the wood-offering.**—Heb. *kurban haetzim.* The feast of the wood-offering (Josephus, *B. J.*, II. 17, 6) on the 14th of Ab arose from this institution of Nehemiah. It was the day when those assigned to the duty brought in the wood for the altar. (See Lev. vi. 12 )

Ver. 35. **The first fruits of all fruits of all trees.**—See Lev. xix. 24 and comp. Deut. xxvi. 2.

Ver. 36. **The first born of our sons.**—That is, by bringing redemption-money, as ordered in Numb. xviii. 15, 16. **Cattle.**—Heb. *behemoth.* Here *unclean beasts*, as contrasted with the herds and flocks below. These were also redeemed. (See Num. *l. c.*)

Ver. 37. **First fruits of our dough** (groats or ground meal).—See Num. xv. 20. **Offerings**—*i. e.*, all special offerings. **Chambers.**—Heb. *lishcoth.* The cells or chambers in the courts of the temple. **Might have the tithes.**—Many read *might pay tithes*, anticipating the statement of the next verse. **Tillage.**—There may be a reasonable doubt whether *anodhah* ever means tillage, unless, as in 1 Chron. xxvii. 26, it is qualified by another noun. It may mean here "service" in the relation of servants to God, as elsewhere. To suppose that the cities of work or service must mean the country towns, is scarcely credible.

Ver. 38. **To the chambers, into the treasure house.**—Rather, *to the chambers of the treasure house*, one of the buildings in the temple area. **The tithe of the tithes** belonged to the priests (Num. xviii. 26–28), the children of Aaron.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The natural leaders of a people are largely responsible for the people's conduct. The priests, Levites, and chiefs, the nobles of the nation readily find a following. Nehemiah, as Tirshatha, puts his own name first to the solemn reform-document, and then he causes the nobles to set their names to the instrument. A reform begun the other way in the lower circles of society is apt to degenerate into the excesses of revolution. The healing salt should be thrown in at the sources of the streams, if the waters are to be cured.

2. The points specially indicated, wherein the reform was most pressing, are (1) marriage alliances, (2) Sabbath-observance, (3) usury, (4) temple-taxes of the third part of a shekel, of first-fruits and of tithes. On these points we may believe the people had been especially remiss. They were the points where their covetousness would operate to undermine their piety, and thus the integrity of the commonwealth. Was not that, which has become a distinctive trait of the Israelitish race, already in Nehemiah's time beginning to develop itself?

3. When a people grow remiss in the support of religious privileges, the foundations of society are shaken. The moral tone of any people can only be cultivated and sustained by systematized methods, for natural depravity must take advantage of the lack of discipline, and prove too strong for morality. Religion, in any true and high sense, is an exotic, and must be tenderly cared for in this sin-grown earth. The zeal of Nehemiah and other reformers for the thorough establishment of religious rites is a wise example to all who come after them. Where the state cannot enforce such a result, public opinion can be made.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ver. 1. To what the consideration of the Lord's faithfulness to the covenant leads us: 1) To penitence and conversion which shows itself through obedience. 2) To faith—particularly in the fact that the Lord always keeps His covenant with us, and that it is only necessary that we on our part should confirm and maintain it. 3) To hope that the Lord will set us free, and evermore aid us to the glorious liberty of the children of God.

Vers. 31, 32. The principal duties of the congregation and its members: 1) To keep themselves unspotted, and particularly separated from the world. 2) To practice communion with the Lord, and especially in the way that is beneficial to us in this mortal state. BEDE: *Porro sabbatismus orationum ac devotionis nostræ, in qua vacamus a temporalibus agendis, ut æternitatis gaudia dulcius gustare mereamur, recte diei septimo adsignatur quia futuræ quietem vitæ ac beatæ laudationis imitatur: sed diem sabbathi alienigenæ quærunt profanare, cum terrenæ cogitationes in tempore nostræ orationis importune nos conturbant, et memoria sive delectatione temporalium rerum ab amore intimo nituntur extrahere.—Imponunt asinis vinum, uvas et ficus et omne onus, et inferunt in Hierusalem, cum oblectamentis carnalibus stultos animi nostri motus onerantes, per hæc et hujus modi tentamenta quietem nostri cordis deo debitam violare conantur.* Comp. chap. xiii. 15.

Vers. 33–40. The tasks to which each member of the congregation must submit himself. 1) The offerings which must be made directly to the Lord for the erection of His buildings, expenses of the service, *etc.* 2) The doing that which assists the servants of the Lord. STARKE: My God! I remember that I too made a covenant with Thee at my baptism. I beseech thee seal the same also in me, and give me in my heart the pledge, the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. i. 21, 22; 2 Cor. v. 5). We must not only ourselves have a Christian zeal for true religion, but also incite others to it, and admonish them (Heb. x. 24; Ps. xlix. 2). Marriages with the godless are displeasing to God, and dangerous (1 Tim. ii. 14). Nothing must be so near to us that it withdraws us from the service of God.

### Chapter XI. 1–36.

1 And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem: the rest of the people also
[and the rest of the people] cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem, the
2 holy city, and nine parts *to dwell* in [the] *other* cities. And the people blessed all
the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem.
3 Now [And] these *are* the chief of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem: but in
the cities of Judah dwelt [and which dwelt in the cities of Judah] every one in his
possession in their cities, *to wit*, Israel [*i. e.*, the people], the priests, and the Le-
4 vites, and the Nethinim, and the children [sons] of Solomon's servants. And at
Jerusalem dwelt *certain* of the children [sons] of Judah, and of the children [sons]
of Benjamin. Of the children [sons] of Judah; Athaiah, the son of Uzziah, the
son of Zechariah, the son of Amariah, the son of Shephatiah, the son of Mahala-
5 leel, of the children [sons] of Perez (*i. e.*, Pharez): and Maaseiah, the son of Ba-
ruch, the son of Col-hozeh, the son of Hozaiah, the son of Adaiah, the son of Joia-
6 rib, the son of Zechariah, the son of Shiloni [Shelah's family]. All the sons of Pe-
rez that dwelt at Jerusalem *were* four hundred three-score and eight valiant men.
7 And these are the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of
Joed, the son of Pedaiah, the son of Kolaiah, the son of Maaseiah, the son of Ithiel,
8 the son of Jesaiah [*i. e.*, Isaiah]. And after him Gabbai, Sallai, nine hundred
9 twenty and eight. And Joel the son of Zichri *was* their overseer: And Judah the
10 son of Senuah was second over the city [was over the second city]. Of the priests:
11 Jedaiah the son of Joiarib, Jachin. Seraiah, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Me-
shullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, *was* the ruler of
12 the house of God. And their brethren that did the work of the house *were* eight
hundred twenty and two: and Adaiah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Pelaliah, the
13 son of Amzi, the son of Zechariah, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchiah, and his
brethren, chief of the fathers, two hundred forty and two: and Amashai, the son
14 of Azareel, the son of Ahasai, the son of Meshillemoth, the son of Immer, and their
brethren, mighty men of valour, a hundred twenty and eight, and their overseer
*was* Zabdiel, the son of one of the great men [son of the mighty].
15 Also [And] of the Levites: Shemaiah the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam,
16 the son of Hashabiah, the son of Bunni; and Shabbethai and Jozabad, of the chief
of the Levites *had* the oversight of [*were* over] the outward business of the house of
17 God. And Mattaniah, the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi, the son of Asaph, *was*
the principal to begin the thanksgiving in prayer [*perhaps*, the chief of the praise-
song who gave thanks at prayer-service]: and Bakbukiah the second among his
brethren, and Abda the son of Shammua, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun.
18, 19 All the Levites in the holy city *were* two hundred fourscore and four. More-
over [And] the porters, Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren that kept the gates,
*were* a hundred seventy and two.
20 And the residue of Israel, of the priests, *and* the Levites, *were* in all the cities of
21 Judah, every one in his inheritance. But [And] the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel:
22 and Ziha and Gispa *were* over the Nethinim. The overseer also [and the overseer]
of the Levites at Jerusalem *was* Uzzi, the son of Bani, the son of Hashabiah, the
son of Mattaniah, the son of Micha. [Some] Of the sons of Asaph, the singers
23 were over the business of the house of God. For it [there] was the king's com-
mandment concerning them, that a certain portion should be for the singers [and
a sure ordinance concerning the singers] due for every day [the thing of a day on
24 its day]. And Pethahiah, the son of Meshezabeel, of the children of Zerah, the son
of Judah, was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people.

25 And [As] for the villages with their fields, *some* of the children [sons] of Judah
dwelt at Kirjath-arba and *in* the villages [daughters] thereof, and at Dibon, and *in*
26 the villages [daughters] thereof, and at Jekabzeel and in the villages thereof, and
27 at Jeshua, and at Moladah, and at Beth-phelet, and at Hazar-shual, and at Beer-
28 sheba, and *in* the villages [daughters] thereof, and at Ziklag, and at Mekonah, and
29 in the villages [daughters] thereof, and at En-rimmon, and at Zareah, and at Jar-
30 muth, Zanoah, Adullam, and *in* their villages, at Lachish and the fields thereof, at
Azekah, and *in* the villages [daughters] thereof. And they dwelt from Beer-sheba
into the valley of Hinnom.
31 The children also of Benjamin [and the sons of Benjamin] from Geba
*dwelt* at Michmash [dwelt from Geba to Michmash] and Aija, and Bethel, and *in*
32 their villages [daughters], *and* at Anathoth, Nob, Ananiah, Hazor, Ramah, Git-
33, 34, 35 taim, Hadid, Zeboim, Neballat, Lod, and Ono, the valley of craftsmen.
36 And of the Levites *were* divisions *in* Judah, *and* in Benjamin [divisions of Ju-
dah *were* to Benjamin].

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 17. הַתְּחִלָּה instead of being an error for הַתְּהִלָּה, may be for בַּתְּחִלָּה, "chief *at the beginning* of prayer he gave thanks."

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

### *The Places of Abode.**

Ver. 1. **The rest of the people also.**—*And the rest of the people*—that is, other than the rulers.

Ver. 2. **That willingly offered themselves**—*i. e.*, those of the people, beside the tenth part chosen by lot, who also consented to dwell in Jerusalem as the place of greatest danger and need. (See chap. vii. 4.)

Ver. 3. The relative construction should be used with both clauses, thus: *now these are the chiefs of the province who dwelt in Jerusalem, and those who dwelt in the cities of Judah* (*every one in his possession in their cities*)—*to wit, Israel, etc.* **Israel**—*i. e.*, the people of Israel as contrasted with priests, Levites, *etc.* **The children of Solomon's servants.**—See on chap. vii. 57.

Ver. 4. **Athaiah** was chief of the Bene-Pharets, or children of Perez (Pharez). See Gen. xxxviii. 29; 1 Chron. iv. 1. In 1 Chron. ix. 4 he is called *Uthai*, and his genealogy traced by a different line.

Ver. 5. **Maaseiah** was chief of the Shilonites or children of Shelah. His grandfather Colhozeh is probably the same as the father of Shallun in chap. iii. 15. He is called *Asaiah* in 1 Chron. ix. 5. **Shiloni.**—Heb.: *hash-shiloni.* Not a man's name, but a family's title, to wit, the children of Shelah, Judah's son. See 1 Chron. ix. 5. These descendants of Shelah are counted with those of Pharez. *Athaiah* and *Maaseiah* were thus the chiefs of Judah. *Jeuel* of the sons of Zerah, mentioned in 1 Chron. ix. 6, is omitted here.

Ver. 6. This verse appears to be out of its place. It should precede ver. 5.

* This chapter is intimately connected with chapter vii. 4, showing Nehemiah's plan of increasing the population of the city. The genealogies and then the confession and covenant came in parenthetically—the former as part of the process in the plan, and the latter as chronologically happening while Nehemiah was maturing the plan.

Ver. 7. The family of **Jesaiah** in Benjamin, of which **Sallu** was chief, is not otherwise known. Sallu's pedigree is differently reckoned in 1 Chron. ix. 7. The text in Chronicles is probably defective.

Ver. 8. **Gabbai** and **Sallai** are other Benjamite chiefs.

Ver. 9. **Joel the son of Zichri** was overseer (Heb.: *pakid*, ἐπισκοπος) over both the Judahites and Benjamites of the city. His office was possibly a police one. **Judah the son of Senuah** *was over the second city* (not **second over the city**).—The second city was a well-known part of Jerusalem. It was there Huldah the prophetess lived in Josiah's time. See 2 Kings xxii. 14, where the Eng. vers. has "college" for the Heb. *mishneh*. In Zeph. i. 10 the Eng. vers. has "second." It was probably the part of the city built up north of the temple. The parallel chapter in 1 Chron. (chap. ix.), which seems to be very corrupt in its reading, appears to have "Joel, the son of Zichri," in "Elah, the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri," and to have "Judah, the son of Senuah," in "Hodaviah, the son of Hasenuah," the former a Benjamite, and the latter an ancestor of Sallu. That list also introduces as Benjamites "Ibneiah, the son of Jeroham," and "Meshullam, the son of Shephatiah, the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah."

Joel and Judah were the two inspectors or overseers over the Judahites and Benjamites in the entire city.

Vers. 10, 11. There is great confusion in this part of the record, and we are not helped much by 1 Chron. ix. Both lists have been copied probably from a defective record. **Jedaiah, Joiarib** and **Jachin** were the heads of three of the twenty-four courses of priests in David's time (1 Chron. xxiv. 7, 17). **Seraiah** was high-priest before the captivity (1 Chron. vi. 14). These names appear to be fragments of a record which in its fulness showed the heads of these families in Nehemiah's time. The phrase "ruler of the house of God (*negid beth ha-elohim*) can belong to Ahitub or Seraiah. The Eng. vers. wrongly inserts "was." It is a title of the high-

**priest.** See 2 Chron. xxxi. 13. Also compare 1 Chron. ix. 11. Also see 1 Chron. xii. 27, where Jehoiada (*negid* of the Aaronites) seems to be the same as Ahitub the father of Zadok.

In ver. 10 **Jedaiah, the son of Joiarib**, is doubtless wrong, and the form in 1 Chron. ix. 10 should be followed, to wit, *Jedaiah and Jehoiarib*. In ver. 11 (as in 1 Chron. ix. 11) the words **the son of Meraioth** are out of place and should follow "Ahitub," as Meraioth was grandfather (1 Chron. vi. 7) or great-grandfather (Ezra vii. 3) of Ahitub. For this last discrepancy we may suppose the two sequences in the high-priesthood of "Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok" (one before Solomon, and the other after Solomon) are the occasion. One list has taken the latter, where Ahitub's grandfather is Azariah, and the other has taken the former where Ahitub's grandfather is Meraioth. [We use "father" and "grandfather" in the formal sense, denoting the proximity of the names in the records, not the actual relationship.]

Ver. 12. **And their brethren**—*i. e.*, the brethren or kinsfolk of the chiefs of the priests whose names are lost in the above record (as we have seen in the preceding note). **Adaiah** was chief of the children of Malchiah, the head of the fifth course in David's day (1 Chron. xxiv. 9).

Ver. 13. **Chief of the fathers.**—This clause seems to be out of place, for we can hardly suppose that the Malchiah family were all chiefs. Adaiah had 242 in his kinsfolk, over whom he was chief, just as the representatives of the high-priest's family and the families of Jedaiah, Joiarib and Jachin had 822 in their kinsfolk (ver. 12). This phrase "chief of the fathers" belongs to all these head men of families, and was probably at the head of the list originally. It may have found its place here from the analogy of the phrase "mighty men of valour" in ver. 14. See 2 Chron. xxvi. 12 for a collocation of the two phrases. **Amashai** (*Maasiai* in 1 Chron. ix. 12) was chief of the children of Immer, the head of the sixteenth course in David's time. His pedigree in 1 Chron. ix. is merely a corruption of this one.

Ver. 14. **Their brethren.**—Probably an error for "*his* brethren"—that is, Amashai's. **Their overseer was Zabdiel.**—He was *pakid* (see on ver. 9) of all the priests. He is called *son of the mighty ones*—a phrase that seems to denote a remarkable ancestry. The numbers here and in 1 Chron. ix. 13 differ by 568. Errors in numbers and in names are almost necessities in transcribing.

Vers. 15–17. This list of Levites omits the names of *Heresh, Galal* and *Berechiah*, given in 1 Chron. ix. 15, 16; but contains the names of *Shabbethai* and *Jozabad* not mentioned there. In this list (ver. 14) we have **the son of Bunni** (*i. e.*, Bani, one of the families of Merari), where in 1 Chron. ix. 14 we find "of the sons of Merari." **Bakbukiah** here is *Bakbakkar* there. **Zabdi** here is *Zichri* there. **Abda** here is *Obadiah* there. Of the Levitical chiefs, Shabbethai and Jozabad **had the oversight of the outward business of the house of God.**—That is, attended to the secular department of service as directors therein (comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 29). **The principal to begin the thanksgiving in prayer.**—Literally "the chief of the beginning gave thanks to prayer." Some would read *tehillah* instead of *tehhillah*, a most natural correction. We should then have "the chief of the praise-song [who] gave thanks (as introductory) to prayer."

Ver. 18. These six (or nine) Levitical chiefs had a constituency of 284.

Ver. 19. **Akkub, Talmon.**—The list in 1 Chron. ix. adds Shallum (as chief of all) and Ahiman, and makes the number 212 instead of 172. The account in 1 Chron. is much more extended on this matter of the porters, thus showing that this record (as is that also) is but a fragment of an older document. Both copies have been marred in the transcribing.

Ver. 20. This verse belongs between ver. 24 and ver. 25, after Jerusalem is disposed of.

Ver. 21. **Nethinim—Ophel.**—See on chap. iii. 26.

Ver. 22. The *pakid* (see on ver. 9) of all the Levites, including the Nethinim, was **Uzzi.** The last clause should read: *The singers of the sons of Asaph* (or some of the sons of Asaph, the singers,—see same construction in ver. 25) *were over the business of the house of God.* This "business" is not the "outward business" of ver. 16. If (with Keil) we disregard the Athnahh, we may consider Uzzi's pedigree as going on in this last clause, thus: "the son of Micha, of the sons of Asaph the singers in the service of the house of God." In this case the parallel with ver. 17 would be striking. There may be an omission in that verse before Mattaniah, and this Uzzi may be the first of the three leading singers—Bakbukiah and Abda being the other two. But see next note.

Ver. 23. Read: *for it was the king's commandment concerning them and a sure ordinance for the singers for each day's duty* (lit. "the thing of a day on its day"). Uzzi was *pakid* of the Levites generally, but the Asaphites took turns in directing the Levitical work. This 23d verse—making the singers (in the plural) the main subject, seems to show that our E. V. is right in stopping Uzzi's genealogy (in ver. 22) at Micha, and then beginning a new passage. The Masorites took this view, as the Athnahh with Micha shows. There is probably some confusion between ver. 22 and vers. 15 and 17, if we may judge from the names. Compare the passage in 1 Chron. ix.

Ver. 24. Pethahiah of the Zerahites (or Zarhites) **was at the hand of the king.**—This does not mean that he was at Susa, but that he was the king's special agent. Comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, where the Levites are said to be at the hand of the sons of Aaron. Pethahiah's office may have taken him often to Susa, and he would thus be the go-between between the king and Nehemiah.

Ver. 25. **Kirjath-Arba**—*i. e.*, Hebron (Josh. xiv. 15). **The villages thereof.**—Lit. *the daughters thereof.* The word is a different one from that at the beginning of the verse (*hatzêr*). It is repeated after Dibon, but the other word returns after Jekabzeel. This use of daughters for dependent towns is common in the earlier books. **Dibon.**—Doubtless the *Dimonah* of

Josh. xv. 22. **Jekabzeel.**—The *Kabzeel* of Josh. xv. 21.

Ver. 26. **Jeshua.**—Probably the *Shema* of Josh. xv. 26, the letters in Hebrew being easily mistaken in transcription. **Moladah** is El Milh. **Beth-phelet.**—The *Beth-palet* of Josh. xxi. 27.

Ver. 27. **Hazar-shual**—like all the above, except Hebron and Moladah, is unknown.

**Beersheba** is Bir es-Seba, twenty-five miles south-west of Hebron, and ten miles west of Moladah.

Ver. 28. **Ziklag**, conspicuous in David's history (1 Sam. xxx.), is supposed to be Asluj, on the road from El Milh to Abdeh. **Mekonah**—possibly a mistake for *Madmannah* of Josh. xv. 30. It only requires a *mem* dropped and a *daleth* changed to a *kaph*.

Ver. 29. **En-rimmon** is spoken of in Josh. xv. 32 as two places. Keil supposes them two towns closely neighboring which finally grew into one. **Zareah.**—*Zoreah* (Josh. xv. 33) or *Zorah* (Judg. xiii. 2) is Zurah, fourteen miles west of Jerusalem. **Jarmuth** is 16 miles south-west of Jerusalem, on the slope of the mountain country, and about eight miles from the Shephelah or Philistine plain. It is 15 miles from Hebron.

Ver. 30. **Zanoah** is Zanua, or, perhaps, Kh. Sanut. **Adullam**—identified by Ganneau with Sh. Mudhkur, on the east side of Wady Sur, near Socoh. **Lachish**—36 miles south-west of Jerusalem. **Azekah** is Deir el Aashek. From Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom (or valley of the sons, or son, of Hinnom) is a distance of nearly 50 miles.

Ver. 31. Read: *and the children of Benjamin dwelt from Geba to Michmash and Aija and Bethel and her villages.* **Geba** is Jeba. **Michmash** is Mukhmas. **Aija** or *Ai* is probably Tell el Hajar, as Van de Velde thinks. **Bethel** is Beitin.

Ver. 32. **Anathoth** is Anata, Jeremiah's birth-place. **Nob** is probably Neby Samwil, according to Lieut. Conder's suggestion (*Quarterly Statement of Pal. Expl. Fund.* London, Jan. 1875). **Ananiah** is unknown.

Ver. 33. **Hazor** is not identified. **Ramah** is Er-Ram. **Gittaim** is unknown.

Ver. 34. **Hadid** is supposed to be near Lydda. **Zeboim** is not identified. **Neballat** is Beit Nebala, near Lydda.

Ver. 35. **Lod** is Lydda (Ludd). **Ono** is believed to be near Lydda, at Kefr Auna. (See Van de Velde.) **The valley of craftsmen**—*i. e.*, Charashim (see 1 Chron. iv. 14) was probably in the vicinity of Lydda.

Ver. 36. Read: *And of the Levites divisions of Judah went to Benjamin.* These Levites were transferred from former stations in Judahite towns to stations in Benjamite towns.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Jerusalem was peculiarly the post of labor and danger,—of labor, because the fortifications would require constant guarding, and of danger, because the enemies of the Jews would naturally concentrate their efforts against the holy city. A willing offering of any to dwell in Jerusalem was therefore a mark of self-denial for the sake of country and religion. The popular blessing fell upon such. Even those who did not so volunteer could not but admire this devotion, and join in the general admiration. Happy is the people, where there is such a cause for the public favor.

2. The additional population of Jerusalem included men of Judah, men of Benjamin, Levites, and Nethinim. There were, doubtless, remnants of the ten tribes with preserved pedigrees mingled with the returned Jews, as we find four centuries later Phanuel mentioned as of the tribe of Asher (Luke ii. 36), but none of these seem to have been reckoned in the public genealogies. They had not come back with Zerubbabel, for it is not probable that many (if any) from the remnant of the ten tribes went into captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, unless we consider the coming to Jerusalem of "divers of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun" in Hezekiah's day (2 Chron. xxx. 11) was a coming for a permanent abode. But we may believe, that, after the return, stragglers from the remnant of the northern kingdom joined the Jews at Jerusalem, for that in the north a remnant preserved the truth against all the immigration of heathen nations is evident from the appearance of Galilee in the New Testament period, which could not be owing simply to the Maccabean influences, such as are described in 1 Maccab. v. 21, seq.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1, 2. It might be very difficult for the poorer families of the congregation to find means of subsistence in Jerusalem, as there was no longer a royal court there, and a troop of higher officers, who could afford work and gain to the lower classes. They might find it much easier to get along in the country, where they could cultivate the ground. Nevertheless Nehemiah and the heads of the congregation had to insist upon it that as many as possible should settle again in Jerusalem. For this there were very urgent reasons. It was not the consideration alone that the congregation would only then be worthily represented to the neighboring people, and would only be in part secure, if it possessed a large, mighty, and flourishing chief city, to which, in times of danger, it could withdraw as to a trustworthy asylum. The main point was, that as many as possible of the congregation must live in direct proximity to the Temple and its service, that their connection with God could the better be furthered and fortified, and be promoted and consecrated, which was so desirable for it. There was the consideration that above all upon Zion and the mountain of the house of the Lord rested the promises of the prophets, and that especially from them the law and the word of the Lord should go forth. (Isa. ii. 2–4; Micah iv. 1.) The congregation should feel itself called upon, as much as lay in its power, to help in the fulfilment of such promises, also to further as much as possible, the honoring of the Lord there in Jerusalem. It had certainly in the prophetic word a warrant that the Lord would here protect and bless it. At least equally urgent calls has Christendom not to scatter itself hither and thither into all sorts of sects and communities, neither to be satisfied with the observ-

ance of religion in their houses, but to hold faithfully to the one church, which is founded on God's word and provided with His promises, and instead of despising it on account of its insignificance, poverty, and needs, all the more to raise it by all self-consecration and gratitude, even if one should thereby suffer disadvantages, and even dangers, in worldly things, and should draw upon himself slights and persecution. "And let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for He is faithful that promised; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is." (Heb. x. 23–25.) That in which a sect has appeared to be preferable in power of love and sanctity has proved itself generally, in great part to be mere empty appearance.

Vers. 3–19. It is very worthy of notice that in the numbering of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, not the priests but the tribes of Judah and Benjamin take the lead, and only then follow the priests and Levites; so much the more worthy of notice, because in the new congregation, following the captivity, according to the entire direction which its development took, and according to everything which was considered as of the greatest moment, the high-priests, and the priesthood in general, had a particularly high significance. It is as if the consciousness were indicated, that the priests and Levites, in spite of their distinction, which the Lord had apportioned to them in the affairs of Israel, had been nevertheless nothing at all, if they had not had a congregation near and around them, and if they had not succeeded in obtaining satisfactory fruit for their activity, namely, a genuine and true piety, which should substantially prove they were not there in vain. Would also that Christian priests, that is, preachers of the gospel, might preserve a lively consciousness that it is not enough for them to have fellowship with their brethren in office, that they are nothing, and can profit and signify nothing, if not some, if only a small congregation stand by them, in whom the seed which they sow, springs up, grows, and bears fruit. STARKE: Ver. 8. In every time there are some pious and God-fearing people who separate themselves from the world, and seek the good of their souls rather than of their bodies.

Vers. 25–36. When one looks at the space which the Jewish congregation inhabited round Jerusalem, how very small was the territory occupied by the people of God, the only race which possessed a clear knowledge of the only true and holy God! A few miles, from three to six, north and south, east and west, comprised the entire district. Compared with our countries, yes, even with our provinces, this district appears to us almost as a vanishing nothing. And nevertheless what powers for the subjugation of entire humanity, for the transformation of all its relations, and for the subduing of all circumstances, has God the Lord been able to put in the people of this oasis, in the, at the same time insignificant, and in many respects miserable race, which cultivated the ground there or raised cattle! If any where surely here arises a testimony for Paul's word, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." (1 Cor. i. 27.) A consoling promise also for Christendom in those times in which it appears as though it were being compressed on all sides, and when it is in truth losing position after position. Let it lose in length and breadth, in order afterwards to gain so much the more in height. Even the gates of hell cannot swallow up the church of the Lord.

STARKE: Ver. 25. God collects to Himself a church from among many peoples by the word of the gospel, that the heavenly Jerusalem may be filled.

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## CHAPTER XII. 1–47.

1 Now [And] these *are* the priests and the Levites that went up with Zerubbabel
2 the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua: Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Hat-
3, 4, 5 tush. Shechaniah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginnetho, Abijah, Miamin, Maa-
6, 7 diah, Bilgah, Shemaiah, and Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amok, Hilkiah, Jedaiah.
These were the chief of the priests and of their brethren in the days of Jeshua.
8 Moreover [And] the Levites: Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, *and*
9 Mattaniah, *which was over* the thanksgiving, he and his brethren. Also [And]
10 Bakbukiah and Unni, their brethren, *were* over against them in the watches. And
Jeshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim also [and Joiakim] begat Eliashib, and Eliashib
11, 12 begat Joiada, and Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua. And
in the days of Joiakim were priests, the chief of the fathers: of Seraiah, Meraiah;
13, 14 of Jeremiah, Hananiah; of Ezra, Meshullam; of Amariah, Jehohanan; of Me-
15 licu, Jonathan; of Shebaniah, Joseph; of Harim, Adna; of Meraioth, Helkai;
16, 17 of Iddo, Zechariah; of Ginnethon, Meshullam; of Abijah, Zichri; of Minia-
18, 19 min, of Moadiah, Piltai; of Bilgah, Shammua; of Shemaiah, Jehonathan; And

20, 21 of Joiarib, Mattenai; of Jedaiah, Uzzi; of Sallai, Kallai; of Amok, Eber; of
22 Hilkiah, Hashabiah; of Jedaiah, Nethaneel. The Levites in the days of Eliashib,
Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua were recorded [according to the] chief of the
23 fathers: also [and] the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian. The sons of
Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written [recorded] in the book of the Chronicles
[book of the events of the times], even until the days of Johanan, the son of Elia-
24 shib. And the chief of the Levites: Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son of
Kadmiel with their brethren over against them to praise *and* to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward.
25 Mattaniah, and Bakbukiah, [and] Obadiah, [were singers]. Meshullam, Talmon,
Akkub, *were* porters keeping the ward at the thresholds [treasuries] of the gates.
26 These *were* in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and in
the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe.
27 And at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, they sought the Levites out of
all their places to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness
[to keep the dedication and festivity], both with thanksgivings and with singing,
28 *with* cymbals, psalteries and with harps. And the sons of the singers gathered themselves together, both out of the plain country [circuit] round about Jerusalem, and
29 from the villages of Netophathi; also [and] from the house of Gilgal [Beth-gilgal],
and out of the fields of Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had builded their vil-
30 lages round about Jerusalem. And the priests and the Levites purified themselves,
31 and purified the people, and the gates, and the wall. Then [And] I brought up
the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great *companies of them*
*that gave* thanks, *whereof one* went on the right hand upon the wall toward the dung
32 gate [rubbish gate]. And after them went Hoshaiah, and half of the princes of
33, 34 Judah, and Azariah, Ezra, Meshullam, Judah, and Benjamin, and Shemaiah,
35 and Jeremiah, and *certain* of the priests' sons with trumpets; *namely* [*the priests'*
*names have fallen out—here follow the Levites' names*] Zechariah the son of Jonathan,
the son of Shemaiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Michaiah, the son of Zaccur,
36 the son of Asaph: And his brethren, Shemaiah, and Azarael, Milalai, Gilalai,
Maai, Nethaneel, and Judah, Hanani, with the musical instruments of David the
37 man of God, and Ezra the scribe before them. And at the fountain gate, which
was over against them, [and over the fountain gate and in front of them], they
went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall, above the
house of David, even unto the water gate eastward.
38 And the other *company of them that gave* thanks went over against *them*, and I
after them, and the half of the people, upon the wall from beyond [past] the tower
39 of the furnaces even unto the broad wall; and from above [past] the gate of Ephraim, and above [past] the old gate, and above [past] the fish gate, and the tower
of Hananeel, and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep gate: and they stood
40 still in the prison gate. So [And] stood the two *companies of them that gave* thanks
41 in the house of God, and I, and the half of the rulers with me: And the priests;
Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Michaiah, Elioenai, Zechariah, *and* Hananiah with
42 trumpets; and Maaseiah, and Shemaiah, and Eleazar, and Uzzi, and Jehohanan,
and Malchijah, and Elam, and Ezer. And the singers sang loud [made *their voice*
to be heard], with Jezrahiah *their* overseer.
43 Also [And] that day they offered great sacrifices, and rejoiced: for God had
made them rejoice with great joy: [and] the wives also and the children rejoiced:
so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off.
44 And at that time were some [men] appointed over the chambers [which were]
for the treasures, for the offerings, for the first fruits, and for the tithes to gather
into them out of [according to] the fields of the cities the portions of the law [*i. e.*,
appointed by the law] for the priests and Levites: for Judah rejoiced [the joy of
Judah *was*] for the priests and the Levites that waited [that stood *at their posts*].
45 And both the singers and the porters kept the ward of their God, and the ward of
the purification [And they kept the ward (or charge) of their God, and the ward
of the purification, and so did also the singers and the porters *keep their ward*], ac-
46 cording to the commandment of David, *and* of Solomon his son. For in the days

of David and Asaph [see note] of old, *there were* chief of the singers, and songs of
47 praise and thanksgiving unto God. And all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and
in the days of Nehemiah, gave the portions of the singers and the porters, every
day his portion [the thing of a day on its day], and they sanctified [dedicated, *as in* 1 *Chron. xxvi.* 28] *holy things* unto the Levites; and the Levites sanctified *them*
unto the children of Aaron.

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 38. לְמוֹאל for מוֹאֵל from the root יָאַל, according to Ewald. The usual form is מוּל or מוֹל. May it not be from אול, formed like a Hoph. participle?

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

*The Dedication of the Walls.*

Before the ceremony of the dedication is rehearsed, a preliminary statement regarding the priests and Levites, as chief actors in the dedication, is made.

Vers. 1–9. This is a list of the principal priests and Levites who came with Zerubbabel from Babylon in the preceding century.

We have already spoken of the *accidental* identity of names, in many of these, with those who sealed the Covenant (ch. x. 1–8). If the question is here asked, "Why, then, are not the names of the sealers put down in vers. 12-21, as the representatives of the old priestly houses of Zerubbabel's day?" the reply is that the sealers were in Eliashib's day, but the representatives of the priestly families in vers. 12-21 were of Joiakim's day, Eliashib's father. The persons were not the same, and hence we do not look for the same names. We have three sets of names. In ch. xii. 1-7 we have those of Jeshua's time (*i. e.*, Zerubbabel's); in ch. xii. 12-21, we have also those of Joiakim's day. In ch. x. 1-8 we have those of Eliashib's day.

But another question is raised by the fact that in Ezra ii. 36-39 and Neh. vii. 39-42 only four orders of priests are said to have come up with Zerubbabel, to wit, those of Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, Harim, *i. e.*, the 2d, 3d, 5th and 16th orders, Pashur representing Malchijah, (see Neh. xi. 12), while here are twenty-two families. The answer is suggested by Keil that those four represent grand families (and not the four priestly orders) and these represent an inferior division into twenty-two, two of the names, Jedaiah and Harim, being accidentally the same with two of the four. I know not, however, why the four courses or orders may not be intended in ch. vii. 39-42 and the twenty-two families belong to these four. Keil's reasoning seems defective.

Ver. 7. **And of their brethren.**—This does not refer to the Levites, for they are especially mentioned immediately afterward. It is a phrase in apposition, thus "chief of the priests, namely, their brethren."

**Jeshua** or Joshua, the high-priest at the return from Babylon under Cyrus (B. C. 536), nearly a hundred years before.

Ver. 8. We have already shown that the identity of names here with those in ch. x. is accidental. See notes on ch. x. 1-13, and the first note in this chapter. Hence the identification of Judah, Mattaniah and Bakbukiah with Hodijah (ch. x. 10), Mattaniah of ch. xi. 17, and Bakbukiah of ver. 25 (which identification Keil suggests) is an error, as these last three were men of Nehemiah's time (see ver. 26), while the first three were of Jeshua's day, (see vers. 1, 7).

This Mattaniah and his brethren were **over the thanksgiving** (*'al huyyedoth*) in Jeshua's day. The Mattaniah of ch. xi. 17 was "the principal to begin the thanksgiving in prayer" (*rosh hat-tehillah yehodheh lat-tephillah*) in Nehemiah's day. The phrases are not identical. One refers to several men, the other to one.

Ver. 9. Bakbukiah and Unni were chiefs of the Levitical relays, who, in Jeshua's day, kept the watches over against the Levites commissioned to sing the thanksgivings. *Mishmar* must mean a watch or guard, even in ch. xiii. 14 and in Ezek. xxxviii. 7.

Vers. 10, 11. The pedigree of the high-priests from Zerubbabel's time to the time of Alexander the Great, *i. e.*, from B. C. 536 to B. C. 332. As Nehemiah's government of Jerusalem was B. C. 445–434, we have this genealogy carried a century beyond him by a later hand. **Jonathan** is evidently a mistake in transcription for *Johanan*, as in vers. 22 and 23.

Vers. 12–21. A list of the representatives in Joiakim's day of the priestly houses whose names are obtained from those chiefs of the priests who came with Zerubbabel, as given in vers. 1-7.

**Melicu** = *Malluch*. *Hattush* is omitted (see ver. 2). **Shebaniah** = *Shechaniah*. **Harim** = *Rehum*. **Meraioth** = *Meremoth*. **Miniamin** = *Miamin*. Miniamin's representative is omitted,—dropped accidentally in transcription. **Sallai** = *Sallu*. These changes in a list evidently intended to be a copy of one immediately preceding form a good instance of the uncertainty of names in these old genealogical registers.

Vers. 22, 23. An interjected statement by the later hand. The Levites were regularly to the time of Alexander the Great recorded by the names of their chiefs, and the priests also, that is, to the reign of Darius (Codomannus). But the book of the Chronicles (1 Chron. ix.) only contained their names to Johanan's high-priesthood. That is, probably in Jaddua's time the record was no longer engrossed. Keil's effort to make these verses refer to Nehemiah's time as the ultimate is ingenious but forced. The days of Johanan and the days of Jaddua cannot mean the days in which they were living as young men or boys, but the days of their active high-priesthood. Hence the Darius is not Nothus, but Codomannus.

Vers. 23–26. The Levites in Joiakim's day and in Nehemiah's time. **Hashabiah** = Hashabniah in ch. ix. 5.

**Sherebiah** (see ch. ix. 5). **Jeshua, the son of Kadmiel.** See ch. ix. 4, where *Jeshua and Bani and Kadmiel* is probably for "Jeshua ben Kadmiel." These were leaders of the singing Levites.

**Mattaniah** is put probably by mistake among the porters. He was a singer. (see ch. xi. 17). The same remark may be made of Bakbukiah and Obadiah (Abda). See, as before, ch. xi. 17.

**Meshullam** is *Shallum* in 1 Chron. ix. 17. **Porters keeping the ward at the treasuries of the gates.**—See 1 Chron. xxvi. 15, 17. These were the store-chambers attached to the various gates, inner and outer, belonging to the temple.

Ver. 26. Joiakim was probably high-priest when Ezra arrived at Jerusalem, Eliashib his son soon succeeding.

Ver. 27. The preliminary statements regarding the priests and Levites being ended, here begins the account of the dedication of the walls. **Out of all their places,** for the Levites were scattered throughout the province (see ch. xi. 8). **To keep the dedication with gladness.**—Instead of supposing a preposition wanting, we may take *sim'hah* as a concrete and read *to keep the dedication and festivity.*

**Psalteries** and **harps** differed but slightly from one another. The *nebel* or psaltery had more strings than the *kinnor* or harp. They both rather resembled our guitar than our harp.

Ver. 28. **The sons of the singers.**—Heb. *Benê hamshorerim.* That is the guild or company of singers of the three great Levitical families of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun. **The plain country round about Jerusalem.**—Heb. *hakkikkar sevivoth yerushalayim.* There is no plain country round about Jerusalem. The *kikkar* must here be simply "circuit" (περίχωρος). Compare ver. 29.

If *kikkar* is to have here its specific meaning of "the valley of Jordan" (as Keil insists), then we must insert *umin 'hatzrê* between *hakkikkar* and *sevivoth* (for an omission likely to happen) and read "the valley of Jordan and from the villages round about Jerusalem." The idea that the valley of Jordan at Jericho could be said to be *sevivoth yerushalayim* (round about Jerusalem) is absurd.

**Netophathi,** the gentile noun without article, seems to be for *Netophah,* a place near Bethlehem (ch. vii. 26). Beit Netif, which is fourteen miles west of Bethlehem, seems too far off.

Ver. 29. **And from the house of Gilgal.**—Rather, *and from Beth-haggilgal* or Beth-Gilgal. Although we should look for a Jiljilia or a Beit-Jiljilia for the modern name of this place, yet as no such name occurs near Jerusalem, we may suppose Beit-Jala close to Bethlehem to be the modern representative.

**Geba** is now Jeba, six or seven miles north of Jerusalem. **Azmaveth** is not identified.

Ver. 30. The purification of priests, Levites, people, gates and wall was accomplished, doubtless, by a series of prescribed sacrifices.

Ver. 31. Read literally, *appointed two great thanksgivings, i. e.,* two great thanksgiving-companies. Perhaps the *thodhoth* in ver. 27 has this concrete meaning.

**Judah** is used in this verse for the whole people of Israel.

**Whereof one went on the right hand.**—Literally, *and processions on the right hand.* The whole passage should read, *and appointed two thanksgiving-companies and processions. On the right hand, etc.* (i. e., the one on the right hand).

Although it is not mentioned, yet it is clear that the two processions started at the valley-gate, the same at which Nehemiah had started to examine the ruined walls of the city on his arrival (chap. ii. 13). The valley-gate was at or south of the present Jaffa Gate (see on chap. ii. 13). **Dung-gate.**—(See l. c.)

Vers. 32–34. There followed the one thanksgiving company of Levites to the right (*i. e.,* to the South) one-half the princes of Judah (*i. e.,* chiefs of the entire Jewish people) with Hoshaiah at their head. The names in vers. 33 and 34 are the names of these princes. The names of Judah and Benjamin are not the tribal names.

Ver. 35. **And certain of the priests' sons with trumpets.**—This should close a section, as the names that follow are not of priests but of Levites. The priests' names have probably dropped out. In the corresponding list of the other procession the priests' names are given (see ver. 41). **Priests' Sons,** *i. e.,* sons of the priests, *i. e.,* priests.

**Zechariah,** an Asaphite, is leader of those who bear the Davidic instruments of music.

Ver. 36. Zechariah had eight with him, as Jezrahiah had eight with him in the other band (see ver. 42).

**Ezra the scribe** went before all except the thanksgiving-company of ver. 31, just as Nehemiah took this position in the other band (see vers. 38, 40).

Ver. 37. **The fountain-gate** we believe to have been near the pool of Siloam, and **the water-gate** to have been an interior gate not far from the present south wall of the Haram. (See for these and the stairs of the city of David the notes on ch. iii. 15, 26; also see Excur.). We may read this verse, *and over the fountain gate and in front of them they went up over the stairs of the city of David at the going up of the wall above the house of David even unto the water-gate eastward.* We explain this description thus; that the procession kept along the south wall of Zion until it reached a point on the descent of that wall over against the fountain-gate and the pool of Siloam. There it would be *over the fountain-gate.* At this point it turned north ("in front of them"), leaving the main wall and passing up over the line of the great stairs that led up to the city of David (Zion), where an inner wall ran up and along the eastern crest of Zion. This inner wall had a place called *Beth-David* below it on the side of the Tyropœon valley. (Or if *me'al* be translated "past," then the Beth-David may be placed above). The procession would thus pass along Zion's eastern front and cross over to Ophel and the water gate at a point where the Tyropœon was not so deep and broad.

Ver. 38. **And the other company of them that gave thanks.** (See on ver. 31).

Read *and the second thanksgiving company which*

*went in the opposite direction, and which I followed and half the people* (went) *upon the wall past the tower of the furnaces even to the broad wall.* By "the people" are meant those who formed the procession, not the people at large. The Heb. *me'al* here when used before "the tower of the furnaces" must mean "past." We cannot conceive the procession's passing over a tower. (See note on ver. 37, where the phrase "above the house of David" occurs). For "the tower of the furnaces" and "the broad wall," see on ch. ii. 8, 11. Also see Excursus.

Ver. 39. **The gate of Ephraim** must have been at the north-eastern extremity of the broad wall. **The prison gate** was on the north side of the temple, not connected with the palace prison of Jer. xxxii. 2. See Excursus. (For the other localities here mentioned, see on chap. ii. and Excursus.)

Vers. 40-42. The latter part of ver. 40 and verses 41 and 42 belong before the former part of ver. 40. There may have been an error of transcription, or it may be a roughness of rhetoric.

Comp. ver. 41 with the first part of ver. 35, and verse 42 with vers. 35 and 36.

Ver. 43. **Great sacrifices,** *i. e.,* thank-offerings which were eaten by the offerers in a happy feast, after "the food of the offering made by fire unto the Lord" (Lev. iii.)

Ver. 44.* **At that time.**—Evidently the time of the dedication. **Some.**—Heb. "men." **The treasures** (or stores) comprised the three sorts enumerated, to wit, the first-fruits, the tithes, and the free-will offerings. **Out of the fields.**—Rather, *according to the fields.* **The portions of the law,** *i. e. the portions appointed by the law* (as in margin). **For Judah rejoiced for the priests and Levites that waited.**—Rather, *for Judah rejoiced in the priests and Levites who stood at their posts.* The people gladly gave the prescribed offerings for the priests and Levites, so that there was no sense of burden upon them, nor any friction between the Levites and the people.

Ver. 45. **The singers and the porters** formed two important bodies of Levites. They **kept the ward,** that is, performed their appointed duties. The verse is improperly divided in the E. V. It should read, *And they* (the priests and Levites of ver. 44) *kept the ward of their God and the ward of the purification, and so did also the singers and the porters keep their ward.* The priests and Levites attended to their duties of public worship and purifying, and the singers and porters observed their appropriate functions.

Vers. 46, 47. The *wav* before "Asaph" is generally supposed an error, and the verse is read "for in the days of David, Asaph of old was chief." This will explain the singular "chief," (the plural K'ri being unsupported). But still it is difficult to see why Asaph's headship should be mentioned just here. It may be suggested that the Masorites are wrong, and that the 46th and 47th verses (Silluk being removed) should run together, "all Israel" being subject in both, anticipated in ver. 46, from ver. 47, thus: *for in the days of David and Asaph, of old, chief of the singers and songs of praise and thanksgiving unto God,—and all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel and in the days of Nehemiah gave, etc.* From David's day to Nehemiah's the care of Israel for the Levitical singers and porters was marked.

**Sanctified,** *i. e., Brought as consecrated or dedicated.* As in 1 Chron. xxvi. 28.

The Levites brought as dedicated to the priests the *tithe* of that which was dedicated to them. (Num. xviii. 26.)

* The opinion that vers. 44-47 are an insertion by another hand than Nehemiah's is founded on the change from the 1st person to the 3d person, and from the assumption that here is described the same transaction as in ch. xiii. 10-13. The former argument is too weak to trust anywhere. (How would it apply to Ezra ch. vii.?) The latter argument is baseless, for the passage xiii. 10-13 refers to a different event.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Both the Heb. *hanukkah* and the Greek *enkainia* define a "dedication" as the initiation or beginning of a new thing. There is no notion of consecration in the word. There is no grace conferred or new nature implanted. Even in the dedication of the temple, it was only the Lord's miraculous presence which consecrated the place. The dedication of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah and his brethren was simply a joyful religious celebration of the work achieved under the gracious providence of God. The priests indeed purified the walls, but so they purified the people. Everything Jewish was purified; so that this purification is no distinct part of the dedication. The primal element in the dedication was joy, exhibited in music, vocal and instrumental, and in thanksgiving. There was a formal recognition of God's mercy and loving-kindness by the assembled people.

2. The culminating point in the day's observance was certainly when the two processions, after each passing over half the wall, met at the temple and united their praises with new emphasis, while "great sacrifices" were offered on the brazen altar. The high position of the temple would add much to the imposing character of this service.

3. The ministers of religion were not considered as useless, "non-producing" men by the godly Jews. Even the singers were reckoned worthy of a public support. It is a low, materialistic philosophy that cannot see the moral importance of leaders and teachers of religion in a community, and that without them material accumulation will only expedite national destruction.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1-26. It was without doubt a matter of piety that in the time after the exile, they restored more and more the old classes of priests and Levites which had existed before the exile. It was a necessity for the congregation, which deserved all consideration, to have again an equally manifold-numbered, complete equipment for the establishment of the beautiful service of the Lord, as before the exile. It was also for the priests and Levites themselves most important and wholesome that they should find themselves together again in the old divisions, and

should also acknowledge their venerable ancestors as their heads. Who can estimate the blessing there is, when descendants remain conscious that they are preceded by many and ancient ancestors in piety and the service of God, when in families piety too becomes a matter of tradition, when the children know that parents and grandparents have prayed for them, and particularly for their spiritual prosperity, and when they feel themselves called upon by this to pray again in turn for their children and grandchildren. It was an enviable time when in the Christian church likewise there were Aaronic families, when the children received an impulse from the example of parents and ancestors to devote themselves to the service of the word, and when the parents knew no higher joy than to see their children advancing to the same high office which their fathers had occupied. The first condition of a proper, worthy exercise of the office, which shall be rich in blessing, is indeed the pouring out of the Spirit, and the Spirit breathes where He listeth, but even in the Christian church the ordained ways hold an important position by the side of extraordinary ones. In connection with the fact that the number of the priests' classes was about the same as before the exile, Beda's remark is applicable: "*Sic sæpe sancta ecclesia ex detrimentis suis majora recepit incrementa, cum uno per incuriam lapso in peccatum plures exemplo ejus territi ad persistendum in castitate fidei fiunt cautiores. Sæpe idem ipsi, qui peccaverunt, majores post actam pœnitentiam bonorum operum fructus ferre incipiunt, quam ante incursum peccati ferre consuerant. Sæpe ab hæreticis ecclesia vastata, postquam instantia catholicorum doctorum lucem veritatis recepit, plures ad cognoscendam tuendamque rationem recuperantes ejusdem veritatis filios procreavit. Neque enim unquam beati patres Athanasius, Ambrosius, Hilarius, Augustinus, et ceteri tales tot et tam magnificos in sanctam scripturam tractatus conderent, si non contra fidem rectam tam multifarius hæreticorum fuisset error ortus.*"

Vers. 27–43. The feast of dedication. 1. Whose part is it? The congregation's, to which God has anew given protection and power against its enemies, but also the individual believer's, when the Lord has secured to him his position, and has even enclosed it with a wall. 2. How is it to be celebrated? In that we purify ourselves from all that displeases the Lord, that we thankfully consecrate His gifts, that is, put them at His service, that we rejoice in them as a proof of the grace that desires our salvation, and thereby cause our faith to be strengthened, *etc.* 3. What blessing has it? It appropriates thus truly God's gifts to us, and enkindles thus our zeal to honor God with new desire by consecration, devotion, and homage.—BEDA: *Facta autem civitas sancta dedicatur, cum, completo in fine sæculi numero electorum, ecclesia universaliter in cœlis ad visionem sui conditoris introducitur.*—How must the congregation celebrate the feast of dedication? 1. With joyful thanks, that the power and salvation of the Lord has surrounded them as a wall for their protection against the world, and for their separation from the same. 2. With firm trust, that the Lord will still farther protect them. 3. With the sincere vow to hold themselves separate from the world, and to live to the Lord. True joy. 1. Its right, the God who has given us life, wishes also that it shall move joyfully; the God who always anew overwhelms us with favors, wishes that they should fulfil their mission, that is, make us happy, in the end holy. 2. Its occasion is God's grace, which has strengthened, protected, assured, or elevated our lower or higher life. The chief sites in Jerusalem testified to this, and in the Christian church, yes, indeed, in our lives, all the heights testify thereof. 3. Its kind—it raises itself to God, is a joy in Him, that is, becomes a service to God and our neighbor.—BEDE: *Requiruntur et Levitæ spirituales, hoc est, assumpti in sortem regni de omnibus locis suis, quando mittet filius hominis angelos suos et congregabit electos suos a quatuor ventis, a summo terræ usque ad summum cœli. Faciunt illi dedicationem in lætitia, cantico, gratiarum actione, atque in organis musicorum variis, cum in perceptione æternæ vitæ invicem gaudebunt.*—STARKE: Dedications shall take place with praise and thanks, singing and praying, not with sins and wantonness. That should be the delight and joy of our hearts when we see that the city of God, that is, the Christian church, is protected by God within by the defence of faithful authorities. (Ps. lviii. 2.) Christian joy, at the proper time, does not displease God.

Vers. 44–47. What is also needful: 1. That there should be teachers and servants in the church. 2. That they should perform their service without being hindered in it by lower cares. 3. That the congregation should joyfully supply them with what is necessary for their support.—BEDE: *Hujus autem capituli nobis expositio allegorica in promptu est; quia dominus statuit eos, qui evangelium annuntiant, de evangelio vivere. Sed væ illis sacerdotibus ac ministris sanctorum, qui sumptus quidem cum gaudio debitos sumere a populo delectantur, sed nihil pro ejusdem populi student salute laborare, non aliquid sacri ducatus ei recte vivendo præbere, non de suavitate regni cœlestis ei quippiam dulce prædicando canere, sed nec januam ei supernæ civitatis aperire, municipatum in cœlis habendo, verum potius occludere perverse agendo probantur.*—STARKE: It is God's will and command that with the treasure of the godly word and for the maintenance of the same, we should make a provision that churches, schools, and those who serve in them may be supported. (1 Chr. xxvii. 20; 2 Chr. xxiv. 8; xxxi. 4; xxxiv. 9.)

### CHAP. XIII. 1–30.

1 On that day [of dedication] they read [it was read] in the book of Moses in the
audience [ears] of the people; and therein was found written, that the Ammonite
2 and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever; because
they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but [and] hired Ba-
laam against them, that he should curse them: howbeit [and] our God turned the
3 curse into a blessing. Now [And] it came to pass, when they had heard the law,
that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.

[Events of 12 years' later date].

4 And before this, [in the face of this], Eliashib the priest, having the oversight
of [being set over] the chamber [chambers] of the house of our God *was* allied unto
5 Tobiah: And he had prepared [and he prepared] for him a great chamber, where
aforetime they laid the meat-offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the
tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, which was commanded *to be given* to
6 the Levites, and the singers, and the porters; and the offerings of the priests. But
[and] in all this *time* was not I at Jerusalem; for in the two and thirtieth year of
Artaxerxes, king of Babylon, came I unto the king, and after certain days [at the
7 end of days] obtained I leave of the king: And I came to Jerusalem, and under-
stood of the evil that Eliashib did for Tobiah, in preparing him a chamber in the
8 courts of the house of God. And it grieved me sore: therefore [and] I cast forth
9 all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber. Then [and] I commanded,
and they cleansed the chambers: and thither brought I again the vessels of the
10 house of God, with the meat-offerings and the frankincense. And I perceived that
the portions of the Levites had not been given *them:* for [and] the Levites and the
11 singers, that did the work, were fled every one to his field. Then [and] contended
I with the rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And I gathered
12 them [*i. e*, the Levites and singers] together, and set them in their place. Then
brought all Judah [And all Judah brought] the tithe of the corn and the new wine
13 and the oil unto the treasuries. And I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shele-
miah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and of the Levites, Pedaiah: and next to
them [at their hand] *was* Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah: for they
were counted faithful, and their office was [and it was upon them] to distribute unto
14 their brethren. Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my
good deeds [kindnesses] that I have done for the house of my God, and for the
15 offices thereof. In those days saw I in Judah *some* treading wine-presses on the sab-
bath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; as also [and besides] wine, grapes,
and figs, and all *manner of* burdens, which they brought [and bringing them] into
Jerusalem on the sabbath day: and I testified *against them* in the day wherein they
16 sold victuals. There dwelt men of Tyre also therein [And the Tyrians dwelt
therein], which brought fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto
17 the children of Judah, and in Jerusalem. Then [And] I contended with the nobles
of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the
18 sabbath day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil
upon us, and upon this city? yet [and] ye bring more wrath upon Israel by pro-
19 faning the sabbath. And it came to pass that when the gates of Jerusalem began
to be dark [were shaded] before the sabbath, I commanded that the gates should be
shut [and the gates were shut], and charged [commanded] that they should not be
opened till after the sabbath, and *some* of my servants set I at the gates, *that* there
20 should no burden be brought in on the sabbath day. So [and] the merchants and
21 sellers of all kinds of ware lodged without Jerusalem once or [and] twice. Then

[and] I testified against them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye about [before] the
wall? if ye do *so* again, I will lay hands on you. From that time forth came they no
22 *more* on the sabbath. And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse them-
selves, and *that* they should come *and* keep the gates, to sanctify the sabbath day.
Remember me, O my God, *concerning* this also, and spare [pity] me according to
the greatness [abundance] of thy mercy.
23 In those days saw I also [the] Jews *that* had married [carried to dwell *with them*]
24 wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, *and* of Moab: and their children spake half in the
speech of Ashdod (and could not speak [were not acquainted with speaking] in the
Jews' language), but [and] according to the language [tongue] of each people [of
25 people and people]. And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote
certain [men] of them, and plucked off [tore out] their hair, and made them swear
by God, *saying*, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their
26 daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves. Did not Solomon, king of Israel, sin
by these things? yet [and] among many nations was there no king like him, who
[and he] was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all Israel: never-
27 theless even him did outlandish [foreign] women cause to sin. Shall we then [and
shall we] hearken unto you to do [hear that ye do] all this great evil, to transgress
28 against our God in marrying [carrying to dwell *with us*] strange wives? And *one*
of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high-priest *was* son-in-law to Sanbal-
29 lat the Horonite; therefore [and] I chased him from me. Remember them, O
God, because they have defiled [on account of the defilings of] the priesthood, and
30 the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites. Thus cleansed I [And I
cleansed] them from all strangers, and appointed the wards of the priests and the
Levites, every one in his business; and for the wood-offering, at times appointed,
and for the first-fruits. Remember me, O God, for good.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 6. נִשְׁאַלְתִּי. The lexicographers interpret this Niphal as Kal. But both here and in 1 Sam. xx. 6, 28 (the only places where the Niph. occurs), the meaning "to receive permission" seems to be necessary. It would be a quasi passive of the Kal meaning.

[2] Ver. 19. אֲשֶׁר omitted before לֹא־יָבוֹא.

[3] Ver. 22. שֹׁמְרִים. Wav omitted. Yet we may read "come *as* keepers of the gates."

[4] Ver. 24. וּבְנֵיהֶם stands absolutely, for מְדַבֵּר being singular takes חֲצִי as its nominative.

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Ver. 1. **On that day**, *i. e.* the day of dedication of the walls, as in xii. 43, 44.

The part of the law which forbade mingling with the other nations was specially read on the dedication-day. Deut. xxiii. 3 would naturally be read, as also Deut. vii. 1–6. The reference to the former passage here uses the words *adh olam* (forever), which are not found alone in Deuteronomy. There it reads: "Even to their tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord *forever*," where the "forever" seems to signify the perpetuity of this ordinance, and not the perpetuity of their exclusion. It is quoted here in brief, without any design to change the meaning. No Moabite or Ammonite family could be admitted to the privileges of Jewry until in the tenth generation after quitting heathenism and formally allying itself with Israel.

Ver. 2. The reference to Deut. xxiii. 3–5 continues through this verse, the passage being condensed throughout. In the Heb. we have the singular, *he hired* (*i. e.* Balak) as in Deut. xxiii. 4.

Ver. 3. The result of this reading was a careful exclusion of the mixed multitude (*erev*) from Israel. This was a different act from that of the 24th of Tisri. Then Israel separated itself *from the strangers*. Now they separate the *erev from Israel*. The former was a withdrawal; this an expulsion. For *erev*, see Ex. xii. 38.

*Nehemiah's Reform Movement on his Return to Jerusalem.*

Ver. 4. **Before this.**—This should be "in the presence of this" (*in conspectu ejus*), with the circumstantial and not the temporal signification of *liphne mizzeh*. For Eliashib's evil conduct occurred while Nehemiah was away on his visit to Susa in Artaxerxes' thirty-second year, and *not before* the dedication-day. The meaning is, that Eliashib, the high-priest, notwithstanding all this reform wrought by Nehemiah in Artaxerxes' twentieth year, *in the face of it all*, dared, twelve years after, when Nehemiah was far away, to introduce Tobiah into the courts of the temple.

Nehemiah closes his record with a brief sketch of a new reform movement which he had to make twelve years later, owing to a long absence from Jerusalem at the Persian Court, in which

time evil men had sought to undo his former work.

Between ver. 3 and ver. 4 we have therefore a gap of twelve years in the chronology.

We have no reason to suppose that Eliashib allied himself with Tobiah or (through his grandson) with Sanballat until this season of Nehemiah's absence, when Eliashib may have supposed that he would never return.

Nehemiah in all probability did not write this book of his doings at Jerusalem till late in life, when his second visit to Jerusalem was a thing of the past, as well as his first visit.

**Eliashib, the priest** (*i. e.* the high-priest), **having the oversight of the chamber of the house of our God.**—The participle is *being set over* (as in the margin). The "chamber" (*lishcah*) is used collectively for the "chambers." As high-priest, he would have control of all the various buildings in the temple-courts where the treasures of corn, oil and wine were preserved.

**Was allied to Tobiah.**—In what way we know not. *Karov letoviyyah.* A predicate adjective after so long a sentence, not in apposition ("being allied"), but as in E. V. a distinct assertion ("was allied"). A new fact is stated, and we are led to believe that this alliance marked a fearful period of falling away, after Nehemiah had turned his back. If it had existed before, we should have had mention made of it.

Ver. 5. A second fact in the miserable business. The high-priest prepared for Tobiah a great chamber, probably by knocking many into one (see ver. 9), in which Tobiah resided when at Jerusalem (see ver. 8). This desecration Eliashib may have defended on the score of Tobiah being by blood a Jew (see on ch. ii. 10), and the necessity of keeping on good terms with the influential men of the surrounding provinces.

These chambers had held all the unbloody sacrificial offerings and the tithes.

The Levites are distinguished from the singers and porters, although the singers and porters were Levites. So, on the other hand, the Levites are distinguished from the priests, although the priests were Levites. The Levites, as here designated, were those engaged in the more immediate sacrificial services, in attendance on the priests.

Ver. 6. **In the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes, king of Babylon,** *i. e.* in B. C. 434–3. Probably the "time set" by Nehemiah and approved by the king (ch. ii. 6) was twelve years. At the expiration of this term he was obliged to leave the superintendence of affairs at Jerusalem and return to the court. Artaxerxes is called "king of Babylon," instead of "king of Persia," probably because at this time of Nehemiah's return the court was removed to Babylon for some special state reason.

**After certain days.**—Lit. *at the end of days*, a very general expression, and may here mean several years.

**Obtained I leave,** to wit, to return to Jerusalem.

Ver. 8. This decided action shows that Nehemiah returned with full powers from the Court.

Ver. 9. **The chambers.** See on ver. 5. The tithes are omitted in the enumeration, because, as we see by the next verse, the people had ceased paying tithes, and hence there were none to put in the store-chambers.

Ver. 10. **For the Levites,** *etc.*, **were fled.** Rather: *and the Levites, etc., were fled.* They fled to their own fields to work for their living, because their tithes were withheld. Their own fields were those belonging to the Levitical cities.—**The singers, that did the work,** is a pregnant phrase for "the singers *and porters* who performed service."

Ver. 11. **The rulers** (*seganim*). The Pers. word does not necessarily refer to rulers set over the people by the Persians, although it may include such, but extends to all who might exercise authority by birth, election or otherwise. The Pers. word is used as a familiar term for magistrates.

**Set them in their place.**—That is, *put the Levites back into their positions.*

Ver. 12. **Unto the treasuries** (or storehouses). Or *for stores.*

Ver. 13. **I made treasurers.**—The Hiphil of *Atzar*, "to store." Lit.: "I caused to store over the store-houses." That is: "I placed men over the store-houses, whom I caused to store the stores in them."

**Shelemiah.**—See ch. iii. 30.

**Zadok.**—See ch. iii. 29.

**Pedaiah.**—See ch. iii. 25 and ch. viii. 4.

**Next to them.**—Lit. *at their hand*, as their assistant.

Ver. 14. This prayer is not one of self-glorification, but of faith in God's truth. A man who knows he is doing right in the sight of God can say so to God without presumption. It is a testimony of God's grace, and he can rejoice in it.

Ver. 15. **In those days** of my return to Jerusalem. The Sabbath had become desecrated in Nehemiah's absence, so that in some cases the works of the farm were wrought on that day, and produce brought to Jerusalem, and there sold on the Sabbath.

Ver. 16. Tyrian traders in fish and other products were plying their trade in the city on the Sabbath.

Ver. 17. **The nobles** (*horim*), not the "rulers" of ver. 11, but the higher classes generally.

Ver. 18. See Jer. xvii. 20–27.

Ver. 19. **When the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the Sabbath.**—This seems to show that the day among the Jews did not begin at sunset. For here *after sunset when it began to be dark*, it was *before the Sabbath.* Only a special Sabbath was counted from the evening before. See Lev. xxiii. 32.

Ver. 20. **The merchants,** or *traffickers.*—On arriving with their wares, according to their wont, they find the gates shut, and are obliged to pass the night outside the walls until the Sabbath is over.

Ver. 21. When this hint was not enough, Nehemiah sends them word that if they make their appearance again before the gates on the Sabbath to lodge there, they will be arrested. This broke up the evil.

Ver. 22. **Cleanse themselves**, as for a holy service, and so guard the Sabbath by guarding the gates. For the prayer, see on ver. 14.

Ver. 23. **In those days** of my return from Jerusalem. As at ver. 15.

**Jews that had married.**—With the article, *the Jews that had married.* As the children's speech was affected, these Jews must have lived on the outskirts of the Jewish province near the Philistines, Ammonites and Moabites. For children will always know the prevailing language of a district. **Ashdod** seems to stand for all Philistia, at this time probably the most conspicuous Philistine town.

Ver. 24. **And could not speak in the Jews' language.**—A parenthetical phrase.—The succeeding "but" should be "and."—**Of each people**, *i. e.* Ammon and Moab.

Ver. 25. Here is described the action not of a private man in his ungovernable rage, but of a public officer in the faithful use of his power. Notice the word **contended**. In ver. 11 Nehemiah contends with the rulers regarding the neglect of the tithes; in ver. 17, he contends with the nobles regarding the profanation of the Sabbath, and here he contends with the Jews who had married heathen wives for this open disregard of the law.

Ver. 26. **Beloved of his God.**—Comp. 2 Sam. xii. 24. This does not imply saving grace on God's part or holiness on Solomon's part. It only denotes special favor and privilege. Compare Mark x. 21.

**Outlandish**, *i. e* foreign.

Ver. 27. **Shall we then hearken unto you to do**, *etc.* (*welakhem hanishma laasoth*).—Lit.: *And for you is it heard to do, etc.*, *i. e.* "do we hear that you do all this great evil?"

Although it is not stated expressly, it is implied in ver. 30, that Nehemiah insisted on a separation from the "outlandish" wives, as did Ezra many years before (Ezra x. 3).

Ver. 28. Finding that Eliashib's grandson had married Sanballat's daughter, Nehemiah makes a public example of so glaring a case of defiance to the law, for here the special sanctity of the priesthood was desecrated (Lev. xxi. 6–8).

**I chased him from me** (*abrihehu me alai*). Lit.: "I made him flee from off me." Nehemiah forced him to leave Jerusalem, and be no longer a burden to his government.

Ver. 29. The covenant of the priesthood and of the Levites was, first, the general covenant with the tribes as Israel's teachers and God's special servants (Deut. xxxiii. 8–11), and, second the special covenant of priesthood (Lev. xxi. 6–8).

Ver. 30. **Thus cleansed I them from all strangers** —The irregularities regarding tithes, the Sabbath, and the marriages were all attributable to connection with strangers. When this was stopped, the careful ordering of the priestly and Levitical work was made easy, which had all been disarranged and much neglected in Nehemiah's absence.

Ver. 31. The **wood-offering** (see on ch. x. 34) and the **first-fruits** are mentioned for all the offerings, as those most apt to be neglected.

**Remember me, O my God, for good.**—See on ver. 14.

### HISTORICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The severe exclusion of the Moabite and Ammonite was an enacted token against sin. Even these blood relations of Israel were to be kept away as polluted, because they showed no sympathy with Israel, and made a deliberate and vile attempt to plunge Israel into sin. A permanent horror was to be erected between Israel and these monsters of iniquity. The key to many of the stern Mosaic statutes is to be found in the necessity of holding up the heinousness of sin, which men are ever ready to make light of. (See the exegetical commentary for an explanation of this statute.)

2. The lapse of Israel on Nehemiah's return to Persia throws into clear light the immense work which Nehemiah had wrought, and the remarkable power of the man. His influence had worked the reform and had upheld it, and when his presence was removed the structure at once began to crack and crumble. A generation later Malachi lamented over the spiritual waste that Judah presented. Great as Nehemiah was, he could not make healthy the diseased body of Jewry. He could only, by the force of his character, rouse the people to a decent semblance of righteousness. And yet, while he was powerless to renew the nation, we may believe that his influence ran down private channels in families and humble houses to the very time of the Messiah, making green lines of spiritual growth amid the arid desert of Judaism.

3. Ezra had effected a reform a dozen years before Nehemiah came to Judah. He had separated the Jews from the heathen people, and in this reform had forced the highest in the land to dissolve their wicked matrimonial alliances. The book of Ezra concludes with this statement. When Nehemiah arrived there was a new separation from strangers effected. (Ch. ix. 2.) Whether the mingling with the heathen had again amounted to marriage alliances we may not say. It may have only involved mercantile partnerships. A dozen years later again on Nehemiah's second visit, there is a necessity for a most stern application of Nehemiah's personal and official power to cure the same old evil, which seems to have been bolder than ever.

4. There are times when good men must assume great severity of manner and allow a holy indignation to fire their souls. Gentleness of style before barefaced villany is weakness and inefficiency. Had Nehemiah acted with a soft and effeminate method, the offenders would have laughed at him. God loves to guide with His eye, but sometimes He uses the thunderbolt.

### HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 1–3. The duty of the church to purify itself constantly anew. 1. In regard to those with whom they assimilate themselves; in the Old Testament, in regard to the Ammonites, *etc.*, not on account of their nationality, but on account of their ways; in the church, in regard to those who not only go astray, but also who will

not allow themselves to be bettered, and who thus exclude themselves. 2. Whereon it grounds itself; not only on the right of self-preservation, but also upon God's word. 3. What it aims at; namely, that the church set forth more and more what it should be as Christ's spotless bride.

STARKE: One cannot read or preach God's Word too often, for one always finds something which one had not noticed or known before.

What God has commanded one must perform, even though it may seem hard to us, and we may draw upon us the enmity of others in its performance.

Vers. 4–9. The sanctity of holy places. 1. That upon which it is grounded; in the Old Testament, upon the fact that God had connected His peculiar presence with the temple; in the Christian dispensation, upon the fact that God's honor dwells in the churches, that is, is cherished there. 2. What it binds us to; to uphold the churches in a condition corresponding to their aim, or where they are lacking to restore them in a worthy manner. 3. What blessing it has for us; it reminds us of the holiness, the majesty and the glory of our God, and fosters our regard therefor; it works frequently by elevating and edifying, whereas an unworthy desecration of churches only promotes the crudity from which it has sprung. BEDE: *Et tu quidquid inter fideles infidelitatis et immunditiæ reperis continuo projice foras, ut immundatis credentium cordibus, quæ sunt gazophylacia Domini, cum virtutum fuerint plena divitiis, vasa Domini inferantur; hoc est, illa ipsa corda quæ paullo ante vasa erroris fuerant per culpam denuo vasa Domini fiant per correctionem; ibiqua sacrificium bonæ operationis et thus puræ orationis, ubi pridem spelunca erat latronum, inveniatur.*

Vers. 30, 31. The retrospect of a servant of God upon his life and his usefulness. 1. It elevates him, because God's grace was with him, and made him worthy to engage in the cause of God and the salvation of mankind. 2. It humbles him, because he was so unworthy of this grace, and moreover because he has fallen so far short of what he might have been able to accomplish through its means. 3. It drives him to prayer, that God would also be merciful to him at the last for Christ's sake, whose righteousness is also his.

# EXCURSUS ON THE GATES, ETC.

1. **The Sheep-Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַצֹּאן. LXX. ἡ πύλη ἡ προβατική. It is mentioned in Neh. iii. 1, 32, and xii. 39. It is probably the same as ἡ προβατική of John v. 2. In Nehemiah it is mentioned as near to the tower of Meah, and that is near the tower of Hananeel. From the fact that it seems to have had no locks and bars (see Neh. iii. 1, and comp. iii. 3, 6, 13, 14, 15), we conjecture that it led directly into the temple-precinct, where a Levitical guard was always present in place of locks and bars. Its name was doubtless given because through it the flocks were driven for the sacrifices, or because they were kept in pens by this gate. The present St. Stephen's gate is usually supposed to mark the site of the sheep-gate, and if so, the Bethesda pool (John v. 2) would be the Birket Israil, which is now satisfactorily proved not to be a moat. Eusebius describes Bethesda as *two pools*, and the Bordeaux pilgrim (about the same time) speaks of it as *twin fish-pools*. The Birket Israil may have been divided into two by a transverse wall in their day, or they may have counted the Birket Hammam Sitti Mariam, just north of the St. Stephen's gate and outside the walls, as one of the two pools; or, again, they may have intended by Bethesda the twin-pools under the convent of the Sisters of Sion near the north-west corner of the Haram, the position defended by Mr. Geo. Williams. The account in Nehemiah makes it necessary to place the sheep-gate *somewhere* in the region of the St. Stephen's gate; but if our argument concerning the absence of locks and bars is worth anything, we must put the gate to the south of Birket Israil. To add to this necessity, we may doubt if the city wall extended further north than the temple-precinct corner, until long after Nehemiah's day, when Agrippa built the third wall. If the Fountain of the Virgin is Bethesda, as Dr. Robinson thinks, then the προβατική of John v. 2 is another gate than that of Nehemiah, situated on Ophel.

On the whole, we are inclined to place the Sheep-Gate in the *north* wall of the temple-precinct, and in close neighborhood to the Birket Israil. In that case the two towers of Meah and Hananeel would be parts of the old Baris or fortification north of the temple, which afterward became altered and enlarged into Antonia.

2. **The Fish-Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים.—LXX. ἡ πύλη ἡ ἰχθυηρά (ἰχθυρά, xii. 39: ἰχθυϊκά, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; in Zeph. i. 10, it is πύλη ἀποκεντούντων, *gate of the stabbers*, probably הרגים being read for הדגים). It is mentioned in *ll. cc.* It was between the sheep-gate and the old gate, as we see from the Nehemiah passages. The Zephaniah passage does not help us. The passage in 2 Chronicles seems to describe the building of the second wall (comp. Joseph. v. 4, 2) by Manasseh ("on the west to Gihon in the valley, and *on the east* to the entering in at the fish-gate"). If so, it would put the fish-gate

near the Baris, where that wall ended (Jos. *l. c.*).

8. **The Old Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַיְשָׁנָה. LXX. ἡ πύλη Ἰασαναί. Keil insists that הַיְשָׁנָה is genitive, and follows Arnold in supplying חוֹמָה, thus calling it "the gate of the old wall." Schultz says: "the gate of the old town." If we take it as a genitive, it may be "the gate of Jeshanah," a name given because the road through it led to Jeshanah in Ephraim (2 Chron. xiii. 19), mentioned by Joseph. Antiq. 8, 11, 8, and 14, 15, 12. The LXX. seem to have taken this view. But it need not be a genitive, as we have in Is. xiv. 31 הֵילִילִי שַׁעַר (the שַׁעַר being treated as feminine) and שַׁעַר הַפְּנִימִית (Ezek. viii. 3).

We are inclined to identify this gate with the "corner gate" of Zech. xiv. 10 and Jer. xxxi. 38 (שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה or שַׁעַר הַפִּנִּים), and so to let it mark the north-east corner of the city-wall. The cited passages in Zechariah and Jeremiah seem to put the gate in relation with the tower of Hananeel. If the Fish-gate were close to that tower, then it would be very natural to mention the Old Gate or Corner Gate next to the tower, in describing a section of the wall. In 2 Kings xiv. 13 the "corner gate" is only four hundred cubits from the gate of Ephraim, but in which direction we cannot tell. If eastward, then it was very likely the same as the Old Gate; but if westward, then the gate of Ephraim, and the corner-gate may be unmentioned in Nehemiah's account of the rebuilding, because belonging to the undestroyed portion of the wall on the western end of the north wall, which part many suppose is the "broad wall" of Nehemiah. Of course in this case, the corner gate and the old gate are different gates. We can, at any rate, quite confidently claim that the corner-gate was at either the north-east or the north-west corner of the city.

4. **The Valley-Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַגַּיְא—LXX. ἡ πύλη τῆς φάραγγος. In ch. ii. 13 ἡ πύλη τοῦ Γωληλὰ (by joining גַּיְא and לַיְלָה as one word). This gate (mentioned in ch. ii. 13, 15; iii. 13; 2 Chron. xxvi. 9) was evidently north of the dragon-well (עֵין הַתַּנִּין), wherever that was. If the Birket Sultan is the Dragon well (which is very doubtful), we may put the valley gate about a thousand feet south of the present Jaffa Gate. The "tower of the furnaces" would correspond to the north-east tower of the present citadel, perhaps is identical with this very ancient piece of masonry. It does not seem possible by any scheme to identify the valley-gate with the Gate Gennath of Josephus, for that must have been east of the western starting-point of the first wall, where the name of valley-gate would have been a misnomer. If the valley-gate were just north of the northern end of the Birket Sultan, the Dung-gate would come exactly at the southern extremity of Zion, over the deep ravine of Hinnom. The name of valley-gate was doubtless derived from the broad and deep Wady er Rababi (Hinnom), out to which it led.

The most natural point for a gate on this side the city is where the present Jaffa Gate is. If we put the Valley-gate there, then the Dung-gate will come opposite the Birket Sultan.

5. **The Dung-Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת. In Neh. iii. 13, שַׁעַר הַשְּׁפֹת. LXX. ἡ πύλη τῆς κοπρίας. The Heb. is not so strong a word as the Greek, and may be rendered *Rubbish-gate.** This gate was a thousand cubits from the Valley-gate (ch. iii. 13). The extreme southern point of Zion would be a very natural place, from which to empty rubbish down into the deep valley below. Here we might place the Dung-gate, making it the same as the (later) Gate of the Essenes. With Robinson, we would consider the *Bethso* of Josephus the Heb. בֵּית צוֹאָה or Dung-place. The Dung-gate, however, must be opposite the Birket Sultan, if the Valley-gate is placed at the present Jaffa Gate. See the preceding note.

6. **The Fountain-gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הָעַיִן. LXX. ἡ πύλη τῆς πηγῆς. In Neh. ii. 14 ἡ πύλη τοῦ Αἰν (untranslated). In Neh. xii. 37 τοῦ αἰνεῖν by a gross error. That this was close to the pool of Siloam (the "King's pool" of ch. ii. 14, the "pool of Siloah by the king's garden," comp. ch. iii. 15), there can be no doubt. In 2 Kings xxv. 4 it is called "the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden." It was a gate down in the Tyropœon Valley, and at a corner, as the expression in 2 Kings xxv. 4 indicates.

7. **The Water-gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַמַּיִם. LXX. ἡ πύλη τοῦ ὕδατος. At this gate one procession halted at the dedication-service, while the other halted at the Prison-gate (ch. xii. 37, 39). This would place the Water-gate at the south of the temple, and the Prison-gate at the north of the temple. They could scarcely have been in the city-wall, but were probably gates leading from the inner temple-enclosure to the outer. The water-gate may have derived its name from its leading to the remarkable cisterns lately discovered by Capt. Warren south of the Haram. It will be noticed that nothing is said of rebuilding either of these gates. We would put the Water-gate at the southern limit of the "mountain of the house," near the present entrance to El-Aksa. This accords with the Talmud, Mid. 2, 6.

8. **The Prison-Gate.**—Heb. שַׁעַר הַמַּטָּרָה. This is referred to in the last section. It was probably the same as the שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד of ch. iii. 31 (*i. e.* gate of visitation of punishment).

If we follow the course of the second dedicative company (ch. xii. 38, 39), we are constrained to put this gate between the sheep-gate and the temple, probably at the north limit of the "mountain of the house." But in ch. iii. 25 we find the "court of the prison" mentioned, as in Jer. xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 1, and xxxvii. 21. This

* [The "east gate" of Jer. xix. 2 is in Heb. שַׁעַר הַחַרְסוּת, which is indicative of either שַׁעַר הַחַרְסוּת or שַׁעַר הַחַרְסִית. If the former be the right reading, then this gate ("the pottery-gate") may very likely be the same as the dung or rubbish-gate.—Tr.]

was attached to the king's palace, and was therefore at the south of the Haram. This prison, into which Jeremiah was cast, was probably the State-prison, while another prison, near the "prison-gate" (whence it derived its name), was a temple-prison, for offenders against the worship.

9. **The Gate of Ephraim.**—Heb. שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם. LXX. ἡ πύλη Ἐφραΐμ. Neh. viii. 16; xii. 39; 2 Kings xiv. 13. This gate was four hundred cubits from the corner-gate (wherever that was), and had an open square near it like that at the water-gate. It was also between the broad wall and the old gate. So much the cited passages show. It doubless derived its name from the fact that the main northern road to the Ephraimite country led through it. For a like reason it may have been called the "gate of Benjamin" (Jer. xxxvii. 13; Zech. xiv. 10), the Benjamite country lying north of the city, and the road through this gate leading to its chief cities. This gate was not rebuilt by Nehemiah, because, probably, it was in the "broad wall" (*i. e.*, as Keil and others hold, in that 400 cubits of wall which Joash broke down, and which Uzziah rebuilt in a stronger manner. 2 Chron. xxvi. 9). It probably coincided with the modern Damascus Gate, at which ancient substructions are found.

10. *The first Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הָרִאשׁוֹן LXX. ἡ πύλη ἡ πρώτη. (Zech. xiv. 10). From this only mention of this gate, we would naturally place it between Benjamin's gate and the corner gate. If the Old Gate and Corner Gate are the same, then we should have to suppose an important gate on the north of the city not elsewhere mentioned. But may not the peculiar phraseology of the Zechariah passage lead us to identify the first gate and the corner gate? The words are "unto *the place of* the first gate unto the corner gate." That may mean "unto the place where the first city gate is, beginning at the north, to wit, unto the corner gate." The adjective "first" seems more appropriate to distinguish one of a series, than to represent the peculiar name of a gate.

11. *The High Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן LXX. ἡ πύλη ἡ ὑψηλή (in Jer. xx. 2, πύλη τοῦ ὑπερῴου: in 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, ἡ πύλη ἡ ἐσωτέρα). The passage in Jeremiah calls this the "high gate of Benjamin by the house of the Lord." "The passage in 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 calls it the 'high gate' of the house of the Lord." In 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, we see that it was between the temple and the palace. Of course, then, it was not a gate of the city wall. It is called "gate of the guard" in 2 Kings xi. 6, 19.

12. *The Inner Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הַפְּנִימִית. (Ezek. viii. 3).

13. *The New Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הֶחָדָשׁ. (Jer. xxxvi. 10).

14. *The Middle Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הַתָּוֶךְ. (Jer. xxxix. 3).

15. *The Gate of Sur or of the foundation.* Heb. שַׁעַר סוּר or שַׁעַר הַיְסוֹד. (2 Kings xi. 6; 2 Chr. xxiii. 5).

16. *The East Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הַמִּזְרָח. (Neh. iii. 29).

17. *The Horse Gate.* Heb. שַׁעַר הַסּוּסִים. (2 Chron. xxiii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 40. Comp. 2 Kings xi. 16).

These six, together with the gates mentioned by Ezekiel in his vision of the temple, are very evidently, like No. 11, gates of inner walls, and do not belong to the circuit of the city fortifications.

18. *The Corner Gate.* See above, under Nos. 8 and 10.

19. *The Gate of Benjamin.* See above under No. 9.

20. *The Gate Miphkad.* See above under No. 8.

21. *The Tower of Meah.*

22. *The Tower of Hananeel.*

These were evidently near one another, and stood between the Sheep Gate and the Fish Gate. We have supposed that they were towers of the special fortification north of the temple, known afterwards as *Baris*, and in Roman times as *Antonia* (Neh. iii. 1; xii. 39; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10).

23. *The Tower of the Furnaces.* Heb. מִגְדַּל הַתַּנּוּרִים. LXX. πύργος τῶν θανουρίμ. The natural point in the circuit for this would be anywhere between the second wall's beginning and the valley gate. What is more likely than the very old N. E. tower of the present citadel (the supposed Hippicus) should be it?

24. *The Broad Wall.* Heb. הַחוֹמָה הָרְחָבָה. LXX. τὸ τεῖχος τὸ πλατύ.

Keil supposes with much probability that this was that four hundred cubits of wall broken down by Joash from the gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate (2 Kings xiv. 13) and afterwards rebuilt of greater breadth by Uzziah.

25. *The stairs that go down from the city of David.* Heb. הַמַּעֲלוֹת הַיּוֹרְדוֹת מֵעִיר דָּוִיד. These, mentioned in Neh. iii. 15, are again referred to in ch. xii. 37. From the latter passage we should gather that the company marched around the wall as far as the neighborhood of the fountain of Siloam, and then left the wall and passed up the stairs to Zion and along Zion's eastern edge till they crossed over to the water-gate at the temple. We suppose, therefore, that these stairs ascended from the king's gardens to his palace, (the Davidian palace) on Zion (ch. xii. 37, "the house of David").

26. *The Sepulchres of David.* Heb. קִבְרֵי דָוִיד. The places of sepulture of David's family were probably near his own palace on Zion. We should place them at the S. E. corner of the present Zion wall. The wall along Ophel is marked by reference to sites on the opposite side of the Tyropœon.

27. *The Pool that was made.* Heb. הַבְּרֵכָה הָעֲשׂוּיָה. This may be the Fountain of the Virgin, about which there has been so much careful work of human hands in the galleries and cisterns connected with it.

28. *The House of the Mighty.*

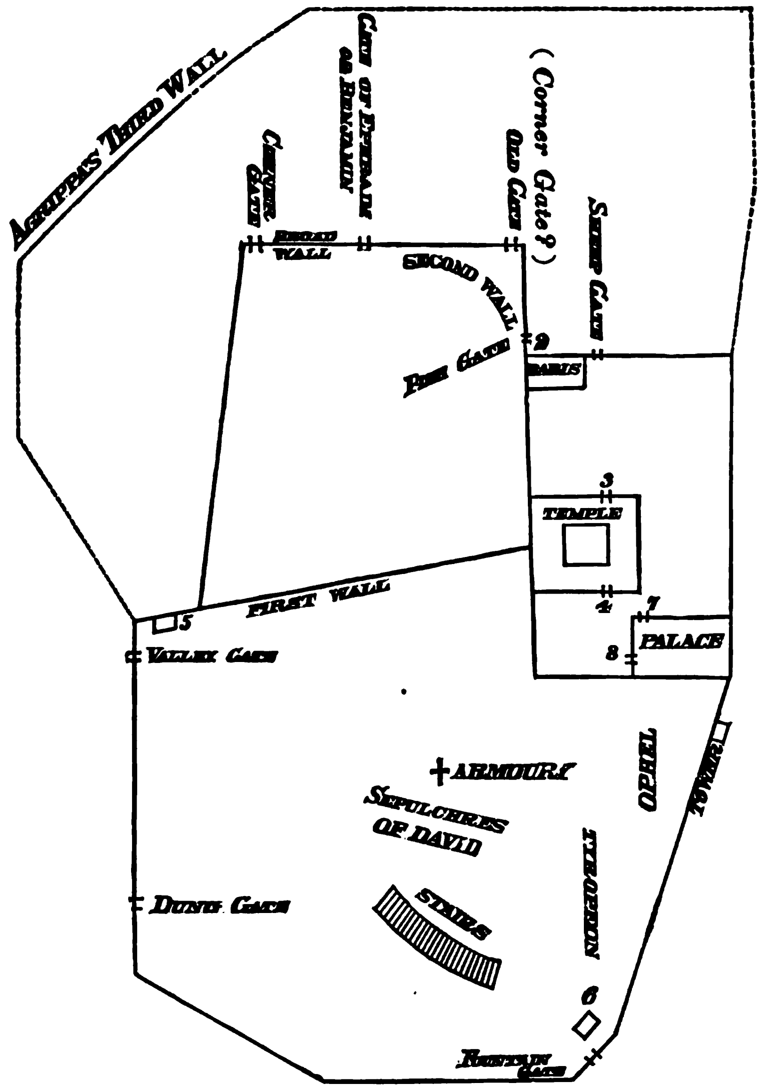
29. *The Armory.*

To these we have no clue. They may have been both on Ophel.

The destruction of the city was so complete by Titus, and then by Hadrian, that the gates of the

later city can be no guide to the position of those of the ancient city. We must depend on the Scriptures and Josephus, with perhaps a little help from Rabbinical tradition. It seems very clear that the main city wall in Nehemiah's day ran directly from the southern brow of Zion over to Siloam, and then northward along Ophel to the S. E. corner of the Haram. On Ophel there may have been an intricacy of wall, by reason of which the topography in the latter part of ch. iii. is very difficult to explain. As Ophel was a fortress, there may have been several angles in the wall there for strategic purposes.

We have given a crude sketch of the walls, gates, *etc.*, as we suppose them to have existed in the days of Nehemiah, as a help to the understanding of the 3d and 12th chapters.




1. Tower of Meah.
2. Tower of Hananeel.
3. Prison Gate (Miphkad).
4. Water Gate.
5. Tower of the Furnaces.
6. Pool of Siloam.
7. Horse Gate.
8. High Gate.

THE END.

# THE BOOK

OF

# ESTHER.

THEOLOGICALLY AND HOMILETICALLY EXPOUNDED,

BY

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# THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. CONTENTS AND COMPOSITION.

THIS book, which in the subscription of many of the old manuscripts of Alexandria (as subjoined to chap. ix. 26) is designated as *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Φουρίμ*, and briefly as אֶסְתֵּר, Ἐσθήρ or as מְגִלַּת אֶסְתֵּר, and by the rabbins is called simply מְגִלָּה [*the roll*], stands peculiar in more than one respect in the Old Testament canon. Compared with the historical books of the Canon, it towers far above them, if we examine its composition—which may be said to be nearly perfect—while it falls behind them, if viewed as to the spirit of its statement. First, then, let us consider its composition. The history which it portrays, appears like a well-planned drama; developing scene after scene in rapid succession, and progressing by fascinating movements, to a consummation which we may compare to the tying of a knot. But when the *ἀκμή* is reached, the solution is also near at hand. There ensues a highly successful and impressive *péripétie*, a sudden turn of fortune, and all difficulties, though seemingly impossible, that stand in the way of a desirable conclusion, are continually and completely overcome as chapter succeeds chapter. The first chapter gives us the introduction to the whole, and the last gives us a supplement. Of the eight main chapters, the first four are devoted to the *tying*, and the last four to the *untying* of the knot. Two out of these eight regularly belong together in the first part, because of the relation of the plot to the counterplot; in the second part, because they refer to the removal of an identical difficulty.

Ahasuerus (Achashverosh), the powerful king of Persia, who has dominion from India to Æthiopia, *i. e.*, over one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, in the third year of his reign prepares a feast for the magnates of his kingdom, which lasts a half year. In this feast he exhibits to his subjects—and thus to the readers of the book likewise—the wealth and magnificence of his kingdom. The reader might readily anticipate the significance of the enmity or friendship of such a ruler with respect to the Jews and the honor accruing to Esther when he selects her as his consort. Neither are we likely to lose sight of the distinction that Mordecai receives by being made his all-powerful representative. When finally the king would parade the beauty of his wife Vashti (Vashthi), she declines to appear before him and his guests, and the consequence is that, by the advice of his seven counsellors he repudiates her. This is the substance of the first chapter; the real point of issue of the history is developed out of the second chapter. Ahasuerus prefers the Jewess Esther, who is to be a substitute for Vashti, before all other virgins. He solemnly elevates her to Vashti's position; at the same time Mordecai, her uncle, from whom her elevation removed her, remains near the court. She does not reveal her Jewish origin, and Mordecai makes the king his debtor by discovering a conspiracy against the life of Ahasuerus. One would think that now better days would dawn upon the Jews in all the lands of Persia (chap. ii.). The first elevation is

followed by a second. Haman, who on account of his name and descent might be called a declared heathen and enemy to Judaism, is by Ahasuerus made his prime minister. Irritated by Mordecai's disrespectful attitude, he procures a decree which, so far as human foresight can predict, must inevitably result in the complete termination of the Jewish name. Haman loses no time in promulgating this decree in all the provinces (chap. iii.). In the fourth chapter we find in consequence that, in the entire Persian domain all who are called Jews are in deep distress, covered with sackcloth and ashes. Conspicuous among them is Mordecai in a mourning suit, standing with loud lamentation at some distance from the king's portal, so as to draw the attention of the female servants and eunuchs of queen Esther. By great exertions he finally succeeds in obtaining her promise that she will dare the utmost for the salvation of her people; and she is even ready to perish in the attempt. She induces him, together with all the Jews in Susa (the palace) to join her and her maids in preparation for the decisive event by a strict fast of three days' duration (chap. iv.). But she is graciously received by her consort, whom she approaches without previous permission; yet she deems it expedient to first invite the king to dine with her once or twice, and this in company with Haman, who is thus even by her highly honored and distinguished. Here although the reader begins to anticipate, that just this distinction will become, in the artfulness of fortune, the beginning of his end, nevertheless Haman himself does not yet perceive it, but puffs himself up, as those often do who are delivered over to the divine judgment, against his mortal enemy Mordecai. Just as he departs from the first of Esther's banquets, in order to go to his home, and by this manifest distinction having become of greater self-importance, and especially having already received a second invitation, it happens that he finds Mordecai again sitting in the gate of the king's palace and still refusing to give him the required homage. After he has taken counsel with his wife and friends, and finds that the only drawback to his great fortune is this disrespect of the hated Jew, he resolves, in order that he may enjoy the happiness and honor of the next banquet without alloy, to remove this proud Mordecai out of his way the very next morning. He causes a gallows fifty cubits high to be constructed, on which, in order that the punishment might be the more terrifying and disgraceful, he would have Mordecai hung. In short, while the Jews themselves are prostrated in mourning, fearing the very worst, nor yet hoping a more fortunate turn of affairs to be brought about by the intercession of Esther, their mortal enemy, purposely and in consequence of Esther's intercession carries his head especially high, thinking that his highest triumph is now near at hand, (chap. v.). But in the succeeding night sleep flees the pillow of the king. In consequence he calls his scribe to read to him from the annals of the kingdom. In these is recorded how Mordecai disclosed the conspiracy against him, thereby saving his life, and precisely this passage is read to him. This occasions the question, how Mordecai had been rewarded for having made himself so greatly deserving of his favor; or rather, since hitherto he had not been rewarded, how or what reward should now be given him? Hence, just as Haman enters in the early morning, with the design of obtaining permission for the execution of Mordecai, he has this question put to him, and an immediate answer is required. As the question is quite general and indefinite, namely, what should be done to a man whom the king would delight to honor; and as no doubt arises in the mind of the self-conceited Haman that his own preference is spoken of, it so happens as the point of culmination of this effective development that, in the same moment in which he expects to annihilate his mortal enemy, he both pronounces his own doom and elevates his enemy to the highest honor. The king forthwith instructs him to carry out his own sentence (chap. vi.). But upon this first blow, which of course naturally falls heavily upon him, and which even to his wife and friends presages his downfall, there follows in the seventh chapter the second. In the second banquet he is boldly confronted by Esther, and Ahasuerus, extremely incensed against him, has him hung on the same gallows which was erected for Mordecai. Thus in chapters vi. and vii. the originator of the danger that threatened the Jews is removed. Now the question remains, whether and how the special regal decree, which ordered the destruction of the Jews, can be made ineffective, in spite of the irrevocableness which it has as the king's decree. Chapter viii. relates how little Mordecai and Esther are content with that which they had

gained in Haman's downfall, and how Esther now entreats the king for her people, and how Mordecai, to whom the king assigns the matter, adopts counter measures, by which the Jews are restored to their rights and protected. Mordecai gave them permission to assemble and defend themselves in the day in which they were to be attacked. Chapter ix. adds how fortunate the Jews were in consequence, as they averted the calamity from themselves and threw it upon their enemies. Indeed they succeeded so well that the day in which they apprehended their destruction, became a day of rejoicing; and Mordecai, as well as Esther, by means of letters and ordinances established this day to be celebrated annually as a day of joy, solemn reflection and memorial. With a view to indicating not only their deliverance, but likewise the elevation and honor, which both Mordecai and Judaism experienced, chapter x. is added as a supplement. There also it is stated how powerful was the sway of Ahasuerus over land and sea, and how Mordecai, still promoting the welfare of his people, was the second in the kingdom. If we briefly condense the whole matter, we have the following summary:—

PART FIRST. The origin and increase of danger to the Jews (chaps. i.—v.).

*Introduction.* The occasion of the history. The State-banquet of Ahasuerus and the rejection of his spouse Vashti (chap. i.).

*First Section.* The rise and meeting of the contrasts (chaps. ii., iii.).
Esther takes the place of Vashti, and Mordecai deserves well of Ahasuerus (chap. ii.).
Haman attains to consequence and power, and irritated by Mordecai, resolves and decrees the destruction of the Jews (chap. iii.).

*Second Section.* The conflict between the contrasts, (chaps. iv., v.).
Mordecai, deeply mourning for his people, urges upon Esther to beseech the king for mercy, and obtains her consent (chap. iv.).
Esther is graciously received by the king. Haman, highly honored by the queen, resolves to have Mordecai hung (chap. v.).

PART SECOND. The removal of the danger (chaps. vi.—x.).

*First Section.* Haman's downfall (chaps. vi., vii.).
Haman, while expecting the highest distinction for himself, is deeply humiliated, in the very act of seeking the destruction of Mordecai, his mortal enemy, by being obliged by his own judgment to concede, and even with his own hand to impart to him the greatest distinction (chap. vi.).
Accused by Esther, he is hung on the same tree which he had erected for Mordecai (chap. vii.).

*Second Section.* The removal of the danger which threatened the Jews in consequence of the decree of annihilation issued against them (chaps. viii., ix.).
Esther and Mordecai obtain permission for their people to defend themselves, (ch. viii.).
The Jews rid themselves of their enemies and resolve, by the advice of Mordecai and Esther, annually to celebrate the day of their deliverance, as the feast of Purim (chap. ix.).

ADDENDA. Authority, consequence and power of Mordecai the Jew in the powerful Persian world-monarchy (chap. x.).

## § 2. AIM AND HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.

Could authentic evidence be brought to show that there was a custom, in order to enhance the attractiveness of the annual celebrations, of publicly reading a festival-book (such as in the last *Mazzoth* day, Solomon's Song; on the second of the Feast of Weeks, the book of Ruth; on the 9th of Ab, as being the day of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Lamentations of Jeremiah; on the third day of the Feast of Tabernacles, Ecclesiastes), and could this be traced back to the time of the authorship of our book, then we should be apt to suppose that the book of Esther was written for the express purpose which it afterward served, *viz.* as the festival-book (the *Megillah* or volume) of the feast of Purim.

It is manifestly the intention of the author to exhibit the reason for the feast of Purim, *i. e.* to narrate the remarkable events to which that feast had reference. He is so engrossed

with this festival of Purim, that he declares to us in the ninth chapter how it came that not only the 14th, but even the 15th, of Adar was celebrated as a festival; and in vers. 24 sqq., he again briefly condenses the chief facts of the history, in order to give them in a definite and comprehensive manner as the ground of the feast; and finally he makes the name *Purim* conspicuous as having special reference to these events. Of course, the occasion of the feast receives from him particular attention, because it is of such moment to the history as well as faith of the Jews, and in order to show that there is in the government of the world a justice which protects Judaism and preserves it amid the greatest dangers.

It is a manifest design of the book to promote a revival of the Jewish faith, for the strengthening of which this feast of Purim was designed, and to demonstrate that the heathen enemies fall themselves into the pit which they dug for Judaism, and that the Jewish people have an easy rise to the surface though they may have fallen for a time into abjectness and dependence.

Now the question arises, whether, in order to attain this object, the author has treated his theme historically or poetico-didactically; and if the latter be true, whether he has employed a free poetic style or merely given to historic facts a poetic adornment. The historic treatment has tradition on its side. This view obtains not only with the Rabbins, but universally in the Christian Church also. In its defence even CLERICUS (in his *Dissert. de scriptoribus librorum hist.*, § 10) says: "It is a truly wonderful and paradoxical history (who will deny it?); but many wonderful things and foreign to our customs formerly obtained among orientals as also among many other peoples." The first attacks upon its credibility were made by SEMLER (*Apparatus ad liberaliorem V. Test. interpret.*, p. 152 sq.), by OEDER (*Untersuchungen über einige Bücher des Alten Testaments*, p. 12 sqq.), and CORRODI (*Beleuchtung des jüdischen und christlichen Bibel-Kanons* I., p. 64), and later by BERTHOLDT (*Einl.* V., p. 24 sq.), DE WETTE, GRAMBERG (*Gesch. der Religionsideen* I., p. 317), VATKE (*Bibl. Theol.* I., p. 580), and also by BLEEK (*Einl. zum Alten Testament*); but they were aimed against details, which are not definite; and they do not therefore much militate against a correct understanding of the plan and method of our book. Historical investigation, however, cannot reject such doubts because they seem to contradict the received opinions respecting the canon. The latter may possibly be corrected. Even conservative theology has been compelled to make the concession that the book of Job, indeed even its introduction and conclusion, although having the form of a historical statement, are nevertheless to be received as poetical works, and that the declarations of Solomon in Koheleth have a poetical garb. It has been conceded that the book of Jonah has not so much value as a historical book, but rather as a book of doctrine, since otherwise it would not stand in the same category with the prophetical books.*

We must, therefore, not pass too hastily the question, whether in the later periods of canonical literature there had not a new branch of literary activity developed itself, which might be termed, in some sense at least, as that of *religious romance*. In the Greek-Alexandrian period as is shown by our *Apocrypha*, this was very rife. It might also occasion the thought, that in all public readings on festival days, only those writings were selected to be read which belonged fully to poetry, such as Canticles and Lamentations, or which at least in a certain sense pass over into poetry, as the books of Ruth and Ecclesiastes.

One circumstance especially and primarily caused doubts as to the strictly historical character of this book, namely, that, in the real turning-point of the whole story, as if in order to raise the interest of the reader to a high pitch, and also to make a satisfactory conclusion as regards Mordecai and the Jews, the timely and fitting nature of many of the incidents seems to translate the reader involuntarily from the world of reality to that of ideality. Haman must take revenge upon Mordecai in the very moment of his anger, and cause the gallows upon which he himself should be hung in the morning to be erected over night. But in this very night, when Mordecai has so much at stake, the king is made to

* [The author has made this admission too vaguely and unguardedly. The result of modern criticism has been not to overthrow the historical basis of the books referred to, but only to confirm the opinion early broached, and not unfrequently entertained, that their *dress* and language is poetical.—TR.]

have a disturbed sleep, and thereupon cause the state documents (chronicles) to be read to him, by the means of which he is reminded of the desert of Mordecai. The question of the king, which is quite indefinite, is accordingly misunderstood by Haman, and thus misleads him, so that he applies it to himself, and in consequence of this self-deception, awards to his mortal enemy the highest distinction, and that too in the very moment when he is intent on his destruction In order to explain such facts one must have recurrence to the special divine Providence, which rules over Mordecai and over the Jewish nation in general.

However intent God may be in a plan where the salvation or protection of His own people depends upon it; and though at times He may bring about occurrences in their favor, which are so wonderful as to make His special interference manifest to the believer, nevertheless the facts are not usually so artistically arranged by Him, as appears here. Besides, it is remarkable that Mordecai should not ere this have received some suitable reward for his meritorious act; so likewise that Esther did not at the first feast bring her particular request before the king. It would really seem as if Esther had been enjoined to wait, at least until Haman should gain time to determine the execution of Mordecai. Above all, semblance is given to the thought that Mordecai's reward is purposely postponed, in order that it might be accorded to him in the supreme and decisive moment of the whole proceeding.

But if we must acknowledge the influence of a transformative and embellishing imagery in this chief stage of the drama, this would be inconsistent if it were not possible to hold the same in other places, where it comes within the didactic purpose of the author, and where by a change in form of the transmitted material the intended impression could be more seriously brought about.

Possibly it may be assumed that Esther did not—at least permanently—occupy the position of first (chief) wife, but held only a subordinate one, as a preferred concubine before several others in Vashti's stead. Indeed, our book hints at such a fact; since even after Esther's elevation, there is mention in chap. ii. 19 of another collection of virgins, which appears to have had the same significance as the first one. It is well known that the profane writers are not only silent in reference to Esther, but they also relate several things as regards the chief wife of Xerxes, which have no application to Esther. They call the former *Amestris*, and say in reference to her, not only that she was a daughter of Otanes (HEROD. VII. 64), or of Onofas (CTESIAS, § 20), but also that Xerxes was married to her even previous to the expedition to Greece (HEROD. IX. 109). Further on it states that he married off Darius his oldest son by her, in the year 479, or immediately after the march to Greece (HEROD. IX. 108), while Esther, as we shall presently see, was raised to be queen after the Grecian expedition. To this may be added that, according to HERODOTUS III. 108, the real queens were selected only from the seven chief *Persian* families. Moreover, according to the Zend-Avesta (comp. KLEUKER, *Anhang.*, I. 78), marriage proper with women of any other tribe was, to the Persians, strictly forbidden.

Perhaps it may further be stated, indeed one might safely affirm that, Haman was not really an Agagite, *i. e.*, a descendant of the Amalekite king Agag, but that this designation was only given in a symbolical way. Hence, according to his whole manner, as is affirmed by the Targums *prius et posterius*, he would as the arch-enemy of Israel, hold a relation to Edom intrinsically identical, but varied in its outward expression, by being opposed to Mordecai, who had sprung from the family of Saul. Thus the name *Haman*, as well as that of his father (comp. on chap. iii. 1), might be of significance in this relation.

The remark, that Shushan, the city (not usually the Jews resident there, but the city itself), fell into consternation and alarm at the announcement of the first regal decree, which commanded the destruction of the Jews (comp. chap. iii. 15) may perhaps be somewhat exaggerated. So likewise at the publication of the second decree, in which the Jews were permitted to defend themselves, the assertion that the city rejoiced exceedingly (comp. chap. viii. 15) is not to be accepted as strictly true. This remark, perhaps, has its ground in the intention of the author, to bring into prominence the cruelty of the first decree, and the justice of the second, as also the greatness both of the threatened misfortune and of the following good fortune. Finally, the statement given in chap. ix. that, on that decisive day seventy-five

thousand persons perished at the hands of the Jews, doubtless does not rest upon an actual count; but it is rather the design of the author to represent the victory of the Jews as grand and extensive. Of course in all these points we are necessitated to content ourselves with a bare "possibility," or even "probability." Yet we must not forget that a judgment may in such things be rendered merely from a subjective and individual point of view, and that we lack objective criteria. Finally, the conditions and circumstances of the case are to be regarded, of which we now have not sufficient knowledge.

The anti-traditional view, as held by SEMLER, OEDER, CORRODI, and among later critics HITZIG (*Gesch. Isr.* I. p. 280), and ZUNZ (*Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* XXVII. 4, p. 684), which is that the history of our book is in several places not only poetically adorned, but really invented as a whole, in order to represent naturally a truth that seems to require statement in a historical form—is a view which would incline us to accept the theory of an apologetical tendency in reference to our book, could we thus be enabled to look upon it as actual, if not in all respects, yet at least in the cardinal points, especially as regards the persons treated of, in their manner, their destiny, or even in their names, intentions, and thoughts. Under that view Esther, who had grown great in lowly circumstances, herself poor but amiable, might represent the later Jewish nation growing up in exile, and not distinguished from other peoples by its external greatness, but rather by its internal importance and effectiveness. Esther's name is really *Hadassah*, or "Myrtle." In Zech. i. 8 the post-exilian nation is compared to the myrtles on the shore of the roaring sea, a symbol of the moving masses of humanity. Her assumed name *Esther* (*aster*, "a star"), on the other hand, might point to the reflection of light, which flows from the fulness of salvation as from the Lord, notwithstanding the tribulation inflicted upon her nation. Or she might have simply pointed to the hope which the older generation, in the midst of the night of the tribulation of their exile, placed in the younger. This nation stands under the lead and care of the old and serious Mordecai, who perhaps derived his name from the Chaldee god *Merodach*. But even he desires to conduct himself according to the Jewish laws in the midst of Chaldæa and Persia, though it be at the risk of his life, defying the power of the heathen potentate. Thus as an exile, carried to Chaldæa, he might represent a type of the old generation, which, as it were, had fallen a prey to Merodach, and yet, even in this heathen land, maintained a strong repugnance against heathen morals and laws, and opposed them with an unbending inflexibility. Esther's father, *Abihail*, *i. q.*, "the man of power and skill," had long since departed. Thus the fathers, to whose freedom and dignity the younger or rising generation would gladly have aspired, was gone. But the real fathers still remained, to whose covenant rights and inheritance a claim might still be laid. Or, if we would be guided by certain analogies in the book of Daniel, we might regard Esther as the image of a *guardian angel*, who, where the destinies of nations are decided, makes intercession for Israel (comp. Dan. x. 13, 20). Mordecai would then certainly represent the Jews who, above all others, are loyal and trustworthy; and he accordingly shows his loyalty to Ahasuerus, by opposing the scheme to take away the life of that ruler. Haman, on the other hand, *i. q.*, "the one sacrificing to Somao," the son of Hamadatha, as "belonging to the moon," *i. e.*, the chief heathen deity, the Agagite and the Amalekite, would be a type of the principal heathen potentates who hate and seek to destroy the people of God. Vashti's rejection and Esther's acceptance in preference to many others, rather would signify that Israel has long been preferred before other peoples, though this has as yet been a secret to the world. But that Haman comes to power and forthwith designs the destruction of the Jews, would indicate that in spite of the election of Israel the world is still the principal enemy to the kingdom of God. Indeed, this, which might be called, as in the N. T., the anti-Christian world, has dominion over the people of the covenant, as is strikingly evinced in the Jewish exile in contrast with the theocracy. What is stated of Ahasuerus, as being the Lord of the then known world, would remind us of the mode in which Providence seems to govern the world, leaving full liberty to the rulers inimical to God. This ruler is found to be indifferent to the distress of the oppressed and threatened people (comp. chap. iii. 15), indeed he is bound by an irrevocable edict of persecution against the people of God. The troubles of this exile had been inflicted by divine justice

and now the question remained how grace could have scope again (comp. Isa. xlix. 24). But grace ever active, makes itself known, and remembers those who are recorded in the great book of life as God's faithful ones. The fall of Haman would then picture forth the removal of Anti-Christ. The destruction of the remaining enemies would shadow forth the overthrow of those who are not actively hostile, but simply not receptive of the kingdom of God. Both would foreshadow the judgment of God in its negative aspect. The conversion of many in Persia (chap. viii. 17) would indicate the conversion of heathen people as the positive side of the divine judgment upon the world. In short the whole would be an allegory, which would teach those who in later times are oppressed, that a higher Power is fighting for Israel; that its bitterest enemies are, by reason of their hostile machinations, the cause of their own destruction; that the faithful ones will yet get the victory, in spite of all their tribulations. This would be a vivid representation of what would come to pass after the sufferings of the exile, by way of contrast, and especially the judgment to be brought about by the coming of the Messiah, and even that which shall yet come at the end of time. Hence many things, which according to the letter of our history, seem low and worldly, indeed repulsive, would, if viewed in this aspect, contain a high religious truth, and our book would be regarded with far greater favor than has hitherto been given it. Every one feels that Esther, Mordecai and Haman have in fact a higher and more general signification. There are, however, many positive traits, which cannot be explained by this allegorical theory. Especially noteworthy is the circumstance that our book at its close (chap. ix. 16), in relating the inauguration of the Feast of Purim, explicitly claims to give real facts. The occurrences which lie at the basis of the story have been apprehended by the author much more clearly than he could have done the future history of the Jews, and yet in such a light as to make them the mirror of grander developments thereafter. The chief persons, of whom he speaks, have as it were gained representative positions, so that at their mention we think also of other persons. But these are not mere pictures, and the material employed is not to be regarded as poetically invented, but as historically given.

Should we even regard the substantial part of the history of Esther as unhistorical, still the question would necessarily arise, how to account for the history of the Feast of Purim. According to 1 Macc. vii. 40 sqq. Judas Maccabæus defeated the Syrian general Nicanor on the 13th Adar, a day before the Feast of Purim, near a place called *Adasa*, which might possibly be interpreted as *Hadassah*, "the myrtle." As a memorial of this victory the 13th of the month Adar was to be celebrated annually as a national holiday. The fact that on this occasion the Feast of Purim was not mentioned, has been taken as a proof by J. D. MICHAELIS, that the author of the 1 Maccabees had no knowledge as yet of the Feast of Purim. One might even go farther and assume that the Feast of Purim took its rise from the day of the defeat of Nicanor. The author of the apocryphal additions of our book designates Haman as a *Macedonian* (comp. § 4), in which case a relation to Nicanor might be established. Certain it is that the day of Nicanor's defeat gradually went over into that of the Feast of Purim.

Although the former is still mentioned in the Mishnic tract *Taanith* (ch. xii.), also in the *Babyl. Talmud* (*Tannit*, seq. 18 *b*), and in *Massachet Sophrim* (ch. xvii. 4), yet, according to GRIMM (on 1 Macc. vii. 49), it has not been celebrated as a memorial of Nicanor for at least one thousand years back. For the so-called Feast of Little Purim has nothing at all to do with it; but the latter is merely the usual Feast of Purim, occurring on the 14th and 15th days of the 12th month in a leap year, when the Feast of Great Purim falls on the same days of the 13th month. Still there was required more time for such a metamorphosis, by which a Nicanor was transformed into a Haman, than is thus allowed. Even the author of 2 Macc., according to ch. xv. 36, recognizes Purim as the Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα, and he then distinguishes the Feast of Nicanor as quite another. In agreement with him Josephus, in his *Ant.* xi. 6, 13, also affirms that Purim was celebrated by the Jews of the whole world as a remembrance of the occurrences detailed in our book. Indeed he himself is fully convinced that it was so celebrated since the time of Persia. Haman and Nicanor are entirely different

persons, and the deliverances which the Jews enjoyed with respect to them are too different in nature to favor the idea of a transformation of the one into the other.

HITZIG (*Gesch. Israels* I., p. 280) supposes that Purim had been originally the New Year's Feast of the Persians. They began their year in the Spring, when Purim was celebrated; and in Arabic the New Year is still called *Pur*. Hence he also takes into account the Persian *Purdeghan* (Leap-year), to which HAMMER had already referred as being a foundation for the Jewish festival. ZUNZ also (*l. c.*) thinks that the Jews had appropriated to themselves the Persian Spring-festival which corresponds to the German Christmas festivities. The authorities, not able to abolish this feast, or perhaps unwilling to do so, took care to legitimize it as a day of rejoicing, and hence gave it a Jewish origin and import. HITZIG also assumes further that a fact of the Parthian period first gave the significance of Purim as being that of *lot* ("loose"); the Parthians of Scythian origin probably had such words as *Pur*, lot (loose), and *Agha* whence Haman probably derived his epithet of Agagite (ch. iii. 1); for even they also without a doubt had a Kislar-Agha (comp. ch. ii. 3). But that the custom of celebrating a day of rejoicing in the month of Adar had not only crept in here and there from heathen surroundings, but that it should also have attained to recognition by those who were strict in their national observances, and even with the authorities themselves, is not to be conceived of as possible under the then existing circumstances, unless it took its rise in a historical occasion adequate to account for its adoption into Judaism. Hence the necessity of recognizing the fact which our book relates, as the real foundation, in any case. To suppose that the festival could everywhere have gained currency independently of this basis, would be to confound those ancient times, in which an inflexible opposition to Judaism was predominant, with our modern age, in which this has to a great degree ceased. Besides, the festival of *Purdeghan* has but little resemblance to that of Purim. The former lasted ten days. The first five were devoted to the memory of the dead, and hence were a season of mourning (comp. HERZFELD, *Gesch. Israels*, II. 1, p. 183). If HITZIG finds it improbable that the feast of Purim took its name from the casting of lots over Haman, on the ground that the latter retreats out of sight in the history, on the other hand we should consider that the lot of Haman was the voice of God. The day selected for the casting of the lot, if it had brought the destruction of the Jews, would have been the day of the victory of heathen gods over the God of Israel. But since that event did not occur, it became a day of the refutation of the heathen deities, *i. e.*, of the victory and triumph both of Judaism and the Jewish law and God over them.

That such a history is basal to the Feast of Purim, as our book relates it, will always remain by far the most probable view, and hence is maintained in more modern times by such men as BAUMGARTEN (*De fide libri Estheræ*, 1839), after HAEVERNICK; also by KEIL and J. A. NICKES (*De Esthera libro et ad eum quæ pertinent vaticiniis et Psalmis libri tres*, Romæ, 1856). These defend the historical character of our book in its strictness, and are reinforced by STAEHELIN (*Spec. Einl. in d. Kan. Büchern. d. A. T.*), BERTHEAU, and especially by EWALD (*Gesch. Israels*, IV., p. 296), who hold our book to be substantially historical.

Several things, which in our present condition seem to us very improbable, could perhaps be easily explained by reference to the peculiar circumstances, customs and usages of the ancient Persian empire, especially from the characteristic traits of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). We do not propose to enter upon this subject, so much for the purpose of directly corroborating the historical character of the book as in order to show that the attacks made against it are very doubtful. If DE WETTE thinks he finds a marked weakness in the narrative in the circumstance that Esther is represented as keeping secret her Jewish descent, not only at ch. ii. 20, where she is chosen queen by the king, but up to the very time of the catastrophe, and that even Haman does not suspect her relation to Mordecai, while the king himself is surprised at her request to be saved (comp. vii. 5); on the other hand we may consider that a great king, such as Xerxes, doubtless was too highly elevated to concern himself about the personal circumstances of his female favorites, and that Haman, in his official relation, had nothing to do with the harem of the king.

But the main fact that Ahasuerus at Haman's request resolved to issue an edict which

ordered the destruction of all the Jews in the entire Persian empire, is not without analogy. Mithridates, king of Pontus, in his war against Rome, issued secret orders to all the satraps and chief local authorities of his kingdom, to murder on a certain day all Romans without distinction of sex or age, whereby eighty thousand, or as some estimate, one hundred and fifty thousand persons lost their lives. Mehmed, a pasha of Zaid, in the sixteenth century, surprised the entire nation of the Druses, and caused all that were met with to be killed (ARVIEUX, *Merkw. Nachr.*, I., p. 391). A similar thing occurred also in Europe. At the time of "the Sicilian vespers" there fell eight thousand Frenchmen in Catanea alone. Ferdinand the Catholic drove out of Spain over three hundred thousand Jews, and Louis XIV. drove out of France several hundred thousands of Protestants, after causing thousands more to be murdered (comp. ROSENMUELLER, *Bibl. Alterth.*, I., p. 379). The Parisian massacre of St. Bartholomew's night is another specially analogous case. KEIL very justly makes prominent the point in reference to these facts, that Greek and Roman authors are unanimous in their portrait of Xerxes, and paint him as a very riotous, licentious monarch, and an extremely cruel tyrant. The commentator last cited goes on to say: "Xerxes was the despot who, after the wealthy Lydian Pythius had most richly entertained the Persian army in its march against Greece, and offered an immense sum of money as a contribution to the costs of the war, on his making a petition to have the oldest of his five sons then in the army given to him as a solace for his old age, became so enraged that he caused the son asked for to be cut in pieces, and laid the pieces on both sides of the way, and ordered his army to march through between them (HEROD. VII. 37–39; SENECA, *De ira* VII. 17); the tyrant, who caused the heads of those to be cut off who built the pontoon bridge over the Hellespont, because a storm had destroyed the bridge, and who ordered the sea to be lashed with whips and bound with chains sunk under the waves (HEROD. VII. 35); the debauchee, who after his return from Greece, sought to drown the vexation of his shameful defeat by means of sensuality and revelry (HEROD. IX. 108, 599). Such a frantic tyrant was he as to be capable of all that is related in our book of Ahasuerus." SPIEGEL, in his *Eranischen Alterthumskunde* (II., p. 402), gives a very mild judgment concerning Xerxes, yet even he says: "There is no question that he fell far behind his predecessors in regard to energy and other capabilities; he seems to have been of a sanguine nature;" and the same writer also proves the great thoughtlessness of that king, especially in his relations to his uncle Artabanus (HEROD. VII. 10, 11, 48, 49), and in regard to Demaratus (HEROD. VII. 101–104).

Haman's publishing of the decree of extermination eleven months previous to the day appointed for the butchery was perhaps less foolish than it would appear to us in our circumstances. Besides it is very questionable whether so short a time as a month would have been sufficient to carry the edict to the remotest parts of the empire, as BERTHEAU seems to suppose. Mordecai, who issued the counter-edict three months later, urged (as is expressly stated in chap. viii. 10–14) the greatest speed. This was done not only to remove the terror of the Jews as soon as possible, but also to prevent any acts of oppression. To us of to-day it would indeed appear as if Haman would have made the destruction of the Jews only the more difficult, if not impossible, by what might seem to us an untimely and hasty publication of his decree. But to a Persian despot his subjects were never out of reach. The Jews might here and there have made an attempt at flight. But this might not have been very unwelcome to Haman, since the goods of the fugitives could have easily been confiscated. To Haman it was a matter of great importance to cause the decree of the king to become very early a fixed irrevocable law; and this doubtless would be attained most certainly by its publication. Besides, it was a gratification to himself to torment those detested Jews long before the blow was to be struck, and especially to let them see that their enemies were deliberate and easy in their preparation for the final blow.

The success of the orders issued by Mordecai, which appears from the statement that, in the various parts of the Persian dominion 75,000 persons perished in their attack on the Jews, will seem less doubtful than it might at first, if we consider the great extent of Persia, reaching from India to Æthiopia. The aggressors might very easily have overestimated the sympathy which

they received from their own people and religious associates; and the power of resistance on the part of the Jews might easily have been underestimated. Hence it is not to be wondered at if the former were badly vanquished and perished. The number seventy-five thousand can, of course, be only assumed as an approximation, and the intention of the author may have been influenced to its acceptance by reason of the facts above stated.

The circumstance that Ahasuerus granted a new edict at the request of Esther, in which the Jews resident in Shushan were permitted to continue the massacre on the following day also, even when no new attack was attempted upon them, might be explained by the assumption that, in such a large city there was a great rabble element which had fallen upon the Jews the first day, and which would recommence the conflict after they had come forth from their temporary hiding-places. To such as had begun the conflict, and regarding whom the Jews were on the defensive, this second decree had equal reference. It only permitted them to fulfil what the first edict ordered, (chap. ix. 13).

A favorable opinion is created with regard to the historical veracity of the author, in that he correctly knows and vividly describes the customs and arrangement at the Persian court, in so far as they have interest for him; and that he calls by name those persons who enter into the history portrayed by him, such as courtiers (chapter i. 10), the seven Persian princes (chap. i. 14), the keepers of the women's houses (seraglios) (chap. ii. 8, 14), the chamberlain whom Esther sent out to Mordecai (chap. iv. 5), the wife and ten sons of Haman (chapters vi. 13; ix. 7–9). Further, he makes reference to the annual records of the Medo-Persians, as to the source in which were described, not only the deeds of Ahasuerus, but also Mordecai's greatness and power (chap. x. 2). Of course, a poet should correctly represent the manners and conditions which he would portray; and our author might very properly have been in possession of sufficient learning, or he may have written in a time and place where one could easily and almost intuitively learn about Persian matters. On this account we would naturally expect the absence of vulgar mistakes. Still it was not the habit with the Jewish authors of the last centuries B. C. to distinguish themselves by correct historical knowledge, or by an accurate apprehension of those far-off times. The contrary was of such common occurrence and fault that our book, in this regard, is entitled to the more distinction. It has been asserted that the office of Grand Vizier, such as was held by Haman, and afterwards by Mordecai, was not properly Persian. But ENGER (*Zeitschr. d. D. M.* 1859, p. 239 ff.) has conclusively shown that the office of vizier really originated and had its development in Persia. To resign the proper functions of government to a favorite, must have been a chief concern to a weakling like Xerxes, who lived only for sensual pleasures. Thus also the Merovingians had their *major domus* who finally usurped the government and power of the kingdom.

It is especially remarkable that the events related in the narrative can, according to their historical dates, which the author gives, be very appropriately inserted in the rest of the history of Xerxes as given by Greek historians. This is of the greater importance, since the author does not at all refer to previous history. It was in the third year of his reign that Ahasuerus gave the great feast in Shushan, which lasted one hundred and eighty days (one half of a Persian year). According to Herod. vii. 8, Xerxes proclaimed an edict in the third year of his reign, after the termination of his war against Egypt; and in that edict he convoked all the princes of his empire to Shushan, in order to plan the campaign against Greece. Such deliberations were generally accompanied with festivities by the Persian kings (comp. WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, II., p. 229, and BAUMGARTEN, I., p. 139). Vashti's rejection, there fore, occurred in the third year of Ahasuerus, and soon afterwards the choice of a new queen was made. Yet Esther, according to chap. ii. 16, was chosen near the close of the seventh year; and, according to chap. ii. 19, another assembly of virgins was ordered, from which a further selection was to be made to take the place of Vashti. This remarkable postponement may be explained by the fact that between Ahasuerus' third year and his seventh the time of preparation and the war against Greece intervened. Xerxes returned to Persia in the Spring of his seventh year. Thus his special history becomes, as it were, a commentary for our book.

## § 3. CANONICAL DIGNITY.

It seems as if the canonicity of our book had at first been doubted among the Jews. In the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megilloth*, lxx. 4) and in the Midrash (*Ruth*, 45 c.) we find the statement that eighty-five elders, among whom were thirty or more prophets, combated the introduction of the Feast of Purim, though they finally gave it their sanction. It is also intimated that these men were contemporaries of Mordecai. This remark has really nothing to do with the book of Esther as such, but has only reference to the precepts in regard to the fasts, which were ordered by both Esther and Mordecai, (chap. ix. 29–32). Still, to combat the latter would be to indirectly attack the genuineness of our book. Such an opposition to the institution of Purim, however, does not well harmonize with the reverence paid to the book as belonging to the Canon. The opinion of HERZFELD (II. 1, p. 358), that this tradition was a conclusion derived from the statement of chap. ix. 29 merely, from which it was inferred that Mordecai and Esther had written a second time in reference to the introduction of the feast of Purim, is very improbable, as is also his supposition that the number of the elders was taken by mistake from Nehem. viii.—x. grouped together. There are no other oppositions found among the Jews in this regard. Even JOSEPHUS reckoned our book as certainly belonging to the Canon (comp. *c. Ap.* I. 8); otherwise he would not have made the remark that the history therein described reached down to Artaxerxes, who to him was none other than the Ahasuerus of our book. But the later transactions which took place with reference to the Canon, namely, at the Synod of Jerusalem, A. D. 65, where a determination was called for between the Hillelites and the Shammaites, and also at the Synod at Jamnia, A. D. 90, had reference more especially to Ecclesiastes, and next to the Canticles, and lastly to the book of Ezekiel, which some would have withdrawn from public use, because it seemed to diverge in its legal requirements from those of the Pentateuch. (גנז). Moreover, our book has been very highly esteemed among the Jews (comp. GRAETZ on *Koheleth*, Appendix I.), which may easily be seen by its designation as "the Megillah" by eminence. Indeed it has been preferred to the "Kethubim," and even to the "Nebiim," and has finally been placed by the immediate side of the "Torah" itself. MOSES MAIMONIDES thought that in the days of the Messiah all the Nebiim and Kethubim would be abolished; and that only the book of Esther and the Torah, together with the oral law, would be perpetual (comp. CARPZOV, *Introd.*, I., p. 366). This special regard, however, was simply owing to the mournful circumstances under which the Jews learned to value the consolation derived from Haman's destruction and their own victory over their opponents, events to them at the time important and precious. In our book, accordingly, these incidents are given from a nationally limited point of view.

As regards the ancient Christian teachers, MELITO, bishop of Sardes (about 172) does not give the book of Esther in his list of the canonical books. Neither are the Apocrypha nor Pseudo-apocrypha mentioned by him. He was importuned by his Christian brother Onesimus to give him a more specific and correct statement with regard to the number and order of the O. T. books, since he had made researches respecting them in his journey to Palestine. The book of Nehemiah, concerning which he is also silent, he doubtless includes in Esther. But that he should thus have embraced the book of Esther likewise, as belonging to that of Ezra, although he himself never included the one in the other, as was the case with Nehemiah, is not, with EICHHORN, HAEVERNICK, and others, to be supposed (comp. EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI. 25). EPIPHANES (died about 402) (in his *De mens. et ponder.* c. 22, 23), HILARY (in *Prol. in Psalm.*) and JEROME (in *Prol. Gal.*) all include Esther in the Canon, but place it at the end. ORIGEN places it after the prophets and Job, which he brings in as the last. EPIPHANIUS places it after the prophets and i. and ii. Ezra. JEROME places it after the other Kethubim, especially after Chronicles and Ezra. HILARY places it after the prophets and Job. ATHANASIUS in his *Epist. Test.* omits it from the list of the canonical books, and assigns it to the *ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα*, *i. e.*, the books to be read before the congregation, which, with him, form a middle class between the canonical and apocryphal books. In the *Iambi ad Seleneum* written between 350 and 400, it is also omitted; yet the remark is made

at the end, "Some add the book of Esther to these." True, the *Synopsis* (probably by the Alexandrian church and after to ATHANASIUS) remarks that some say that Esther was regarded by the Hebrews as belonging to the Canon; but this also proves that it did not have canonical authority in the Christian church, at least not in that of Alexandria. Still more, JUNILIUS (*De partibus legis div.*, c. 3) writes that in his time (in the sixth century) it was very much doubted whether the book of Esther belonged to the Canon. It was, of course, not the former vacillating treatment of this book by the Jews that caused the opposition of Christians to its reception, but rather its high estimation with the later Jews. Its contents might very easily be objectionable to Christian views and sentiments. This is evinced by LUTHER, if indeed we can justly apply his harsh judgment to the Hebrew book* of Esther. As the passage referred to is somewhat ambiguous, we quote it in the original Latin: "*Licet recusare possim jure hunc liberum* (*Ecclesiasticum*), *tamen interim recipio, ne cum jactura temporis me involvam disputationi de receptis libris in canone Ebræorum, quem tu non nihil mordes ac rides, dum Proverbia Solomonis et Canticum* (*ut scommate ambiguo vocas*) *amatorium comparas cum libris duobus Esræ, Judith, historia Susannæ et Draconis, Esther, quamvis hunc habeant in canone, dignior omnibus, me judice, qui extra canonem habertur.*" [We translate as follows: "Although I might justly reject this book (Ecclesiasticus), yet for the present I admit it, lest with a loss of time I involve myself in the dispute concerning the books received in the canon of the Hebrews, which you not a little attack and deride, while the Proverbs of Solomon and the amatory canticles (as by an ambiguous sneer you call them) you compare with the two books of Ezra, Judith, the history of Susanna and the Dragon, and Esther; though this last they have in their canon, yet it is, in my judgment, more worthy than all the others to be kept out of the canon"]. In his *Tischreden* (ed. Walch, xxii., p. 268) Luther had also to do with the apocryphal books. He undertook to correct the second book of Maccabees, and he then uttered these words: "I am," said he, "so inimical to this and the book of Esther, that I could wish they did not at all exist; for they are excessively Jewish, and contain many disreputable heathen practices." It is, therefore, not at all improbable that he had reference not so much to the Hebrew, but rather to the Greek book of Esther, which was so greatly corrupted by other additions. Besides, he had just made the remark, "The third book of Esther I will throw into the Elbe. In the fourth book, in which are noted what Esther dreamed, there are many pretty and otherwise very good jests, such as: Wine is strong, the king stronger, women still stronger, but truth is the most powerful of all" Here he doubtless clearly mistook Ezra for Esther, and the fourth book of Ezra for the third (comp. p. 13). It is clear, also, that the apocryphal books were in his mind. The remark that his objection had its ground in the contents of the Hebrew book of Esther, instead of the comparatively innocent apocryphal additions, is opposed by the fact that the second book of Macc., of which he had just spoken, is placed before it. His objection to it seems to have consisted more in the fabulous than in the morally objectionable elements of both books.

What makes us especially suspicious with regard to the canonical dignity of this book is the fact that there is wanting in it the religious patriotic spirit which we find in the other Old Testament historical books. The author makes prominent the attractions of Esther in the eyes of Ahasuerus over all other virgins, and thus she became the guardian genius of her people. If he had written his book after the manner of the older canonical books, we might have reasonably expected that he would first of all speak of her piety. Indeed we should have looked that he would treat of it as the reason why God gave her favor in the king's sight, and that he would regard it as the source of her gracefulness and loveliness. But we find no trace of this. Least of all is there a reference to a joyful confession on her

* In his *De servo arb.* (ed. Jen. III., p. 182; ed. Erlang. XII., p. 194) LUTHER censures ERASMUS for regarding the book of Ecclesiasticus (Jesus Sirach) as authoritative (canonical), and for placing it on the same level with the book of Proverbs, in contrast with both books of Ezra (doubtless the third and fourth), Judith, the history of Susanna and the Dragon. Hence he fought against degrading the books handed down in the Hebrew Bible as canonical, and placing them on a level with those contained in the Greek Bible, which he afterward cast out as apocryphal. When he furthermore states that in his opinion the book of Esther deserved to be thrown out of the Canon, by this, as CARPZOV remarked (*Introd.* I., p. 870 sq.), he does not mean the *Hebrew* but the *Greek* book of Esther. In other words, he objected to JEROME's apocryphal additions to the book.

part to Jehovah. But we rather discover that Mordecai shrewdly advises her to keep secret her Judaistic descent from Ahasuerus. And she faithfully follows this injunction. Nor does she point to the Lord as being the Almighty Protector and Avenger of those who do him homage, even when she is compelled, in order to save her people, to declare her Jewish origin to the king. She seems rather to aid her nation, not because it is God's people, but because it is *her* people.

So also, according to our author, Mordecai refuses to bow the knee to Haman. A more ancient author would no doubt have faithfully given a clear and definite religious reason for his conduct. But our author gives it so little space, that most interpreters have misunderstood him. He rather permits us to guess the reason, so to speak, by designating Haman as an Agagite. And of Mordecai he testifies that he braced himself by his Judaism in his conduct. Hence that fact which would, we might imagine, have added the proper interest to the book, and should really have been the soul of it, and would have given it the best dedication—the truth that reverence for man does not militate against the honor due to God, and yet should not be given to those condemned and rejected by God—does not very clearly appear, and indeed might easily be wholly overlooked. The entire proceeding almost assumes the appearance of a common court-intrigue, in which Mordecai would hardly rank higher than his opponent.

As regards the measures taken by Mordecai and Esther for the deliverance of their people, we should naturally have judged that our author ought to have made their necessity more apparent, in order not to be misunderstood in a moral aspect. He should have called especial attention to their necessity for the maintenance of true religion. The first edict of the king against the Jews was irrevocable. Hence the authorities could not be called on for their protection. There remained, therefore, only the one way, namely, for the Jews to assemble and stand for their lives in a common self-defence. This was virtually a war in the time of peace. Still it was forced upon the Jews, and although thus premeditated and organized, it was, under the circumstances, their only available mode of defence. But instead of making prominent the fact that this deplorable conflict could not be avoided, and instead of showing that upon it depended the defence of law and religion, the author speaks only of the honor which Mordecai attained by adopting these measures with the king's sanction. He states that Mordecai passed out from the regal palace dressed in royal apparel, having a large golden crown upon his head, and that the whole city of Shushan, especially the Jews throughout the empire, rejoiced exceedingly (ch. viii. 15–17). Indeed, instead of telling us definitely that only a common defence was intended and permitted against anticipated hostile attacks, he employs the same expressions as when speaking of Haman's edict in ch. iii. 13, namely, the *jus talionis*. In this edict it was permitted the Jews to destroy, to kill and plunder the whole of the people and country, or whoever should attack them; and they were not even to exempt women and children. The measures thus have the appearance of having been adopted, not as being the only ones at hand, but because they were most agreeable to the Jews. Nor does it appear as if the author had in any wise regretted or disapproved of them, but rather that the joy of Mordecai and of the Jews was shared also by him. He is equally liable to misconstruction as regards the petition of Esther by virtue of which the Jews were permitted to repeat also on the second day the same self-vindication exercised on the first. He contents himself with the satisfaction experienced from the great success which attended the measures of Esther and Mordecai on the first and second day, namely, that in Shushan five hundred fell on the first day, and three hundred on the second (ch. ix. 11–15).

One thing, however, he repeatedly and pointedly makes reference to, namely, that the Jews did not lay hands on the spoil of their enemies (ch. ix. 10, 15, 16). This trait nevertheless can only be regarded as redounding to their honor if all the other transactions had a higher religious import. But if these are to be understood as having merely a common national meaning, they exclude indeed a base covetousness, but do not negative a passionate eagerness and vindictiveness which are but little removed above the desire of gain.

That the Jews should also slay defenceless women and children while attacking the

men, and that they did actually kill such a great number as seventy-five thousand persons (ch. ix. 16), was too common a characteristic of ancient warfare, to deserve a specially severe censure. But the author had quite other intentions than to regard the war as being conducted in the interest of higher principles, and as absolutely necessary; indeed he has expressed himself in terms which lead to quite a different conclusion. (Comp. ch. ix. 5: "Thus the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and slaughter, and destruction, and did what they would unto those that hated them.") His narrative creates quite a different impression and gives greater offence than if he had stated that the Lord had given a great victory to His people, in the course of which seventy-five thousand perished. This might easily have been done in a way and by a connection in which the greatness of the danger and the persecutions of the people of Jehovah would have been strongly manifested.

The satisfaction which the author, together with Mordecai and the Jews, felt we can easily enough excuse, because of the greatness of the defeat of the attacking enemies, inasmuch as they suffered great insults and injuries, of which their heathen enemies were by no means sparing. It was in fact only the natural instinct of a worm, when in danger of having its life trodden out under the march of the peoples of the world, and therefore only escaping with life when its destroyers were themselves destroyed. But the author would have given us a much more satisfactory justification of these things had he designated his own people as the people of Jehovah, in opposition to the heathen as such, instead of terming them Jews merely, of whom one does not anticipate a higher task or even a higher principle.

But with all the foregoing criticisms we have not yet looked at the chief point of the discussion. It is remarkable that we do not even once find mention made of the name of God, much less of Jehovah. If under other circumstances, this would perhaps be something external or accidental; here it is closely connected with the general view of things.*

There seems to obtain another kind of historical portraiture in this book from that of those of the more ancient histories. The latter are very properly called *sacred history*, because their purpose was to derive the incidents which they describe from God, or from His justice, or yet from His gracious intentions towards man. They also seek to show the bearing of that which has been attained upon the ultimate honor of God. But our book appears to give us a different mode of historical description, in that it takes up the lower facts and things lying nearer, be they causes or aims. We find it nowhere distinctly stated that at the very beginning a higher Power was at play, which finally placed Esther in her high position. In this position she could become the intercessor for her people. This power was likewise manifest later in causing Ahasuerus at the proper time to remember Mordecai, and to reward him. Thus also the great and threatening danger to the Jews was averted, and victory leaned to the side of the people of God in their conflict with their enemies. Nowhere do we discover expressions of religious feelings or thoughts in the persons of whom the author speaks. Even in Mordecai these are not manifest, since he is not a representative of Jehovah-worship; nor yet do those principles appear to have actuated him which his religion would have enjoined him to observe. On the contrary his motives and sentiments are indefinite and scarcely national. It is simply because of his Judaism that he refuses to do reverence to Haman. Neither are any such feelings or thoughts as we might have presumed perceptible in Esther, who, in common with Mordecai, instead of employing the office of prayer for the removal of the danger, brings into requisition the Jewish custom of fasting. Certainly Mordecai expresses a firm assurance that help would come to the Jews from some source; but it would hardly do to suppose that he thought of God, when in ch. iv. 14 he expects deliverance even if Esther should not venture to petition the king. He might easily have meant another human person instead of Esther, who would have taken her place. There is never a mention made of prayer, pressing as were the occasion and circumstances that justify our expectation of its employment.

* Even the rabbins took notice of this fact, and sought an explanation for it. Comp. what AUGUST PFEIFFER has written with reference to the canonicity of the book of Esther and its programme. ABEN EZRA held that Mordecai, being the author of the book, had purposely expunged the names of God in it, in order that they might not be desecrated by the Persians, if they made use of them.

Now it is very necessary for a correct estimation of our book to place the above-cited phenomena in their proper light. Without doubt we would do great injustice to the author if we were to hold him to be religiously indifferent or entirely irreligious because of his non-religious mode of statement. To a man enthusiastic for Judaism and Judaistic law, irreligious feelings are hardly possible. Even if his enthusiasm had been pre-eminently national, so that in his eyes Esther, Mordecai and the Jewish nation, in short all that was Jewish, deserved, as such, preference and distinction, it would still have shown some religious side. This would have been nationally religious, since it would have based itself on the preference of Israel on the part of God. Even though it would have led to a certain religious externality, in which a more intimate relation to God would not have been possible, this would not exclude the fact that the name of God would have received mention now and then. The reason why our book is silent with respect to God demands another explanation. The subject of which the author treats points to the preference or choice of Israel on the part of God. The fact of his belief in the continuance of Israel, as it is expressed by Mordecai, is proved too plainly and definitely for him to have placed no meaning or merit in it. We may add to this, that the rule of a higher providential Power, although nowhere noticed particularly as such, is nevertheless sufficiently expressed, both in the entire plan of the book and in the facts themselves.

If we regard Haman as representing the enemies of the people of God and thus as carrying out their plans of destruction against Israel; if in Mordecai and the Jews the people of true religion as such suffered; if in Ahasuerus the higher government of the world was awake, and if in Esther the good Spirit, which ever watched over Israel, brought his petitions before the throne of the highest decisive tribunal; if the battle of the Jews against the Persians is the conflict of the oppressed and deeply humiliated kingdom of God against heathendom, and if the destruction of these enemies is the removal of all that is unimpressible, and past improvement, and is the means by which the true happiness of mankind is to be prepared,—in short, if the author intended to speak in such far-reaching pictures rather than to write history, then a sufficient explanation is discovered of his seemingly irreligious tendency and of this parabolic method. What would otherwise appear as having no reference to religion, would then be full of the religious element. It would be like a N. T. parable, where there is no express reference to God and His kingdom, since the higher is the lower. We may, indeed, be compelled to admit that the intention of the author is not clear; nor do we plainly see how far the author has sought to employ this parabolic mode of statement. Whether or not he intended to make these representative persons transparently illuminated types, cannot be certainly known. But this much may possibly be affirmed, indeed it can be proved, that he is in this religious aspect reticent, because he desires to call in the attention of the reader,—to point out, as from afar, what was yet to come—and also to bring into requisition the expanding, even advisory activity of the reader, since he seems to have thought he could thus write the more appropriately and advantageously.

A similar phenomenon, and one which is entirely appropriate as yielding the proper explanation, is found in the first Book of Maccabees. In it the mode of writing history is not that of the more ancient authors, any more than in our book. "One nowhere reads how God had awakened or directed the hearts and minds in this sacred warfare for the faith, as one can still find in the books of Ezra or Nehemiah (Ezra viii. 31; Neh. ii. 8, 12, 20; iv. 9; vii. 5). Of none of the heroes arising in this war is it said that he was inspired by the Spirit of God. According to chap. xiii. 7 the spirit of the people again revived, but the people was not influenced by the Spirit of God. It would almost seem as if the author had lost sight of the fact that the immediate indwelling and governing presence of Jehovah in and among His peculiar people, was essential to the Hebraistic conception." (GRIMM *on* 1 *Macc.*, p. xviii.). As in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah we miss that theocratic pragmatism which throws a supernatural illumination over the events transpiring, the same can be much more truly affirmed of the first book of Maccabees. In like manner with the author of our book, the writer of that history also avoids the mention of the name of God, and it is not found even once, whether by the term θεός or κύριος. Those passages of several of the editions of the

Alexandrian text, which have θεός, (chap. iii. 18; iv. 24; vii. 37, 41), are, as Grimm also holds, critically more than doubtful (comp. Rosenthal, *Das* 1 *Mack.-Buch, eine historische und sprachlich-Kritische Studie*, Leip. 1867). Still the religious spirit, though it be peculiar, is present in that book. It is also clear that it is more than mere enthusiasm for the law and legal sentiment as to the mode of worship, *etc.* The faith is just as important to the author as is the faithfulness to law. In him, too, we find the designation of the people as the people of the faith (Macc. iii. 13; ii. 59, 61, *etc.*). In distinction from our author, however, he frequently reveals to us the fact that his heroes pray. His reference to God is at times so manifest that Luther did not hesitate to add the name of God, even where the author speaks very indefinitely of the law, or covenant, or of a will in heaven; and where it is unquestionable that *God's* law, covenant or will is meant (1 Macc. ii. 21, 54; iii. 60).

This spirit is further seen in the apocryphal book in question not only in such expressions as: *ἵλεως ἡμῖν καταλιπεῖν, etc.* ("God forbid that we should forsake," chap. ii. 21), but also when the author says that they cried (to God) in prayer (chap. v. 33, *etc.*). This is especially true of the language and prayers of his heroes, who, though zealous for the law and the faith, are still prevented from calling God by name. Judas says: "Victory (strength) cometh from heaven" (chap. iii. 19). And still speaking of heaven he says: "He (αὐτός), (the Lord) Himself will overthrow them" (chap. iii. 22). Again: "Let us cry to heaven" (chap. iv. 10), "if peradventure He (the (Lord) will have mercy upon us." Of their victories it is even said that, "they turned back and praised (the Lord) heaven that He (the Lord) had been good, and His mercy endureth for ever" (chap. iv. 24).

From this comparison of the books of Maccabees we arrive at the following explanation with reference to the matter in question: The *naive* and direct piety of former times, being devoid of reflection, gradually give way to a different state during the exile. The Jews were in that age very sensitive not to manifest their innermost and holiest thoughts to the gaze of day, after the manner of their forefathers. It was a great satisfaction to the Jewish national feeling, groaning under oppression and opposed to heathenism, to know that the secrets of their faith and law were well known and understood by themselves without having to enter expressly upon a declaration of them; and also that these were unknown and unattainable by the heathen. The more general the fidelity to the law and the faith of the fathers became, at least externally, the more they took courage. The more apparent the contrast became between heathenism and Judaism,—which was however gradually lost by their political dependence, their political character, also being thus effaced,—the more the characteristics of their religion shone forth. Indeed, the Jews were henceforth persecuted only because of their laws and faith, in a word, their being different from their captors. Hence it was quite natural that the Jews, as such, should feel themselves to be the people of the true God, before all others. So it was also with the author, who represented them as being in this exalted relation, without even distinctly so expressing himself. To all this was added the progressive spiritualizing of God, which had previously reached a high stage in the prophetical times. This was now carried to a still higher pitch of development. Hence, those modes of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, which before were a necessity of the more vital piety, were now avoided. Thus in bringing out the exalted character of God, as being above the creature, His transcendental character was brought into greater prominence, and His imminence was more and more kept out of sight. It is well known that the name Jehovah was entirely withdrawn from usage, as being too holy. We might very easily suppose that God Himself was held to be too holy and exalted to be much spoken of, even in divine worship. But once having entered upon this tendency of mind, a further step was not difficult of execution. Some, as our author, would not even mention in a general way the influence of a higher power, while others, as the author of 1 Maccabees, contented themselves with a little less reserve.

It is doubtless true that such a tendency had its great dangers. While the Old Testament theism, being faith in a living God, active in the development of the world and of mankind, held the proper middle ground between pantheism and deism, by believing in an ever-present real divine Spirit, it gradually and unmistakably leaned over to deism, in strong

contrast with pantheistic heathendom. We thus have it exhibited to us in the Apocrypha. There, in place of the living immanent Spirit of God, we have the transcendental *νοῦς* or the abstract *σοφία*. Hence a childlike trust in God and a true moral fear of God, had no more a proper place. Indeed it went still farther and degenerated into an abstract one-sidedness. Of this we have an example in later Judaism as opposed to Christianity. This also characterizes Mohamedanism. By cherishing such a worldly and materialistic spirit which ignores God, is very apt to grow more and more inveterate, as was especially manifest in Israel in later times.

Still, we must not suppose that this tendency had in the time of the present author proceeded to such a length; it was as yet but the normal development of the people of Israel. In its proper limits, and proceeding from a good foundation, it had a worthy aim. This was first of all to bring to general recognition the religious element as something self-evident and elevated above all exposition. Our author does not really intend to lose out of sight the mysteries of the faith and law. He rather presupposes them as self-evident. This is apparently from the circumstance that he not only represents the history of which he treats as being decidedly providential in its development, but also from the manner in which he gives the reason why Mordecai refused to bow the knee. So also in respect to the time in which the edict of Haman was published, and which should prove so destructive to the Jews (it was during the time of their Paschal festival), he is very indefinite, simply indicating it. Again we may note how he causes Mordecai to speak so indefinitely and yet in a manner so easily understood with reference to the help that would certainly come to the Jews. So also Esther is urged to take refuge in fasting which is almost inseparable from prayer, instead of praying at once as the nearest remedy at hand. The feeling arises in us on reading these passages, that he thought far more than he said, and that his silence has its ground in something quite different from infidelity.

Besides, the style of our book is most appropriate to its contents. Indeed we can readily recognize a divine providence in the fact, that just such a style and not a more religious one should have been employed. The deliverance of the Jewish people within the Persian dominions, which forms its subject was, of course, in itself a great and important event. But this was not brought about by a divinely-inspired hero, nor yet by the faithful valor of the people, but through the influence which a woman exerted over the king. In how different a manner will the soldiers (combatants) of the kingdom of God gain the victory in the future time of decision! Not through the charms of flesh, but by the Spirit and living energy of the Lord. Not by means of a forcible uniting and a bloody massacre, but by a willing submission. Instead of destroying others, they rather endure the utmost injury. It is in this succumbing that the highest power and glory is revealed; not in persecuting but in blessing! The plot is wrought out according to a human method. To have regarded the representative character of the persons and events described as being after the earthly type, and yet to have exalted them to a higher and holier tone, by which they would be brought into an immediate relation to God, would have created a discord. This would hardly have satisfied or edified the religious sentiment, but rather would have been a cause of irritation.

Certain it is, that although our book does not expressly take notice of and cultivate religion as such, still it forms a very essential part of the religious history of the kingdom of God. We were early reminded, in the introduction to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, § 1, that the Diaspora remaining in heathen countries was by no means a rejected branch of the people of the covenant, but rather that it had a very important purpose to fulfil as regards the final accomplishment of the mission of Israel. This was clearly seen in the apostolic-Christian period. Hence the preservation of the despised Jews might very easily have become just as important as was the new founding of the people in Judæa and Jerusalem. Our book has to do with the preservation of this Diaspora, which, conditioned by peculiar circumstances, had taken on a low form, because living in a heathen world. But this in its deeper aspect still continued to be a part of the history of God's kingdom. It was an act of God by which He confessed Himself to this people as to His own peculiar people, and drew it up to Himself as its God. In addition to this the book is not only evidence that there is a just government of the world—that he who digs a pit for another will fall into it himself—that the

enemies of the elect people are destroyed because of their enmity; but it also teaches, if we rightly understand it, the very simple and yet difficult duty of placing God's honor above that of man, and God's cause above the interest of man. At least it encourages us so to do. It represents to us the conflict into which the God-fearing man, as also the whole people (or church) may be plunged, in the execution of that duty. When the State is no more guided by divine principles, and as such is no more either theocratic or Christian, but purely human and heathen, this book points to the victory which the true people will in some way or other continue to obtain.

If we place this book, having such an important message, by the side of both the other post-exilian books as regards Judaism, namely Ezra and Nehemiah, it clearly testifies, as do also those, that the people of God, conceived as a religious society, can exist without having political independence, and fulfil their final destiny. But it shows also that they could maintain their integrity, even if separated and scattered. This is a truth which nowhere else finds such definite expression, but yet it forms the basis of existence for the most of the Israelites during all the following periods of time. Hence, also, the peculiar reverence paid to our book in preference to others by later Judaism. And this is not from any pathologically unsound cause. It rests not upon a passion aroused by the inimical and oppressive acts of other people, but it can be justified by a genuine religious reason. In so far as it celebrates the victory of the divine law over the world, and reveals its inviolableness in this new and distinct method, thus becoming an indispensable support of the Torah, it justifies the remarkable manner of its statement, as MAIMONIDES and later writers have fully shown. In so far as it teaches that the glory of God is pre-eminent over that of man, that those who refuse to honor man lest they deprive God of His due regard will not fail to receive their reward from God; in so far must Esther be to us indeed a *star* which leads us to battle on faithfully and courageously, should the State seek to put forth its power and endeavor to enter the religious domain in too absolute a manner.

If the canonical merit of the Old-Testament books consists to a great extent in the fact of their passing beyond the bounds of their own nation; if they have a more general relation, on account of which they are closely related to the cosmopolitan New Testament, still we must not forget that the national tendency of our author had not yet reached this point. He had not attained to that sense of superiority and contrast which ultimately made the Jews jealous of the communication that was given to them for transmission to other nations. He was at least indifferent to the weal or salvation of others, and even sought to obtain advantage over them, and to injure them. He does not reveal any timidity, such as we find in the book of Judith, where Nebuchadnezzar is degraded far below Ahasuerus. There, however, the Jews appear in a far more ideal light.

Thus in ch. viii. 17 he gives prominence to the fact that many of the people of the land—even though incited by fear—were converted over to Judaism; and he thereby indicates that, in addition to the negative effect, which for the purpose in hand he is necessitated to notice, this judgment of God over the world had also a decidedly positive result, namely, the reception among His people of heathen subject to His influence. The writer also recognizes in the great ruler noticed in this book a capacity to appreciate Judaism and its representatives to some extent at least. So also among the majority of the heathen populace he indicates a sense of justice and humanity which did not suffer them to rejoice at the promulgation of the first unrighteous decree for the extermination of the Jews, but on the contrary he shows that they were exceedingly glad because of the second favorable edict. He seems to be impressed with the fact that they have both the inclination and the capacity at some time to arrive at a knowledge of the true God, and for his part he would gladly leave the door open for them.

### [Excursus on the Liturgical Use of the Book of Esther.]

[BY THE AMERICAN REVISER.]

[It is well known that this book is a favorite with the Jews, by whom it is often entitled הַמְּגִלָּה, *the Roll*, by way of distinction from all others; and it is more frequently used in a separate form than any other of the sacred books. The extravagant estimate of the Rabbins is well repre-

sented by the saying of MAIMONIDES, above alluded to, that in the days of the Messiah all the books of the Old Testament will pass away, except the Pentateuch and Esther. This fondness for the book in question has doubtless arisen from the fact that it so highly gratifies the Jewish national pride.

The Feast of Purim (פּוּרִים, *lots*, so called from the fact stated in chap. ix. 26–32) is a standing memorial of the historical character of this book. As we have seen, it has been commemorated even since the days of the writer of the second book of Maccabees (xv. 36—the "Mordecai's day"—ἡ Μορδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα). The festival was so popular in the time of JOSEPHUS that he tells us: "Even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festivals, and send portions to one another" (*Antiq.* XI. 6, 13). That popularity has not diminished since. It has even been maintained by many (PETAVIUS, OLSHAUSEN, STIER, WIESELER, WINER, ANGER, ALFORD, ELLICOTT, *etc.*, after a suggestion by KEPLER) that our Lord observed this festival (ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, John v. 1); but the absence of the Greek article there is not at all decisive (as WINER himself admits, *Gramm. of N. T. Idioms*, MAYER's Ed., p. 125), and there are very great objections to the identification of the "feast" in question with that of Purim, especially the fact that the parallel gospels show that the one which our Lord at that time attended was during the harvest-season (Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 22; Luke vi. 1).

Among the modern Jews the festival of Purim is regularly held on two days, the 14th and 15th of Adar, the last month of the year, corresponding to our March in general. In intercalary years it is repeated in full on the same days of the 13th month, Ve-adar. A preliminary fast, called "the fast of Esther," is appointed to be observed on the 13th day, in accordance with the command of Esther (iv. 5, 6); and sundry prayers of repentance, humiliation, *etc.* (סליחות) are introduced into the regular ritual for that day. As on all the fast days, the lesson from the Law consists of Exod. xxxii. 11–14; xxxiv. 1–11; and that from the Prophets of Isa. lv. 6—lvi. 9. If the 13th of Adar falls on a Sabbath, the fast takes place on the Thursday preceding, as no fasting is allowed on that sacred day, and it could not be held on Friday, because those engaged in preparing food for the Sabbath would necessarily have to taste the dishes to try them, or at least would be occupied in the labor connected with that preparatory day. If the 14th happened to fall on a Sabbath, or on Monday, or Wednesday, the commencement of the festival is deferred for similar reasons of convenience till the next day. On the evening closing the 13th and beginning the 14th, as soon as the stars appear, candles are lighted in token of rejoicing, and the people assemble in the synagogues. After the usual evening service, consisting of prayer and thanksgiving, the entire book of Esther is read through by the prælector from a roll written separately in Hebrew characters on good parchment with ink (Mishna, *Megillah*, II. 2). Any one is qualified to read it, except deaf people, fools and minors (*ibid.* II. 4), and it is lawful to read it in a foreign language to those who can only so understand it (*ibid.* II. 1). The prælector reads it in a histrionic manner, suiting his tones and gestures to the changes in the subject matter. Whenever he comes to the name of Haman, the congregation stamp on the floor and cry out: "Let his name be blotted out! The name of the wicked shall rot!" At the same time, in some places, the boys who are present make a great noise with their hands, with mallets, with rattles, and with pieces of wood and stone, on which they had written the name of Haman, and which they rubbed together so as to obliterate the writing. The passage in which the names of Haman's ten sons occur (ix. 7–9) is read very rapidly, and, if possible, in one breath, to signify that they were all hung at the same time. For this reason that passage is written in larger letters, and the names are arranged under one another. The tradition is that the names are written in three perpendicular columns to represent the hanging of Haman and his sons upon three parallel cords, three upon each cord, one above another (STAEHELIN, *Rabbini. Literat.*, II. 349). The Targum on Esth. in WALTON's *Polyglott* (*ad loc.*), however, states that they all hung on the gallows in one line, Haman at the top, and his ten sons at intervals of half a cubit under him. It is added that Zeresh and Haman's seventy surviving sons fled, and begged their bread from door to door (in evident allusion to Psalm cix. 9, 10). After the roll is finished, the reader dismisses the congregation with a short benediction. All go home and partake of a repast said to consist of milk and eggs.

On the morning of the 14th, the proper feast-day, the Jews again attend the synagogue, where several appointed prayers are added to the usual daily ritual, and instead of the regular lesson, the passage is read from the law (Exod. xvii. 8–16) which relates the destruction of the Amalekites, the people of Agag (1 Sam. xv. 8), the supposed ancestors of Haman (Esth. iii. 1). This is read by three persons—a priest, a Levite, and an Israelite. After this the roll of Esther is read through

again in the same manner, and with the same responses as on the preceding evening. All who possibly can are bound to hear it read—men, women, children, cripples, invalids, and even idiots—though they may, if they please, listen to it outside the synagogue (Mishna, *Rosh ha-Shanah*, III. 7). When the service in the synagogue is over, all give themselves up to merry-making. Games of all sorts, with dancing and music, begin. The rest of the day is spent in feasting and rejoicing. Open house is kept; poor and rich, young and old, have free access to come and enjoy themselves. In the evening a quaint dramatic entertainment is often held, the subject of which is connected with the occasion. The men sometimes put on female apparel, declaring that the feast of Purim (Esth. ix. 22) suspends the rule in Deut. xxii. 5. A dainty meal then follows, sometimes with a free indulgence of wine, which the Rabbins allow on this occasion to the extent of absolute intoxication (Gemara on *Megillah*, VII. 2).

On the 15th day of Adar the rejoicing is continued, and gifts consisting chiefly of sweetmeats and other eatables are interchanged. Offerings for the poor are also made by all who can afford to do so (Esth. ix. 19, 22). See GINSBURG, in KITTO's *Cyclopædia*, *s. v.* Purim; CLARK, in SMITH's *Dictionary of the Bible*, *s. v.* Purim; SHICKART, in the *Critici Sacri*, III., 1184; MILLS, *British Jews*, p. 188; ESKUCHE, *De festo Judæorum Purim*, Marburg (1734, 4to.); AXENFELD, על פורים *Betrachtung, etc.* (Erlang., 1807).]

## § 4. COMPOSITION, TIME OF ORIGIN AND INTEGRITY.

The discussion respecting the *author* of this book had to be reserved until after the preceding questions had been determined, inasmuch as an answer to it would otherwise have been only of the most uncertain kind. Nor could we have hoped, by the solution of this point, to throw much light on the historical character of the book, or its canonical dignity. In chap. ix. 20 it is stated that: "Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews;" in verse 23, "The Jews undertook to do . . . as Mordecai had written to them;" and in verse 26, "Therefore for all the words of this letter." We are not, hence, to conclude that our book was written by Mordecai, nor that it is so claimed, but that the author had knowledge of such writings referable to Mordecai himself, with respect to Purim, and also that he made use of them. In the rest of the book we are at a loss for even a hint in regard to the person of our author. Even as relates to the locality where it was written we are in great uncertainty. Still the unusual familiarity which it evinces with Persian matters, which is in strong and remarkable contrast with the ignorance of later apocryphal books, and especially its total lack of allusion to Judæa or Jerusalem, makes it very probable that the author did not belong to the parent body in Palestine, but to the Diaspora in Asia. According to the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, p. 15, c. 1), the book of Esther belonged to those (Ezekiel, the twelve lesser prophets, Daniel and Esther) which were written by the scribes of the Great Synagogue. But it is evident that this tradition has reference not so much to its composition as to its authoritativeness, a final editorial supervision. In the same sense the Talmud speaks of Hezekiah and his college, that they wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes.

As regards the *time of the origin* of our book, we are told by ZUNZ (*Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.*, 1873, p. 687) that among other results obtained, he not only finds in it Persian and later Hebrew expressions, but also some terms derived from the Mishna. He assumes that the composition of Esther belongs to the post-Maccabæan period, in which the knowledge of the persecutions in Palestine had reached the Eastern countries. But he has cited only a very few expressions "which remind us of the linguistic usage of the Mishna," *viz.:* עָבַר with and without מִצְוַת, in the sense of "transgressing" from (chap. iii. 8; ix. 27, 28), עָשָׂה יוֹם טוֹב (chap. ix. 19) and וּמָה רָאוּ (chap. ix. 26), expressions which equally belong to the ante-Maccabæan period, and to the later age. Certain it is that our book belongs to the last written (youngest) in the Canon. In its language it stands nearest to Ecclesiastes, after that to Ezra, Nehemiah, and the book of Daniel. It has three later words, in common with Ecclesiastes, (זמן, בקשה, בירה) as well as with Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Chron., and שלט in common with Ecclesiastes and also with Nehemiah and the 119th Psalm. Five expressions are in common with Eccles. only (כשר, יותר מכני, זע, ובכן, אִלּוּ). The entire method or style, so far as it deviates from the mode of old and sacred historical composition, and approaches that of the 1

Book of Macc., and especially where the author endeavors to preserve an artistic and fascinating mode of development, would clearly show that he had already past one æra of progress, such as had not yet shown itself in the time of Ezra or Nehemiah, or at least first began in the age of those writers to break a way for itself. This fact also appears from the manner in which the author treats or rather neglects to treat of the relation which Judaism bears to heathenism, namely, its religious element, and more particularly in his non-reference to God and the divine government. Perhaps, in the period in which he wrote, the Greek age was near at hand or had already come. This would agree with the reference of Ahasuerus to Xerxes, whose position in ancient history is well defined. Still we must not insist too much on this feature, lest we come into conflict with the authorship of the Greek manuscripts and the consequent age of the Greek translation of the book.

The subscription to these Greek copies, which may have been added later, and has the air of being based upon an invention or supposition, relates that a certain Dositheus had brought to Egypt, in the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, a translation of this epistle of Purim (*i. e.*, of our book of Esther, perhaps without the apocryphal additions), prepared by Lysimachus in Jerusalem. Among the four kings of the name of Ptolemy, who had queens named Cleopatra (B. C. 204–81), the one above-mentioned was probably Ptolemy Philometor, in whose reign, which was so friendly to the Jews (B. C. 181–145), the feast of Purim, and therefore also our book, might most readily find entrance into Egypt (comp. FRITZSCHE, *Exeg. Handbuch zu den Apokr.*, I., p. 72 sq.). It also says that there was a translation of Esther as early as the first half of the second century before Christ. Were we to conclude from 1 Macc. vii. 49, where the festival of Purim is not mentioned on the occasion of the celebration of the day of Nicanor the day previous, that the festival of Purim and the book of Purim had not found an earlier and more general recognition in Palestine than it did in Egypt so that at the time of the Maccabees it was not even known, still there would be nothing strange or contradictory in such an assumption. Nevertheless we could not reach any conclusion from this with respect to the time of the origin of our book. The Jews *in Palestine* were not threatened by the occurrences related in Esther, nor did the danger to the Jews there mentioned, or the defeat they brought upon their enemies, have much to do with their existence in that country. No inimical heathen people lived among the Palestinian Jews, to rise against them, or cause them to perish. Neighboring nations could only have shown their enmity by means of an invasion, which would not have differed greatly from an ordinary war (comp. HERZFELD, *Gesch. Israels*, II. 1, p. 8). Hence there was no immediate occasion for a festival of Purim for them. At all events such a conclusion as a mere *argumentum e silentio* would be very hazardous. It may not be improbable, indeed, that the day of the defeat of Nicanor, so far as we know concerning it (comp. § 2), might have been similar to our more modern days of battles and victories; and although at first there was a purpose of celebrating it annually, as a festival day, yet after several times, at last its memory became obliterated and it was forgotten by the majority. Hence the author of the 1st book of Maccabees had no real occasion to bring it into any relation to the day of Purim which came a day after.

Finally, we come to the question of the *integrity* of our book. If we hold fast to the Hebrew text, we will find that, as we have seen above (comp. chap. i. 9, 19; x.), it forms a beautifully arranged and greatly progressive whole, in which every individual part furnishes an integral and indispensable portion, and in which nothing essential is found wanting. But the case is very different in the second half of chapter ix. J. D. MICHAELIS asserts the beginning of this latter section to be the seventeenth verse, but BERTHEAU holds it to begin at vers. 20-32, in which reference is made to a letter by Mordecai to the Jews, and some of its contents are brought to light. Even the style of expression of this part is in unmistakable contrast with the rest of the book. קִיֵּם, in the sense of "establishing ordinances" or "making them authoritative," in verses 21, 27, 29, 31, and 32 (elsewhere only in Ruth iv. 7; Ezek. xiii. 6; Psa. cxix. 28, 106); the singular immediately preceding the plural of the subject, as in ver. 23 (וְקִבֵּל הַיְּהוּדִים); the fem. substantive in a neuter sense, as in ver. 25 (וּבְבֹאָהּ); further the

mode of speech עִם־הַסֵּפֶר (ver. 25), וּמָה־רָאוּ (ver. 26), *etc.*, all this does not again occur in the rest of the book. To this we are also to add matters of fact. The short report which is given in vers. 24-26 concerning the occasion and significance of the festival of Purim, sounds quite different from what we would be led to expect from the previously given history. It is especially remarkable that no mention is made of Esther's interference. But it rather seems according to ver. 25 ("and when it came before the king he commanded by letters") as if the king had before been ignorant of the intention of Haman, at least with its real import, and only needed to be more fully informed with regard to it; and that he then at once proceeded against Haman. One would think that the author would have apprehended the chief facts at issue quite differently, if he himself there gave their *resumé*. This *resumé* seems to be based upon a mode of statement by which many things that appear essential and important, are treated as of less significance, or are entirely omitted. Now we would not venture to assert, as does BERTHEAU, that the method of statement, lying at the basis, was in such flat contradiction to the substance of our book. We can easily conceive that the author may have differently presented the leading events in different parts of his work. Certainly the *resumé* of vers. 24–26 falls far short of proving the contrary. Again between verses 15-19 on the one hand, in which a part of the Jews celebrate the 15th of Adar on the 14th, even in the author's time; and vers. 20 sqq., on the other hand, where the celebration of *both* days is introduced through the writings of Mordecai, a contradiction is very unjustly urged by BERTHEAU (comp. chap. ix. 19).

We may presume from the peculiarities found in the section verses 20–32 there is contained in it an element more fundamental than elsewhere. Yet we have no right to argue from the absence of all real contradictions that the author had himself expunged them.—According to verse 20 there did exist a book of Purim referable to Mordecai. Perhaps the same one is meant in verse 32, by the writing in which the orders of Esther were recorded. It is quite possible that from it our author should have taken this section extending from vers. 20 to 32.

But next to the original text we must have regard to the older versions. In the Septuagint version there are several additions, which Luther threw out as being "apocryphal parts in Esther." But these are so interwoven into the text of the Greek Bible that they could easily be held to be integral parts of the book. Thus, to begin with, there is in chap. i. a dream of Mordecai, in which are indicated the most important phases of the subsequent history. In chap. iii. we find an edict by Ahasuerus ordering the extermination of the Jews. In chap. iv. there is a prayer by Mordecai, and also one by Esther, which they offered in their distress. Chap. v. has an explicit description of the appearance of Esther before Ahasuerus. Finally in chap. viii. 13 we find the new edict, issued by Mordecai, favoring the Jews, and as a conclusion of the whole an interpretation of the dream that had been indicated in chap. i.

Now the question is, What are we to think of these expansions? The assumption of BELLARMINE (*De verbo Dei*, chap. vii., § 10) and of DE ROSSI (*Specimen variarum lectionum s. textus et Chaldaica Esteris additamenta*, Romæ, 1782), to whom SCHOLZ may also be added (*Introd.*, II., p. 538 sqq.), is that, originally, there were two books of Esther in existence; a larger one, from which these additions of the Greek version were taken, and a smaller, which was perhaps only an extract of the former. That the latter, however, should be regarded as our present Hebrew book, is not to-day held by any one. Equally untenable is the position taken by JOS. LANGEN, that the passages referred to were taken from Mordecai's "memoirs" (comp. ch. ix. 29 sqq.), or even from the annals of the king of Persia (comp. chap. ii. 23; vi. 1). See LANGEN, *Die deuterocanonischen Stücke des Buches Esther*, Freiburg, 1862). The hypotheses in question were only originated to defend the canonicity of these additions decreed by the Council of Trent. A second, more enlarged book of Esther, whose expansion has been gratuitously assumed, but which was not regarded worthy of preservation, is nothing more than a wilful and highly improbable fiction, as indeed is virtually conceded by LANGEN. But as to these additions themselves, which according to LANGEN still have documentary value, we would call attention to the following considerations:

(1) The dream of Mordecai stands in such a slight connection with the rest of the history

that its very presence declares it a useless and unessential work. In order that it might not appear too isolated, its author has connected it with the discovery of the conspiracy of the two court officials, as if this were the first and the chief point of the general history, especially of the enmity of Haman against Mordecai. But thereby he becomes involved in contradictions with the original book, as is evident in departures from the latter traceable in the additions. For example, it is stated that Mordecai had his dream in the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes (Achashverosh). Consequently he must then also have discovered the conspiracy. But according to chap. ii. 21 sqq. these court officers entered into a conspiracy after the elevation of Esther. It must, therefore, have been in the seventh year of the reign of the king. Again Mordecai is represented as having already received some presents, by which the jealousy of Haman was intensified; whereas in chap. vi. 3 it is stated that he had not yet been rewarded. But what makes the whole account very suspicious is that the contents of our book would be materially altered and weakened by this incentive to the hostility of Haman towards Mordecai. The conflict between heathenism and Judaism, as such, would be transformed into an ordinary contest between two rival aspirants.

(2) These additions contrast so strongly in their spirit and tone with the genuine book of Esther, that we are obliged to look for their origin elsewhere. The religious element, which in the real book of Esther is so rarely manifested, is in them very decidedly, we might say extravagantly, expressed—so much so that we could properly accuse them of a species of hypocrisy.

(3) Even the diction makes it clearly probable that the passages referred to were originally written in Greek. Thus the circumstance speaks against them, that where the conference between Esther and the king is related, they have a strong Græcizing, and even an Alexandrine romantic character; which, according to Ewald, reminds us very forcibly of the 2d book of Maccabees. So also the notorious fact, that for a long time they were accepted by the Jews who spoke Greek, but not by the others, at least not by the authors of the Targums. In keeping with their Greek-Alexandrine origin, is the peculiarity that the author of these additions in several places designates Haman as being a *Macedonian* (Μακεδών) instead of an Agagite. This is done, doubtless, to make the epithet intelligible to his own vicinity and age, as that of an enemy of the Jewish people (in accordance with the text yet to be referred to, but which is rarely found at the end of the first addition; and also according to the edict interpolated at chap. viii. 13, as well as chap. ix. 24, where no tampering hand would be likely to be traced).

Doubtless we here have only embellishments, which some one has permitted himself to add, on the ground of tradition, or through his own poetic fancy. The comfort which the book gave was too desirable for it to wait long to become a favorite book with the people. They might indeed, perhaps, have felt the absence of the religious element. But, as has already been remarked, the Jewish community did not stand in such a receptive attitude towards those books written later, as towards the older sacred writings, which for some time previous had received a closed form. Yet they infallibly detected these suspicious passages by the interrupting of the general scope of the work by the conjectures thereby made by the mention of edicts that were decreed, as if those missing things should be added to complete the narrative. Indeed some one had evidently felt called upon, at these interesting points of detail, to expand the narrative occasionally. But how and when were enlarging or finishing touches given? That these additions had their origin in the reason just mentioned was held by Jerome, who in the preface to Esther remarks: "The Vulgate edition draws this book hither and thither by redundant coves (*laciniosis sinibus*) of words, adding whatever could on the occasion be said or heard; as is the custom in school exercises, after taking a theme to think out what words he can use who has sustained an injury, or he who has done an injury."

We may also observe the presumed progress of this tradition in the history of the book of Esther. In an earlier text of the Septuagint version (in Cod. 19, 93 and 1086 first published by James Ussher in his *Syntagma de Græca LXX. interpretum versione*, Lond., 1655; next by Fritzsche in his 'ΕΣΘΗΡ, *duplicem libri textum*, ed. Turici, 1848), we find a special mode of treatment, which, of course, is but a remodelling of the original text. This text

changed what was unintelligible and objectionable, and contracted what was too broadly asserted; thereby removing contradictions. But it also added other emendations (comp. FRITZSCHE, *Exeg. Handbuch zu den Apokr.*, p. 70 sq.). JOSEPHUS, on his part, holds unreservedly to the Septuagint version, especially following the more ancient text. But he omits Mordecai's dream and its interpretation, and thus discloses a growing tradition by relating that a Jewish slave, Barnabazu, had revealed to Mordecai the conspiracy of the door-keepers spoken of in chap. ii. Even the old Latin translation, made prior to Jerome's time, used some free ornamentations (comp. FRITZSCHE, as above p. 74 sq.).

The Chaldee paraphrases or Targums are very important to the understanding of our book, chiefly because they have not adopted the Greek additions. If the latter had been at all genuine and authentic, they must have done very differently. A tradition would probably have arisen which, after the Talmudic period, would have asserted its authority. Still we must notice that some of them at least have embellishments. Among the earliest of the Chaldee versions we regard the Targum on Esther as now found in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. This is nothing more than an exact translation of the Heb. book. But the so-called first Targum on Esther found in the London Polyglot (comp. *Targum prius et posterius in Estheram nunc primum in ling. Lat. transl.*, stud. et op. FRANC. TAILERI, Lond., 1665, 4to.; see also another edition by WOLF, *Bibl. Hebr.*, II., p. 1171 sqq.). This follows very closely the Hebrew book verse for verse. Hence it has no place for the dream of Mordecai. But in order to give our book a higher and wider relation, it designates Ahasuerus in ch. i. 1 as the one in whose time the building of the temple was at a stand-still, and looks upon Haman as the one to blame for that delay. It understands that the two courtiers in chapter ii. 21 entered into a conspiracy against the king, because they saw Mordecai sitting in the Sanhedrim, which had been built in the king's gate by Esther's orders, and they deemed themselves thereby crowded out of favor.—בְּזוֹכַיָא דְּהָאִנּוּן מָרְדְּכַי יָתִיב בְּסַנְהֶדְרִין דְּתַקִּינַת לֵהּ אֶסְתֵּר בִּתְרַע־מַלְכָּא. It has also discovered that Haman, who is poetically represented in the beginning of ch. iii. as having been promoted for the exaltation of the divine glory, is angry at Mordecai above all others, inasmuch as he himself wishes to make his own daughter queen in the place of Esther. It ignores the prayers which the Greek Bible puts into the mouth of Mordecai and Esther. Still it points out in ch. iv. 16 that Esther requested not only that a fast should be observed on her behalf, but also that they should pray day and night. Besides it puts a prayer in an altogether arbitrary manner into the mouth of Esther herself in ch. v., in which she does not, as is stated in the Greek Bible, have regard to her people first and chiefly, but to herself purely: "Lord of the universe, do not give me over into the hands of this uncircumcised man, and fulfil not the desire of this wicked Haman on me!" *etc.* The so-called second Targum which, especially in ch. i. 1, has a style at once homiletical and extravagantly rhetorical, but which in general is more simple and brief than the former one, knows just as little of Mordecai's dream.* But, on the other hand, in ch. iii. 3, Mordecai is made to declare that God alone is to be worshipped, and to show the baseness of man and the exalted character of God. In ch. iii. 8 Haman in a very round-about way exposes the customs and ordinances of the Jews. An edict of Ahasuerus, having for its object the destruction of the Jews, is here inserted though it is first properly supplemented in ch. iv. 1. But this is just as peculiar as the prayer of Esther referred to in ch. v. 1.

The book ascribed to JOSIPON BEN GORION contains the dream and prayer of Mordecai and also that of Esther in its ch. ii. 1–3. It has also very faithfully copied from the Greek Bible the statement of the appearance of Esther before the king; and it has formed the medium by which such passages might be transmitted to the Jews speaking or writing in Hebrew, in the Midrashim, *etc.* We find the prayer and dream of Mordecai, as given in JOSIPON's work carried over verbatim into the oldest Midrash on Esther (WOLF, *Bibl. Hebr.*, ii., p. 1332; and ZUNZ, as above, p. 264).

The Chaldaic section also, beginning with the superscription: "A prayer of Mordecai;

* It is an erroneous or indefinite mode of expression when ZUNZ, in his work (*Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 121), remarks: "The dream and prayers of Mordecai and Esther are found to vary very much from the Greek text, especially in the second book of the Targum of the Book of Esther," *etc.*

a prayer of Esther, and a dream of the former," and occurring in several not very ancient manuscripts of the Old Testament (comp. ZUNZ, p. 121), is really nothing more than an almost literal translation of JOSIPON ii. 1–2. DE ROSSI was certainly in error when he regarded this as a main proof for his theory, that originally there must have been a more copious book of Esther, out of which he took these Chaldaic passages to be the original documents preserved.

[The importance of these apocryphal additions to the book of Esther demands some further notice. We condense the following particulars from the article in MCCLINTOCK's and STRONG's *Cyclopædia*, *s. v.*:—

In the Septuagint and Old Latin versions these additions are dispersed through the canonical book, forming therewith a well-digested whole; and they therefore have in those versions no separate title. JEROME separated them in his edition, and removed (or rather added) them to the end of the book because they are not in the Hebrew, and they consequently appear in the Vulgate as the last seven chapters of the book. LUTHER entirely severed the apocryphal books from the canonical, placing the additions in question under a separate title; and the English Version has followed him in this, designating these pieces as "the rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee," and numbering them as "part of the tenth chapter after the Greek," and chaps. xi.—xvi.

The design of these additions evidently is to give a more decidedly religious tone to the record contained in the book of Esther, and to show more plainly how wonderfully the God of Israel interfered to save His people and confound their enemies. This the writer has effected by elaborating upon the events narrated in the canonical volume the following pieces:

1. Chap. i. 1 of the canonical book is preceded in the Septuagint by a piece which tells us that Mordecai, who was in the service of Artaxerxes, dreamed of the dangers that threatened his people and of their deliverance (vers. 1–12). He afterwards discovered a conspiracy against the king, which he disclosed to him, and was greatly rewarded for it (vers. 13–18). In the Vulg. and English this constitutes chap. xi. 2—xii. 6.

2. Between vers. 13 and 14 of chap. iii. of the canonical book the Septuagint gives a copy of the king's edict, addressed to all the satraps, to destroy without compassion that foreign and rebellious people, the Jews, for the good of the Persian nation, on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of the coming year. In the Vulgate and English this is chap. xiii. 1–7.

3. At the end of chap. iv. 17 of the canonical book the Septuagint has two prayers of Mordecai and Esther, that God may avert the impending destruction of His people. In the Vulgate and English this is chap. xiii. 8—xiv.

4. In the midst of vers. 1 and 2 of chap. v. of the canonical book the Septuagint inserts a detailed account of Esther's visit to the king. This is chap. xv. of the Vulgate and English.

5. Between vers. 13 and 14 of chap. viii. of the canonical book the Septuagint gives a copy of the edict which the king sent to all his satraps, in accordance with the request of Mordecai and Esther, to abolish his former decree against the Jews. This is chapter xvi. of the Vulgate and English.

6. At the close of the canonical book, chap. x. 3, the Septuagint has a piece in which we are told that Mordecai had now recalled to his mind his extraordinary dream, and seen how literally it had been fulfilled in all its particulars (vers. 4–9). It also gives an account of the proclamation of the Purim festival in Egypt (vers. 10–13). This is given first in the apocrypha portion of the Vulgate, and English (as chap. x. 4–13).

7. The whole book in the Septuagint is closed with the following entry: "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemæus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemy, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it." In the Vulgate and English this forms chap. xi. 1.

The patriotic spirit with which the Jewish nation so fondly expatiated upon the remarkable events and characters of by-gone days, and which gave rise to those beautiful legends preserved in their copious literature, scarcely ever had a better opportunity afforded to it for employing its richly inventive powers to magnify the Great Jehovah, embalm the memory of the heroes, and brand the names of the enemies of Israel, than in the canonical book of Esther. Nothing could be more na-

tural for a nation who "had a zeal of God" than *to supply the name of God*, and *to point out more distinctly* His interposition in their behalf in an inspired book, which, though recording their marvellous escape from destruction, had for some reasons omitted avowedly to acknowledge the Lord of Israel. The temptation was too great to be resisted, and, as in the case of all apocryphal writing, we are readily enabled by this meretricious embellishment to detect the false amid the genuine.

Besides the book implies and suggests far more than it records, and it cannot be doubted that there are many other things connected with the history it contains which were well known at the time, and were transmitted traditionally and otherwise to the nation. This is evident from the fact that JOSEPHUS (*Antiq.* XI. 6, 6 sq.) gives the edict for the destruction of the Jews in the Persian empire, the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, and the second edict authorizing the Jews to destroy their enemies, also mentioning the name of the eunuch's servant, a Jew, who betrayed the conspiracy to Mordecai, and citing other passages for the Persian chronicles, read to Ahasuerus, besides that relating to Mordecai, as well as amplifications of the king's speech to Haman, *etc.* The same appears in the fact that the second Targum, the Chaldee published by DE ROSSI, and JOSEPHUS BEN-GORIDON (ed. Breithaupt, p. 74 sq.) give the dream of Mordecai, as well as his prayer and that of Esther.

The first addition, in which Mordecai *foresees* in a dream both the dangers and the salvation of his people, is in accordance with the desire to give the whole a more religious tone. The latter part of this addition is intended to develope more distinctly the brief statement given in the canonical book of the loyal service of Mordecai, so as to explain so important an incident. In like manner the second addition originated from the fact that chap. iii. 13 of the canonical book speaks of the royal edict; hence this piece pretends to furnish said document in full. The same is the case with the third addition, which aims to supply the prayers said in chap. iv. 17 to have been offered by Mordecai and Esther. So also the fourth addition, giving a detailed account of Esther's interview with the king, originated in a desire to furnish more complete information upon a fact merely alluded to in the canonical passage. The fifth addition originated in the same manner as the second, namely, in an attempt to supply a copy of the royal edict; while the sixth addition ingeniously concludes with an interpretation of the dream in the first addition. The final entry was apparently intended to give authority to this Greek version of Esther by pretending that it was a certified translation from the Hebrew original. Ptolemy Philometor, who is here meant, began to reign B. C. 181. He is the same who is frequently mentioned in 1 Macc. (*e. g.*, x. 57; xi. 12; comp. JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* XIII. 4, 1 and 5; CLINTON, *Fasti Hellen.*, III. 393). Dositheus seems to be a Greeek version of Mattitiah. Ptolemy was also a common name for Jews at that time. Thus every one of these additions is naturally accounted for as a fabrication having an adequate and natural motive in the connection.

From what has been remarked above, it will be at once apparent that these apocryphal additions were neither manufactured by the translator of the canonical Esther into Greek, nor are they the production of the Alexandrian, nor of any other school or individual, embracing some of the numerous national stories connected with this marvellous deliverance of God's ancient people, the authorship of which is lost in the nation. Many of them date as far back as the nucleus of the event itself, around which they cluster, and all of them grew up at first in the vernacular language of the people (*i. e.*, the Hebrew or Aramaic), but afterwards assumed the complexion and language of the countries in which the Jews happened to settle down. Besides the above references which lead us to these conclusions, we refer also to the two Midrashim published by JELLINEK in his *Bethham-Midrash*, I. (Lpz. 1853), 1 sq.

It is of this Septuagint version that ATHANASIUS (*Test. Epist.*, p. 39, Oxford translation) spoke when he assigned the Book of Esther to the non-canonical books; and this also is, perhaps, the reason why, in some of the lists of the canonical books, Esther is not named, *e. g.*, in those of Melito of Sardis, and Gregory Nazianzen (see WHITTAKER, *Disput. on H. Script.*, Parker Society, pp. 57–58; COSIN on the *Canon of Scripture*, pp. 49, 50), unless in these it is included under some other book, as Ruth or Esdras (LEE, *Dissert. on* 2 *Esdras*, p. 25). The fathers, who generally regarded the Septuagint as containing the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, mostly believed in the canonicity of the additions likewise. Even ORIGEN, though admitting that they are not in the Hebrew, defended their canonicity (*Ep. ad Abiram*, ed. West, p. 225), and the Council of Trent pronounced the whole book of Esther, with all its parts, to be canonical. These additions, however, were never included in the Hebrew canon, and the fact that JOSEPHUS quotes them only shows that

he believed them to be historically true, but not inspired. JEROME, who knew better than any other father what the ancient Jews included in their canon, most emphatically declares them to be spurious (*Præf. in Esth.*). SIXTUS SINENSIS, in spite of the Council of Trent, speaks of these additions in the same condemnatory manner.

See, in addition to the literature elsewhere cited in this connection, The Targum *Sheni* on Esther, in WALTON'S *Polyglott*, Vol. IV.; EICHHORN, *Einleitung in d. Apost. Schriften d. A. T.* (Leipzig, 1795), p. 483: HOTTINGER, *Thesaurus*, p. 494; SCHNURRER (ed.), *Variæ Lectiones Estheris* (Tüb., 1783); HERZFELD, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel* (Nordhausen, 1857, Vol. I., p. 363 sq.); KEIL, *Lehrb. der Historisch-Kritischen Einleit.* (ed. 1859), p. 105 sq.]

## § 5. LITERATURE.

Jewish expositors, next to the Targums, Midrashim and Rabboth, of which ZUNZ speaks (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge d. Yuden*, espec. p. 35, 61 and 170 sqq.), have published commentaries, some of which embrace the whole of the hagiographa (comp. the literature on Ezra and Nehemiah), while others are only on the five Megilloth (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther).

To the latter belong ביאור (Elucidation) על חמש מגילות by ABDIAS SPHORNI, an Italian physician, printed in Venice, 4to.; also פירוש or *exposition* of the five Megilloth by ELISA GALIKO, president of the Synagogue in Safed, publ. in Venice, in 1587, 4to.; also short explanations by JOSEPH TITATZACK or TAITZACK, a Spaniard, who likewise commented on Daniel (Venice, 1608, 4to.). So also ISRAEL ARAMAH, a Spaniard, who commented on the Pentateuch and the Megilloth ([Constantinople, 1518, 4to.], Venice, 1573); MOSES ALMOSHINUS (Venice, 1597, 4to.); R. ABRAHAM, of Heilbronn (under the title of אהבת ציון, *Amor Sionis*, Lublin, 1639), and others. As specially relating to Esther, we may mention the commentaries by R. ISAAK LEON, a Spaniard (Venice, 1565, 4to.; see BARTOLOCCI, in *Bibl. magna Rabb.*); by R. SALOMON BEN ZEMACH (תם ארת ישראל); by R. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAK ZAHALON (Zabulon or Zebulon), which is a literal, allegorical and moral exposition (ישע אלהים, Venice, 1595, 4to.); by R. SAMUEL BEN JUDAH VALERIUS (יד המלך, Venice, 1585, 4to.; by R. SALOMON LEVI ALCABAZ, R. LEO and others (in CARPZOV, *Introd.*, I., p. 875).

Few Christian theologians have treated of the book of Esther. The Church-fathers have left us no exposition or treatment of it at all. Of Roman Catholic authors and their works we may mention: DIONYS. CARTHUSIANI, *Enarrationes in libr. Hester, etc.* (Coloniæ, 1534, fol.); a German exposition of Esther by JOHN FERNS (Mayence, 1567); FRANC FEUARDENTII *Commentaria* (Paris, 1585, Colon., 1595); SERARII *Comm. in Tobiam, Judith, Esther et Maccabæos* (Mayence, 1610); OLIVIERII BONARTII *Comm. literalis et moralis* (Colon., 1647); and DIDACI CELADÆIS *Comm. cum duplici tractatu de convivio Ahasueri mystico, i. e., De Eucharistia et de Esther figurata i. e. beata Virgine* (Lugduni, 1648, fol.). The commentary of FEUARDENTIUS, which is written in easy and almost too flowing Latin, far surpasses all those before mentioned. All the others savor of an intolerably insipid allegorical identification of Esther with the *beata cœlestis Regina* (the Virgin Mary); whereas this of Feuardentius is marked by sober, sound and very practical exegesis, and is based on much general reading. Although he now and then includes the Lutherans among the Hamanites to be exterminated, still Feuardentius has very perceptibly and early taken pattern after the evangelical exegesis, and copied some of the work of BRENZ almost literally.

On the part of the Evangelical Church BRENZ treats of the book of Esther in [*Commentarii* (Tübing., 1575); in Engl. by Stockwood, Lond., 1584, 4to.; also in] *Operr.* II.; also VICT. STRIGEL, *Libri Esdræ, Nehemiæ, Esther et Ruth, ad Ebraicam veritatem recogniti et argumentis atque scholiis illustrati* (Lips., 1571, 1572, 8vo.). There follow: COUR. PELLICAN, *Comment. Bibl.* (Figuri, 1583, fol.); LUD. LAVATER, *Homiliæ* (Figuri, 1586); RUD. WALTHER (Gualtherus) *Homiliarum sylva* (Figuri, 158, 8vo.); FRANZ BURMANN, a German Commentary published at Frankford, 1695; BALTH. KERNER, *Ehren-Krone der demuthigen Esther* (Ulm, 1666); GOTTFRIED MEISNER, *Niedrigen aber nachmals erhohen Esther, mit biblisch-historischen Schmuck angethan* (Hamburg, 1687); COM. ADAMUS, *Observatt. theol. phil.* (Gron., 1710, on chap. ii.).

Among those of more modern date may be mentioned a work which has not been referred to in the literature on Ezra and Nehemiah; CRUSIUS, *De usu libri Estheræ ad praxin vitæ Christianæ* (Ultraj.,1775).

The question: Who is to be understood by the Ahasuerus of our book? [which will be fully discussed in the Exegetical Notes on ch. i. 1] has been treated by FRANC. WOKENIUS in his *Commentatio in l. Estheræ* (1730), and by ASTER in his *Diss. phil. de Esteræ cum Ahasuero conjugio* (Wittenberg, 1730), both of whom held that Astyages is meant, although JOS. SCALIGER had given the correct interpretation, as also JOH. WAUCKEL, in his *Dissert. de Assuero Estheræ marito*, which he directed specially against JOS. SCALIGER.

As introductory works we may notice: SCHULZE, *De fide historica l. Estheræ*, in the *Bibl. Hagana*, V., VI.; KELLE, *Vindiciæ Estheræ* (Frib., 1820); MICH. BAUMGARTEN, *De fide libri Estheræ Comm. hist. crit.* (Hal., 1839); J. A. NICKES, *De Estheræ libro et ad eum quæ pertinent vaticiniis et Psalmis libri tres* (Romæ, 1856); also the articles on Esther by ROEDIGER in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.*, by BAUMGARTEN in HERZOG'S *Real-encycl.*, and by REUSS in SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*.

[**Additional Literature.**—RABAN MAURUS, *Commentaria* (in his *Opera*); BANOLAS, פירוש (Riva di Trento, 1560, 4to.); ASHKENAZI, יוכף לקח (Cremona, 1576, 4to., *etc.*); MELAMMED, מאמר מרדכי (Constantinople, 1585, 4to.); DRUSIUS, *Annotationes* (Leyden, 1586, 4to.); ALSHEICH, משאת כשה (Venice, 1601, 4to.); COOPER, *Notes* (London, 1609, 4to.); D'AQUINE, *Raschii Scholia* (Paris, 1622, 4to.); MOLDER, *Dispositiones* (Dantzig, 1625, 4to.); SANCTIUS, *Commentarii* (Lyden, 1628, fol.); COUZIO, *Commento* (Chieri, 1628, 4to.); DURAN, ספר מגלת (Venice, 1632, 4to.); CROMMIUS, *Theses* (Lovan, 1632, 4to.); MERKEL, כירא דכרא (Lublin, 1637, 4to.); MONTANUS, *Commentarius* (Madrid, 1648, fol.); TRAPP, *Commentary* (London, 1656, fol.); JACKSON, *Explanation* (London, 1658, 4to.); BARNES, *Paraphrasis poetica* (London, 1679, 8vo.); RAMBACH, *Notæ* (in his *Adnot. V. T.* II. 1043 sqq.); HEUMANN, *Estheræ auctoritas* (Gotting., 1736, 4to.); MEIR, משתה יין (Furth., 1737, 8vo.); NESTORIDES, *Annotazioni* (Venice, 1746, 4to.); AUCHER, *De auctoritate Estheræ* (Hanniæ, 1772, 4to.); VOS, *Oratio* (Ultraj., 1775, 4to.); ZINCK, *Commentarius* (Augsb., 1780, 4to.); DE ROSSI, *Variæ Lectiones* (Rome, 1782, 8vo.); PERELES, גלת הכתרת (Prague, 1784, 4to.); WOLFSSOHN, אסתר (Berlin, 1788, 8vo.); SAMSON, *Discourses* (Edinburg, 1804, 12mo.); LOWE, אור הרש (Nouydwer, 1704, 4to.); SCHIRMER, *Observationes* (Vratiolav, 1820, 8vo.); CALMBERG, *Commentarius* (Hamburgh, 1837, 4to.); MCCRIE, *Lectures* (in his *Works*, 1838, 8vo.); MORGAN, *Esther typical* (London, 1855, 8vo.); CORDTHWAITE, *Lectures* (London, 1858, 12mo.); DAVIDSON, *Lectures* (Edinburgh, 1859, 8vo.); BERTHEAU, *Kommentar.* (in the *Kurzgefastes exeget. Handbuch des A. T.*, Leipzig, 1862, 8vo.); OPPERT, *Commentaire d'après les inscriptions Perses* (Paris, 1864, 8vo.); WORDSWORTH, *Notes* (in his *Commentary on the Bible*, Lond., 1866, 8vo.); KEIL, *Biblical Commentary* (translated from the German of Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the O. T.*, Edinburgh, 1873, 8vo.); TERRY, *Commentary* (in WHEDON'S *Commentary on the Old Test.*, New York, 1873, 12mo.); RAWLINSON, *Commentary* (in the *Speaker's Commentary*, London and New York, 1873, 8vo.]

# THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

## PART FIRST.

### ORIGIN AND INCREASE OF DANGER TO THE JEWS.

CHAPS. I.—V.

### INTRODUCTION:

**The Occasion of the History. The Feast of Ahasuerus and Vashti's Rejection.**

CHAP. I. 1–22.

I. *Ahasuerus assembles the princes of his empire around him, and prepares a great feast, in which he endeavours to show his power and glory.* Vers. 1–8.

1 Now [And] *it* came to pass [was] in *the* days of Ahasuerus [Achashverosh], (this
*is* Ahasuerus which reigned [the *one* being king] from India [Hodu] even unto
2 [and till] Ethiopia [Cush], *over* a hundred and seven and twenty provinces,) *That*
in those days when [as] the king Ahasuerus sat on *the* throne of his kingdom, which
3 *was* in Shushan the palace,[1] In *the* third year of his reign, he made a feast[2] unto all
his princes and his servants; the power[3] of Persia [Paras] and Media [Madai], the
4 nobles[4] and [*the*] princes of the provinces, *being* before him. When he showed *the*
riches of his glorious [*the* glory of his] kingdom, and *the* honour of his excellent
5 [*the* excellence of his] majesty, many days, *even* a hundred and fourscore days. And
when these days *were* [*had*] expired, the king made a feast[2] unto all the people
that *were* present [found] in Shushan the palace,[1] both unto great and [to great and
6 even to] small, seven days, in *the* court of *the* garden of the king's palace; *Where
were* white [linen], green [cotton], and blue [violet] *hangings*, fastened with cords
of fine linen and purple to [on] silver rings and pillars of marble: *the* beds *were
of* [*there were* beds of] gold and silver, upon a pavement of red [white] and blue
7 [marble], and white [pearl], and black marble [colored stone]. And *they* gave
*them* [*there was* a giving of] drink in vessels of gold, (*the* vessels being [and the
vessels *were*] diverse one from another,) and royal wine in abundance, according to
8 *the* state [hand] of the king. And the drinking *was* according to the law; none
did compel: for so the king *had* appointed [ordained] to [upon] all the officers [every
great *one*] of his house, that they should do [to do] according to every man's plea-
sure.

II. *Queen Vashti refuses to appear before the king, and he is very much incensed thereat.* Verses 9–12.

9 Also Vashti the queen made a feast[2] for [of] *the* women *in* the royal house which
10 *belonged* to king Ahasuerus. On the seventh day, when [as] *the* heart of the king
*was* merry [good] with [the] wine, he commanded [said to] Mehuman, Biztha, Har-
bona, Bigtha, and Abagtha, Zethar, and Carcas, the seven chamberlains [eunuchs]

11 that served in *the* presence of Ahasuerus the king, To bring Vashti the queen be-
fore the king, with *the* crown royal [of royalty], to show the people [peoples] and
12 the princes her beauty: for she *was* fair to look on [good of appearance]. But
[And] the queen Vashti refused to come at *the* king's commandment [word] [which
was] by [*the* hand of] *his* [the] chamberlains [eunuchs]: therefore [and] was the
king very wroth, and his anger burned [heat devoured] in him.

III. *In accordance with the counsel of his wise men the queen is rejected by a public decree of the king.*

Verses 13–22.

13 Then [And] the king said to the wise *men*, which knew [knowers of ] the times,
(for so *was the* king's manner [word] toward [before] all that knew [knowers of]
14 law and judgment: And the next unto him *was* Carshena, Shethar, Admatha, Tar-
shish, Meres, Marsena, *and* Memucan, *the* seven princes of Persia [Paras] and Me-
dia [Madai], which saw [seers of] *the* king's face, *and* which sat [the sitters] *the*
15 first in the kingdom); What shall we do [*is there* to do] unto [in *the case of* ] the
queen Vashti according to law, because [upon *the fact* that] she hath not performed
[done] *the* commandment of the king Ahasuerus by [*the* hand of] the chamber-
16 lains [eunuchs]? And Memucan answered [said] before the king and the princes,
Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to [upon] the king only, but [for] *also* to
[upon] all the princes, and to [upon] all the people [peoples] that *are* in all the
17 provinces of the king Ahasuerus. For *this* deed [word] of the queen shall come
abroad [go forth] unto [upon] all [the] women, so that they shall [to cause *them* to]
despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported [in their saying], The
king Ahasuerus commanded [said] Vashti the queen to be brought [to bring] in
18 before him, but [and] she came not. *Likewise* shall *the* ladies [princesses] of Per-
sia [Paras] and Media [Madai] say this day unto all *the* king's princes, which
[who] have heard[5] *of the* deed [word] of the queen. Thus [And] *shall there arise*
19 too much [according to plenty] contempt and wrath. If *it* please [*be* good upon]
the king, let *there* go [forth] a royal commandment [word] from [before] him, and
let it be written among the laws of *the* Persians [Paras] and *the* Medes [Madai],
that [and let] it be not altered [not pass], That Vashti come no more [not] before
king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate [royalty] unto another [her
20 neighbor] that *is* better than she. And *when the* king's decree which he shall make
shall be published [heard] throughout [in] all his empire [kingdom], (for it *is*
great,) [and] all the wives [women] shall give to their husbands honour, both to
21 great and small. And the saying [word] pleased [was good in the eyes of] the
22 king and the princes; and the king did according to *the* word of Memucan: For
[And] he sent letters into [unto] all *the* king's provinces, into [unto] every province
according to *the* writing[6] thereof, and to [unto] every people after their language,
that every man should bear rule [for every man to be prince] in his *own* house, and
*that it should be* published [spoken] according to *the* language of every [his] people.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 2. בִּירָה, whence *βάρις*, denotes properly a *fortress*, hence the *capital*.—Tr.]

[2] [Ver. 3. מִשְׁתֶּה, *a drinking*, i. e., *a banquet*, in which the wine was the principal feature, as represented freely on the Assyrian monuments.—Tr.]

[3] [Ver. 3. חַיִל, military *force*.—Tr.]

[4] [Ver. 3. פַּרְתְּמִים, a Persian word Hebraized. As it is here in the "absolute form," it does not qualify "provinces" following, but stands as an official designation, probably of civil rank at court.—Tr.]

[5] [Ver. 18. The English Version has unwarrantably transposed this clause ("which have heard," *etc.*), which belongs to "ladies," *etc.*, above.—Tr.]

[6] [Ver. 22. כְּתָב here evidently signifies the *style of writing* peculiar to each province. Thus the cuneiform differs according to the several districts of the Persian empire.—Tr.]

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–8. *The King's Banquet*.—The point of departure in this history is formed by a feast at which Ahasuerus was unexpectedly humbled and provoked to wrath, while purposing to show his great majesty.

Ver. 1. **Now it came to pass,** *etc.* The sentence begun here, in its chief fact really follows

ver. 3. There it is stated that Ahasuerus made a feast in the third year of his reign. The ו at the beginning has not the conjunctive sense that it has in Ezra i. 1, but stands more indefinite. A Hebrew would understand this as a matter of which much had already been related, and of which the following is only a continuation. Thus he would proceed often with a ו without attaching any definite meaning to it. וַיְהִי has come to be a *conventional formula for a beginning*, comp. Jonah i. 4; Ez. i. 1; Isa. liii. 2, *et al.* **Ahasuerus** (Achashverosh) written in cuneiform letters (comp. Lassen, *Zeitschr. zur Kunde des M. L.* VI., p. 123 sqq.; Benfey, *Die pers. Keilinschrift*, p. 68 sqq ) *Khsy-arsha*, whence *Cyaxares* (comp. Dan. ix. 1), or *Khsay-arsha*, whence *Xerxes* (comp. Ezra iv. 6), early interpreted by Herodotus (vi. 98, *etc.*), as meaning ἀρήϊος, according to Spiegel (*Eranische Altherthumskunde*, II. p. 377), *a mighty man*, here does not mean, as in Dan. ix. 1, *Cyaxares* I, the father of Astyages, as Ferrand holds (*Réflexions sur la religion Chrétienne*, I., p. 159), and Des Vignoles (*Chronol.* II., p. 274), and Nickes (*De Estheræ libro*, I., p. 48–59) would have it, since they especially insist that, according to chap. ii. 5 sq., Mordecai belonged to the first period of the exile, and that our book nowhere indicates that a new people had again arisen in Jerusalem. Nor is the monarch referred to the same as *Astyages*, as is asserted in the works referred to in § 5; and still less *Artaxerxes*, as Josephus assumes out of regard to the Septuagint version; but he is certainly *Xerxes*, as has been well proved by Scaliger (*De emend. temp.*, ed Genev., p. 591 sqq.); also by Justi (in Eichhorn's *Repert.* XV., p. 338), and still more emphatically by Baumgarten (*De fide l. Esth.*, pp. 122–151, and in his treatises respecting Cyrus the Great, in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1853, p. 624 sqq.). On the different views in reference to Ahasuerus, see especially Feuardent on our book, and Pfeiffer, *Dubia vex.* p. 481 sqq. Against the identification with either Cyaxares or Astyages, are the following facts: (1) Shushan was already the capital of the empire, which it became through Cyrus (comp. Strabo, XV.); (2) the Persians are now the chief people (comp. the frequent collection of פָּרַס וּמָדַי, *e. g.*, in ch. i. 3); (3) the number seven indicates that of princes at the court of the king (comp. chap. i. 14); (4) many other specifically Persian peculiarities. Further, the empire at the time in question extended from India to Æthiopia, and stretched also to the coasts and isles of the Mediterranean sea (comp. chap. i. 1 and x. 1), as was the case since the time of Darius Hystaspis. The Jews, moreover, are here represented as scattered over all parts of the empire (comp. iii. 7, 8) and particularly numerous in the city of Shushan (comp. chap. ix. 12, *etc.*). On the contrary Artaxerxes is called in the Bible (in Ezra and Neh.) *Artachsharshta* or *Artachshasta*. For Xerxes, on the other hand, we may claim the identity of names (comp. Ezra ix. 6). In his favor is also the whimsical and tyrannical character manifested by the Ahasuerus of Esther (chap. i. and elsewhere). Besides, there is the remarkable circumstance that Vashti was rejected in the third year of Ahasuerus, although Esther was not made queen till the seventh year of his reign, which in the case of Xerxes may be explained on the basis that between his third and seventh year he made war on Greece.* The clause beginning with הוּא (comp. Gen. ii. 11) and referring us back—**this is Ahasuerus which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia**, *etc.*—is no doubt intended to designate Ahasuerus more distinctly,† but at the same time to make known his greatness of dominion and power. Thus the danger that threatened the Jews, as well as the elevation of Esther and Mordecai, and of the Jews through these, is more powerfully brought out. הֹדּוּ stands for the original הִנְדּוּ, as *Hidku* in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persians stands for *Hindhu* (in Zend and Syrian *Hendu*), and is therefore *India*, in the Sanscrit *Sindhu* which is really the river *Indus*, then the inhabitants along the Indus, and at last the land of the Indus (comp. Lassen, *Judische Altherthumskunde*, I., p. 2); so also in the Vedas *Sapta Sindhavas*, or "the seven streams," really stand for India (comp. Rödiger in Gesen. *Thesaurus*, Append. p. 83). The *o* sound in הֹדּוּ, and the tone falling on the first syllable are quite remarkable, but perhaps only a provincialism. Herodotus testifies to the great extension of the Persian empire under

* [We condense the following summary of the argument on the identity of the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, from McClintock & Strong's *Cyclop. s. v.* Ahasuerus. "From the extent assigned to the Persian empire (Esth. i. 1), 'from India even unto Ethiopia,' it is proved that Darius Hystaspis is the earliest possible king to whom this history can apply, and it is hardly worth while to consider the claims of any after Artaxerxes Longimanus. But Ahasuerus cannot be identical with Darius, whose wives were the daughters of Cyrus and Otanes, and who in name and character equally differs from that foolish tyrant. Josephus (*Ant.* XI. 6, 1) makes him to be Artaxerxes Longimanus; but as his twelfth year (Esth. iii. 7) would fall in B. C. 454. or 144 years after the deportation by Nebuchadnezzar, in B. C. 598 (Jer. lii. 28), Mordecai, who was among those captives (Esth. ii. 6), could not possibly have survived to this time. Besides, in Ezra vii. 1-7, 11-26, Artaxerxes, in the *seventh* year of his reign, issues a decree very favorable to the Jews, and it is unlikely, therefore, that in the *twelfth* (Esth. iii. 7) Haman could speak to him of them as if he knew nothing about them, and persuade him to sentence them to an indiscriminate massacre. Nor is the disposition of Artaxerxes Longimanus, as given by Plutarch and Diodorus (XI. 71), at all like that of this weak Ahasuerus. It therefore seems necessary to identify him with Xerxes, whose regal state and affairs tally with all that is here said of Ahasuerus (the names being, as we have seen, identical); and this conclusion is fortified by the resemblance of character, and by certain chronological indications (see Rawlinson's *Hist. Evidences*, p. 150 sq.). As Xerxes scourged the sea, and put to death the engineers of his bridge because their work was injured by a storm, so Ahasuerus repudiated his queen, Vashti, because she would not violate the decorum of her sex, and ordered the massacre of the whole Jewish people to gratify the malice of Haman. In the third year of the reign of Xerxes was held an assembly to arrange the Grecian war (*Herod.* VII. 7 sq.); in the third year of Ahasuerus was held a great feast and assembly in Shushan the palace (Esth. i. 3). In the seventh year of his reign Xerxes returned defeated from Greece, and consoled himself by the pleasures of the harem (*Herod.* IX. 108); in the seventh year of his reign 'fair young virgins were sought' for Ahasuerus, and he replaced Vashti by marrying Esther. The tribute he 'laid upon the land and upon the isles of the sea' (Esth. x. 1) may well have been the result of the expenditure and ruin of the Grecian expedition."—Tr.]

† [The principal purpose of this clause is to distinguish the Achashverosh in question from all other Persian monarchs bearing that general or regal title, by adding the extent of his dominion. It thus becomes, as was evidently intended, an important chronological datum.—Tr.]

Xerxes, and in chap. xii. 9 he says that Mardonius reported to Xerxes that the Sacœ and Assyrians, as well as the Indians and Æthiopians, had been conquered. See also vii. 97, 98, and viii. 65, 69, where the Æthiopians and Indians are enumerated as being under tribute. According to Arrian, Cyrus extended his conquests up to India, and the people of the Açvaka were by him made to pay tribute. Darius added still greater parts of northwestern India to the Persian empire (comp. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Altherthums*, 3d ed., II., page 468). The auxiliary sentence: **A hundred and seven and twenty provinces,** is merely to be regarded as an additional sentence in loose apposition, to indicate what provinces were included in the region just mentioned. If this sentence depended upon הַמֶּלֶךְ, it should have עַל [or בְּ] before it. According to Herod. III. 89 sqq., Darius Hyst. on account of the raising of taxes divided the empire into twenty *ἀρχαί* which were termed *σατραπηΐαι*. A further division into lesser portions was not thereby excluded; with so many petty tribes and peoples this came as a matter of course. So there were contained in the fifth satrapy (comp. Herod. III. 91) a small Jewish people, a separate מְדִינָה, which really means a judicial or official *circuit* (comp. Ezra ii. 1). Our 127 provinces remind us of the 120 Satraps whom Darius the Mede placed over his empire (Dan. vi. 2).

Ver. 2. **In those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat,** *etc.*—Sitting is a posture common to judges and kings, but more particularly characteristic of the kings of Persia. The Persian kings are always painted as sitting on a throne under a lofty canopy. This is true of them even in the time of war, and in their journeys. Xerxes, indeed, was present in the battles sitting; thus it was at Thermopylæ according to Herodotus (VII. 102), and at Salamis according to Plutarch (*Themistocl.* 18). See also Baumgarten, *l. c.*, p. 85 sqq. **Which was in Shushan the palace.**—He had a royal establishment in several cities; but at the time here referred to it was in Shushan, which was his favorite winter and spring residence (comp. Neh. i. 1). Æschylus calls it the palace ornate with gold of the Cissians, and Strabo asserts that every Persian king built his own palace there. מַלְכוּת was in use in later language, and מְלֻכָה in earlier times.

Ver. 3. **In the third year of his reign he made a feast,** *etc.*—All his princes and servants, for whom this feast was made, are specified as follows: **The power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces (being) before him.**—These words form an explanatory sentence, and assert distinctly that all the princes and servants were really gathered around Xerxes. We are to understand by the "power," the representatives of the same, who probably consisted of the body-guard of the king, which formed the flower of the entire army-power. According to Herod. VII. 40 sqq., this was in itself sufficiently large, and consisted of two thousand picked horsemen, two thousand lancers, and ten thousand common foot-soldiers. The פַּרְתְּמִים, who are mentioned also in chap. vi. 9, and Dan. i. 3, were the *principes*, chief men (in Sanscrit we find it *parthama* = "first;" in the Behistun Inscription *fratama*, in Pehlevi *pardom*), *i. e.*, the magnates. ["It is a superlative from a root *fra*, equivalent to the Greek *πρό*, "before." — Rawlinson]. The princes of the provinces are the Pashas or governors of those one hundred and twenty-seven provinces. That פַּרְתָּם is more correct than פָּרְתָּם has been mentioned in the note on Ezra i. 1.

Ver. 4. **When he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom,** *etc.*—Keil connects these words with the inserted explanatory sentence, "the power — before him," and thus he gets the sense, not that the feast itself, at which Xerxes showed his riches, lasted one hundred and eighty days, but that he prepared a feast for the army lasting seven days, after they had viewed his riches for one hundred and eighty days (ver. 5). But the connection of our verse with the main assertion in ver. 3: "He made a feast" is much closer; as may be seen in the fact that nearly all exegetes have declared themselves for this rendering. Something again different seems to be meant in the seven days' feast of ver. 5, which Xerxes had caused to be made, not for the army, but for all the people in Shushan the palace. The feast during a hundred and eighty days may have been only for the purpose of consultation, and the real feast may have followed in the seven days succeeding. Keil's objection, that then the mention of the preceding feast of a hundred and eighty days was purposeless, does not hold, since the fact that Xerxes could entertain his princes and servants so long, is a proof also to the reader of his great riches. That such magnificent, long and great feasts were very popular at the Persian court, is elsewhere stated (comp. Duncker, as above, p. 609 sqq.). Herod. vii. 8 informs us that after the re-subjection of Egypt, Xerxes called the magnates of his empire to Shushan, in order to consult with them in reference to the campaign against Greece; and in vii. 2, he further states that the preparations for this undertaking lasted four years. Hence the assumption is not unfounded that in these long assemblages it was specially designed in the third year to counsel together regarding the war with Greece. This is the more evident since in the inserted clause of ver. 3 the power of the Medes and Persians is prominently stated. If Xerxes ascended the throne in the year B. C. 486 then there were still three or four years until this happened. There were three years until the battle of Salamis (480) beginning with his first year of empire. Clericus asserts that these princes of the provinces could not possibly have remained away so long a time as a hundred and eighty days from their provinces and governmental activity. Hence he would have them entertained one after the other; a view which is without foundation. They doubtless had subordinate officers, who ranked high enough to take their places for one half year.*

* ["We are not obliged to suppose that all or any of the governors were present during the whole period of festivity. Rather we may conclude that the time was extended in order to allow of the different persons

Ver. 5 **And when these days were expired, the king made a feast to all the people.**—This does not, as Keil would have it, take up the third verse again, but forms the transition from the counseling to the purely festive entertainment to which the king invited (in addition to those already assembled to the army and great rulers, comp. ver. 11) all the people at Shushan the palace. מְלוֹאת is not an abstract form with an infinitive signification, which would properly have to be punctuated thus מְלֹאות, as are שִׁכְבַת, יְבֹשֶׁת (comp. Ewald, § 239 *a*), but the ו stands in the wrong place in the originally defectively written מְלֹאת (comp. Lev. xii. 6), in order that it might be known as having been added later (comp. Joh. xx. 22).—To all these people who were invited, belonged also the lower classes of servants, and probably the common inhabitants likewise, as is evinced by the phrase **both unto great and small**—from the highest to the lowest. But these were only the male population, as is shown in ver. 9. In reference to הַנִּמְצְאִים comp. the note on Ezra viii. 25. לְמִגָּדוֹל, with לְ, as in 2 Chron. xv. 18; without it 1 Sam. xxx. 19.—**In the court of the garden of the king's palace.**—בִּיתָן for בַּיִת occurs often in our book, but is found connected with גִּנַּת as also in chap. vii. 7. The kingly palace or series of houses was situated, in Oriental manner, as is customary also to-day, in a large park (Xenoph. *Cyrop*. I. 3, 12, 14).

Ver. 6. The language describing the court of the garden where this entertainment took place, *i. e.*, the tent-like, enclosed, and covered space of the park, specially prepared for this festive occasion, and likewise the entertainment itself in vers. 7, 8, must be understood as explained by the exclamations of wonder, **white, green, and blue (hangings)**, *etc.*, these latter being employed as coverings. חוּר designates the white cloths as to color, not as to a certain quality of cloth; from חָוַר, *to be white*. כַּרְפַּס, occurring in the Sanscrit, Pers., Armen., and Arab., corresponds to the Greek κάρπασος; designating *cotton* cloth; and, because of the two preceding and corresponding words, a splendid parti-colored fabric. תְּכֵלֶת is the glistening blue-black hyacinth color, and here means any kind of cloth which had this particular hue. White and blue were, according to Curtius VI. 6, 4, the regal colors of Persia (comp. also Duncker, as above, pp. 891 and 951). These cloths were held fast (אָחוּז) with cords to rings, and by these to the pillars.* The last words: **The beds (divans) were of gold and silver (lying) upon a pavement of red and blue, and white and black marble**, *etc.*, describe the seats for the guests. *Gold and silver* here mean the cloths, which were woven with gold and silver threads. Hence they were *brocades* with which these divans were covered. But they lay upon רִצְפַת, Sept. ἐπὶ λιθοστρώτου, a tessellated (mosaic) flooring, which was formed of various kinds of stones. בַּהַט, in Arab., a false stone, accords to the Sept., σμαραγδίτης, a stone of a green color, similar to the emerald (smaragth), is perhaps malachite or serpentine. שֵׁשׁ is white marble; דַּר, in Arab. *darun* and *darratun*, pearl, is, according to the Sept., πίννινος λίθος, a stone similar to pearl, perhaps mother of pearl. סֹחָרֶת (from שְׁחֹר—סָחַר, *dark*), is very likely black marble, with scutiform spots.*

Ver. 7. **And they gave (them) drink in vessels of gold.**—This actually occurred, or was seen transpiring. הַשְׁקוֹת, infin. Hiph., is a substantive here. **The vessels being diverse one from another**, *i. e.*, very different drinking-vessels were in service. According to Xenoph. *Cyrop*. VIII. 8, 18, these constituted an essential part of Persian luxury. **And royal wine**, *i. e.*, such as was drunk from the royal vaults, as especially costly, perhaps coming from Chalybon, which it was usual for Persian kings to drink (comp. Ez. xxvii. 18). **In abundance, according to the state of the king.**—כְּיַד, *according to the hand* = power of the king, means that the great quantity did honor to the power of the king, or that it corresponded to the ability and riches of the king (comp. chap. ii. 18; 1 Kings x. 18; also Neh. ii. 8).

Ver. 8. **And the drinking was**—*i. e.*, went on—**according to the law** (custom); **none did compel**, *etc.* כַּדָּת hardly means a law enacted for this special occasion; for this purpose the expression would be too general;—but as custom, especially Persian royal etiquette required. This means, not *moderately* (as Clericus,—moralizing was not here intended), but on the contrary that the guests in a courageous and vigorous carousing should show their appreciation of the liberal hospitality of the king, and at the same time evince their ability to do something in their drinking worthy of the royal table. The Greeks knew how to do justice to hospitality (see Baumgarten, p. 12 sq.). While דָּת was held to be a special law made for this occasion, it was thought that its substance was contained in אֵין אֹנֵס, אֹנֵס being taken in the sense of *urging*. The meaning is that the drinking was not to occur, as was usually the case, in compliance with the wishes or encouragements of the court officers. In contrast with the customary excessive drinking, because of too frequent urging, this should remain free to all to remain sober. While the Septuagint, in a free rendering, has joined אֵין אֹנֵס with כַּדָּת (οὐ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον), the Vulgate has it thus: "*Nec erat, qui*

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making their appearance at the court successively." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["Nothing could be more appropriate than this method at Susa and Persepolis, the spring residences of the Persian monarchs. . . . . A massive roof, covering the whole expanse of columns, would be too cold and dismal; whereas curtains around the central group would serve to admit both light and warmth." Loftus.—Tr.]

* [Herodotus mentions (IX. 80-82) the immense quantities of gold and silver vessels of various kinds—which we know from the monuments were of the most elegant style and costly ornamentation—together with couches and tables of the precious metals, besides various colored *awnings* (παραπετάσματα), which Xerxes carried with him on his expedition to Greece.—Tr.]

*nolentes cogere ad bibendum.*" But the true interpretation of the phrase evidently is as already indicated; every one having entire liberty to drink of the wine, without urging. The whole tone of the passage expresses abundance and luxuriance: yet we need not make "urging" out of אָנַס, but rather "creating a real necessity, preparing difficulty, standing in the way in a preventive manner." In Dan. iv. 6, at least, it has this signification. It may possibly be an additional form for אָנַשׁ (Hitzig on Ex. xxiv. 17). At any rate it frequently stands in the Targums for the Heb. גָּזַל, עָשַׁק, and רָצַץ. That no one should hinder another in drinking must have been self-evident and understood at a decently-conducted feast. But here it is stated: **For so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house**; here not our own, but Persian customs, give the key. Besides there is a negative hindrance in drinking, which obtains even among us, and which would seem to have been necessary in a company where high and low mingled together, namely that of not so frequently filling the cups. יִסַּד means, as it does in 1 Chron. ix. 22, *arranging* (ordering). With עַל it is, first of all, *giving orders* in reference to or for some one. רַב־בֵּיתוֹ = the chief of the house, *i. e.*, *court-officer*.

Vers. 9–12. *The Queen's Banquet, and her Refusal to appear in the Royal Presence.*—The festival of the king went hand in hand with that of the queen, which doubtless was intended to bring into view at the same time the royal majesty and magnificence. Usually the queen ate with her husband (see Herod. IX. 110), and even in greater feasts she was not under all circumstances excluded, as is proved by the reference to Lucian by Brissonius, *De regio Pers. princ.* I., c. 103. At this time she was compelled to remain away, since she also gave entertainment to the ladies. To permit the participation of women in all the feasts of the men would certainly not have been very desirable, since it was a mixed company.

Ver. 9. The name *Vashti*, וַשְׁתִּי, has probably a connection with the Old-Persian *vahista* ("the best"), or with the related *behisht* ("*paradisiacus*"); comp. Pott, *Ueber alt-pers. Eigennamen*, in the *Zeitschrift. d. D. M. G.*, 1859, p. 388. In modern Persian Vashti signifies a *beautiful woman*. Vashti gave the feast to the ladies in the king's palace, *i. e.*, either in her own apartments, which also were in the royal residence, or in some other dwellings there which were placed at her disposal for this festive occasion.*

Ver. 10. **On the seventh day**, as the last of the feast, in which perhaps there was the greatest joviality. **When the heart of the king was merry with wine**, *i. e.*, well disposed, happy (כְּטוֹב, as in 2 Sam. xiii. 18: Judg. xvi. 25; טוֹב is the infin. constr. Kal, with an intransitive signification), would grant a still greater favor to his guests, and one too which he would not have been willing to grant in a more sober mood. He turned to the seven eunuchs that served before him, אֶת־פְּנֵי, together with שֵׁרֵת, as in 1 Sam. ii. 18. Their names signify nothing for the present purpose; and there are no certain data for their interpretation.* But our author names them because they were transmitted to him, and in order that the historical character of his narrative may be strengthened thereby. Certain it is, they were the medium between the king and the ladies. They were to transmit the commands of the former to the latter. Their number, *seven*, has close connection with that of the Amshaspands. This number was peculiarly sacred to the Persians, see ver. 14.

Ver. 11. They were to bring the queen in the regal crown, כֶּתֶר, *κίδαρις* or *κίταρις*, *i. e.*, in a high, pointed turban, and consequently bring her in her entire royal apparel, in order to show her beauty to the prince, as well as to the entire people, of whom at least there were representatives present. Xerxes was desirous of glory, not only because of his riches, but also because of his beautiful wife.†

Ver. 12. **But the queen Vashti refused to come.**—בִּדְבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ here has reference to the word of the king, as in chap. iii. 15; viii. 14; 1 Ki. xiii. 1, 8. **By (his) chamberlains**, *i. e.*, which was brought to her in a formal manner, and which therefore ought to have been obeyed all the more (comp. ver. 15). Persian etiquette gave to ladies, and especially to the queen, a certain reserve, and this under all circumstances. It was regarded as something unheard of if the queen appeared in public unveiled. But here, where there was no doubt of the fact that she should become the gazing-stock of a drunken company, that, so to speak, she should make a show of herself to the lascivious eyes of so many—according to the extremely literal view of the Targums, she was to appear naked—she had a right, indeed she was compelled to guard and keep in mind her dignity. There is no doubt that as the queen she was safe from such shameless proceedings as Herodotus (ver. 18) relates of Persian foreign ministers. But instead of being rejoiced at the modesty of his queen the king felt deeply humbled in the eyes of those to whom he would have shown himself in his highest glory. It is possible, and even probable, that a well-known self-assertion of Vashti had something to do in the matter. But this we need not necessarily assume in connection with his peculiar character in order to explain his wrath. Pride and self-exaltation perhaps so blinded him

* ["If the Ahasuerus of Esther is rightly identified with Xerxes, Vashti should be Amestris, whom the Greeks regard as the only legitimate wife of that monarch, and who was certainly married to him before he ascended the throne. In that case the name may be explained either by corruption of Amestris, or as a title; and it may be supposed that the disgrace recorded was only temporary; Amestris in the latter part of Xerxes' reign recovering her former dignity." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* ["These names, being those of eunuchs, are not unlikely to be of foreign origin. They have generally but little resemblance to known Persian names." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["It has been said that this is invariable, and indicates an ignorance of Persian customs on the part of the author. But even De Wette allows that such an act is not out of harmony with the character of Xerxes (*Einleitung*, § 198, a, note 6); and it is evidently related as something strange and unusual. Otherwise the queen would not have refused to come." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

that he did not dream of such a rebuff. Perhaps, too, she might have found some way, had she been wise, in which without compromising herself she might have rendered obedience. But however bad the fact, the unfavorable light does not fall on her, but upon the king. He appears so thoughtless that one is quite prepared to expect still other rash and inconsiderate acts from him.

Vers. 13–15. *The King's Inquiry.*—**When the king said to the wise men, which knew the times.**—To know the times means to judge the times as did the astrologers and magicians, according to the heavenly phenomena, and to give counsel corresponding thereto, (comp. Dan. ii. 27; v. 15; Isa. xliv. 25; xlvii. 13; Jer. l. 35). But it also means in a general sense *to be learned;* for according to the expressions following, these wise men were likewise those skilled in the law. **For so,** adds the author, **(was) the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgment.**—דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ does not here mean *the word of the king,* for then we might expect, instead of לִפְנֵי, a preposition expressive of direction; but it is *a matter of the king, i. e.,* all that relates to the king, or what he undertakes.

Ver. 14. **And the next to him** or *standing nearest to him,*—thus the explanation becomes clear, **were Carshena, Shethar,** *etc.*—There is no doubt that all seven should be named as standing before the king, and not the first only.* The sing. הַקָּרֹב אֵלָיו has application to the second and third no less than to the first, and is, therefore, equal to a neuter plural. The sense, however, is clear. By these words, the wise were meant, the chief persons, who during and after consultation were to have a word before the king in this matter. The clause **which saw the king's face,** expresses their intimate relation to the king, and their great and high preference in an especially significant manner, since the approach to the king was very difficult. The seven princes that had conspired against the Pseudo-Smerdis had a perfect understanding that it should be permitted them to enter at any time into the presence of the king, who had been elected from their midst, and that, too, without previous announcement (see Herod. iii. 84). But that these princes themselves formed the court either before or after the event spoken of here, although mentioned "as the seven princes of the Medes and Persians," is not to be assumed. Those seven before mentioned did not, as did these, belong to the learned class, to the selected counsellors of the king, although they had intercourse with the king. These were the seven supreme counsellors (comp. Ezra vii. 14), who formed a complement to the seven Amshaspands.† The number seven, which is retained by the Persians in ver. 5, and again in chap. ii. 9, was originally instituted because of the seven planets, or the weekly cycle, or finally with regard to the seven Amshaspands. Perhaps its being composed of the numbers three and four gave it significance. הַיֹּשְׁבִים רִאשֹׁנָה, *first* = *presiding,* is, first of all, to preside, constituting the highest authority. The feminine רִאשֹׁנָה is a substitute for the adverb (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 2; Num. ii. 9).

Ver. 15. First, here, the discourse of the king follows. They are asked: **What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law?** כְּדָת is expressly prefixed here, and that without the article; hence, *legally.* **Because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus.**—Thus the king expresses himself, instead of simply saying: *my word;* since this was just the matter that came into consideration, that it was the king's word. For the rest comp. ver. 12 and notes.

Vers. 16–20. *The Courtier's Reply.*—Memucan, although last mentioned among the seven, is spokesman, doubtless after the wise men had had a consultation. For מומכן is here the same as ממוכן in ver. 14, as is shown by the Keri. The assumption is natural that the *Scriptio defectiva* was really employed, and that the ו was added later by the Masoretes. This is evident, further, in ver. 5, where the full form is distinguished as having been added by them at the wrong place. Feuardent thinks that, according to a more general custom, the last of the seven responded first "lest he might seem to say aught in view of the favor and protection of the chiefs and elders, but on the contrary out of mere liberty, and the full determination of his own will and judgment." But Memucan seems to have spoken first not only here, but also above; hence he seems to have been chairman (spokesman). He judges the offense of the queen very strictly in order to justify a severe verdict. But he also correctly premises that the offenses of persons high in office, on account of the influence which their examples will have, are punishable in a very high degree. **Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only,** *etc.*—עָוָת with עַל occurs only here.*

Ver. 17. **For (this) deed of the queen shall come abroad to all women.**—יָצָא with עַל, usually with אֶל־. **They shall despise,** properly, *make them to despise,* **their husbands in their eyes.**—Those that despise are of course the wives, as is clear from the connection with בְּאָמְרָם. The masc. form of the suffix is substituted for the fem. form.

Ver. 18. **(Likewise) shall the ladies of Persia and Media say this day unto all the king's princes.** הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is used in its

* ["These names have a general Persian cast, though they are difficult of identification. They have probably suffered to some extent for corruption (*i. e.,* transcription into Hebrew); and perhaps they were not even at first very close to the Persian originals. In *Marsena* we may perhaps recognize the famous *Mardonius,* and in *Admatha* Xerxes' uncle, *Artabanus.*" RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["According to Herodotus (III. 84), there were seven families of the first rank in Persia, from which alone the king would take his wives. Their chiefs were entitled to have free access to the king's person. The Behistun Inscription, which gives Darius six coadjutors in his conspiracy, confirms the Greek writer." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* ["It is not surprising that the judgment delivered by Memucan was one of condemnation, for it was rarely indeed that any Persian subject ventured to offer opposition to the mildest caprice or to the most extravagant whim of the monarch. (See Herodotus III. 31, 35)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

direct meaning. What the speaker means to say is, *as regards the rest of the lower women*, who were referred to in ver. 17. It may take a long time before the new law of the court shall have come to the knowledge of all, because some will hear of it later. But the princesses who live at the court and who have immediate news of Vashti's conduct, will relate what has been indicated in ver. 17. After תֹּאמַרְנָה the same sentence is to be understood as follows: כֵּאמֹרִם in ver. 17; for the last words of the verse: **Thus (shall there arise) too much contempt and wrath,** cannot be construed into the definition of an object in view, as Bertheau would have it, as if the ו stood before כְּדַי only as an attachment to the long phrase, but these form a separate sentence. The predicate; *thus there shall arise*, must be supplied. כְּדַי, really *for a sufficiency*, is by *litotes, e. g.*, "more than enough."

Ver. 19. This contains the verdict.—**If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him.**—טוֹב עַל occurs often in our book as also in Neh. ii. 5. דְּבַר מַלְכוּת, *a word of the kingdom* or *a king's word* (comp. ver. 8), hence first of all a *royal order*. **And let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it be not altered,** *i. e.*, let it have express legal authority, so that it must remain unaltered (comp. Dan. vi. 9).* **That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she.** —מַלְכוּת = מַמְלָכָה (comp. ver. 2), *royal state, royal government*, here means *royal highness, dignity*, רְעוּתָהּ = *her female companions*. טוֹב, as to its connections, is especially referable to *obedience*. It may be that Vashti was hated as being a proud, assuming person. But the severity of the sentence against her is explainable also in this, that there remained no alternative to the judges either to declare her innocent, which, as respects Ahasuerus, they could not do, or to make her for ever harmless. Even if she had again obtained an influence with the king, they would have had to expect her wrath.

Ver. 20. We here notice the consequence of the decree of the king.—**And when the king's decree, which he shall make, shall be published—all the wives shall give to their husbands honour,** *etc.* The predicate נִשְׁמַע is chosen, since it makes a presupposition for the יִתְּנוּ which is expressed. It is first of all neuter: *when it shall be published* (heard). פִּתְגָם, as in Ezra iv. 17. אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה may mean: *which he shall execute*, inasmuch as this decree would be sanctioned by the example of the king himself; otherwise: *which he shall decree.* Memucan reminds him of the greatness of the empire, since the success of the punishment and its importance is connected with it. לְגָדוֹל, as in ver. 5.

Vers. 21, 22. *The Decree Issued.* The king accepts the proffered counsel and rejects Vashti; indeed he does even more. In order that her punishment may become as well-known as her offense, he sends letters into all the provinces;* and in order that these may be intelligible, he writes according to the language of every province, and to every people in their own language.† **That every man should bear rule in his own house, and that it should be published according to the language of every people.**—לִהְיוֹת does not really indicate the substance of what was written—this consists of the rejection of Vashti and the reasons therefor—but only its aim. Yet this object, strange as it may have sounded, has nevertheless received sufficient prominence. Feuardent thinks that the edict may be explained on the ground that there was too much petticoat government in Persia. But there exists no proof of such an assertion. It is true, in chap. v. 10, that Haman drew his wife into the council of consultation, but his friends first. It may be asked, what is the sense and connection of the phrase, **and (it) should be published according to the language of every people.** Older commentators and also Keil find therein only a command, that a man in his own house should speak his own native language. Hence if he was possessed of one or more foreign wives, who spoke a different language, they should be compelled to learn his language and speak only in it. Thereby the man was to show his authority as master of his own house.‡ But if we apprehend this decree in such a general manner, it would not only have been a very peculiar, but also a separate edict, and it would apply in fact to the rejection of queen Vashti, neither in its object, nor yet in its communication. It might much better have read thus, "that the wives speak the language of their husbands' people." Hence Bertheau, according to Hitzig's advice, changed כִּלְשׁוֹן עַמּוֹ to כָּל־שֹׁוֶה עִמּוֹ: *(and every one) shall speak what to him is appropriate;* but

* ["The theoretical inviolability of the laws of the Persians is often touched on by the Greek writers. Practically the monarch, if he chose, could always dispense with the law. It was therefore quite within his power to restore Vashti to her queenly dignity, notwithstanding the present decree, if he so pleased." RAWLINSON—TR.]

* ["The Persian system of posts is described with some minuteness both by Herodot. (VIII. 98) and Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VIII. 6). The incidental notices in this Book (see chaps. III. 12-15; VIII. 9-14) are in entire harmony with the accounts of the classical writers. Herodotus describes the system as in full operation under Xerxes." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† [The practice of the Persians, to address proclamations to the subject-nations in their own speech, and not merely in the language of the conqueror, is illustrated by the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of the Achæmonian monarchs, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Ochus, each inscription being of the nature of a proclamation." RAWLINSON —TR.]

‡ ["This decree has been called 'absurd' and 'quite unnecessary in Persia' (Davidson). If the criticism were allowed, it would be sufficient to observe that many absurd things were done by Xerxes (see Herod. VII. 35; IX. 108-111). But it may be questioned whether the decree was unnecessary. The undue influence of women in domestic, and even in public affairs, is a feature of the ancient Persian monarchy. Herodotus tells us that Alesia 'completely ruled' Darius (VII., 3). Xerxes himself was, in his later years, shamefully subject to Amestris (*ib.* IX., 111). The example of the court would naturally infect the people. The decree, therefore, would seem to have been not so much an idle and superfluous act as an ineffectual protest against a real and growing evil." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

this would introduce a thought foreign to the subject, and besides שִׂיחַ according to chap. iii. 8, should have לְ before it. Perhaps the meaning is this: *that he speak, etc.*, in short, that he have the right to use his people's language in his own house, even though he have a foreign wife; moreover that it is obligatory upon his wife to so far learn the language of her husband that she may understand the orders he may give in it. This phrase receives further light from the consequence which would follow upon the usurpation of the wife, since she would then compel her husband to learn her own language.

### DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

On vers. 1-12. 1. Ever and anon the question arises, whether there is not upon earth somewhere, a condition of true satisfaction and unclouded happiness. One very much desires such a state of things, and one is tempted to believe it, especially when regard is had to the most beautiful dreams of the past, which had the appearance of bright promises. But this is not all. In spite of all assurances and experiences to the contrary, one is ever inclined to think that the world, and especially its lords, could give an affirmative answer to our question.

At the very beginning of our book there is unfolded to our eyes a picture full of riches and affluence, full of splendor and glory. Whatever is beautiful to look upon, whatever is enjoyable to the taste, whatever could rejoice the heart and elevate the soul, is here combined. A ruler, whose height of power leaves hardly anything to be desired, who has united under his sceptre the most powerful, the richest, and most celebrated nations, from India to Æthiopia, has called together the chief men of the various countries, and they are gathered around him in the beautifully situated and magnificently built city of the lilies, the most beautiful of all Persian residences (comp. Neh. i. 1), there to revel in luxury and enjoyment. He, it seems, is happy to be their ruler, and they are happy as his subjects. At the same time the women are also called to this festive enjoyment. The higher in station mingle on equal terms with those lower, and all celebrate and enjoy the occasion together. It seems as if every one must feel happy in his place. Yet the old adage asserts itself that the world, the rich, the high, the proud world possesses least of that which we here seek. It may be said, indeed, of this world alone, that it passes away with all its pleasures, and that its apparent wealth at last becomes sheer poverty. Ahasuerus, who is admired because of his greatness and lauded as happy by so many, is deeply humiliated; a woman dares to defy his command, and his joy is changed to anger and chagrin. Again, all the efforts that he makes to remove the object of his disappointment serve but to complete his misfortune. However widely and effectually his power may be felt, he is still only a man, and as such he has human needs. The empire cannot displace his house. All the wealth of earth cannot give him the joy that one person does, who submits herself entirely to him. Her he cannot gain by his measures, but rather she becomes for ever lost to him by those very measures. Vashti, however, this second person at the highest point of worldly glory, now sees the crown of her exalted station and her happiness torn to pieces. For her the day of highest joy becomes the day of her misfortune. The subjects, who had to bear the cost of these feastings, must have groaned and sighed the most in advance, instead of rejoicing. Feuardent: "David once called water blood, because it had been drawn at the manifest risk of life on the part of his chieftains, and he therefore held it wrong to drink of it. But . . . . from another's hide, as the proverb goes, since shoe-strings are cut by chiefs."

1. There is but One, who—Himself ever blessed—can make all kings and nations truly happy with the great wealth of His treasury. He also will bring to pass that if those whose beauty ought to be His honor and joy—mankind, whose love would have given Him more pleasure than a man would find in the love of his wife—if these will not come to Him, will not honor nor rejoice Him, indeed if all but one family desire each to go their own way; yet has this its ground in His highest, in His most liberal greatness, by which He has found means from the very beginning to unfold more and more the wealth of His glorious kingdom, in contrast with such stubbornness, and especially to reveal to us the riches of His grace.

2. Ahasuerus, or Xerxes, who had received this great and powerful kingdom from Darius his father, and who now governed it in its fullest extent, possessed the greatest glory among the people of his own time and those succeeding, as being the greatest and most powerful king. And in the feast, which in our chapter he instituted, he made it his special business to maintain this distinction to its fullest extent. But it is this very feast that while it reveals his greatness, also reminds us of his weakness. Perhaps even then many of his friends felt that he did not quite deserve all the distinction that he claimed for himself. By reason of his thoughtlessness and folly—and this may not have been the first time when these were manifested, though he now revealed them in a more public manner before the eyes of his princes—he demanded of the queen what was against all custom and good breeding. This lapse in moral strength of which he was guilty—in that he lived more for sensual gratification than for the duties of his government—especially reveals the fact that, though never so mighty a king and ruler, yet in fact in himself he was nothing more than a poor slave.

3. While Ahasuerus was intent to show how far the limits of his empire extended, by calling to his court the governors of the most distant provinces, he found in close proximity, yea, in his very house, insubordination to his will. Though he knew how to punish it, yet he could not conquer it, nor turn it into obedience to his wishes.

There is, therefore, a power higher than that of man, were he even the mightiest ruler of earth. Though the latter may prescribe laws and issue commands, the former has long ago set in order His ordinances, indeed stamped them on the very face of nature so deeply, so ineffaceably

and unchangeably, that in contrast with human commands, they appear holy and irrefragable, and in case of a conflict bear away the palm of victory. To obey human laws may be a sacred duty; but to follow dutifully the eternally divine ordinances, is a holy and most glorious privilege, which no one must permit to be abrogated. To disobey human commands may be dangerous, may bring temporal disadvantage, but to despise God's laws is degrading, and will bring eternal ruin. If an earthly ruler with his laws come into conflict with divine ordinances, he will begin a war in which he will finally be destroyed. Feuardent: "Not even the heathens were unaware, under the instruction of Plutarch, that a man ought to govern his wife as the soul does the body, not as a master does a beast."

Starke: "Great pleasure is often followed by equally great displeasure. Occasions of joyous feasting commonly end in sorrow (1 Macc. ix. 41). Wine disperses sorrow and rejoices the heart of man (Sir. xxxi. 32 sq.). In a drinking-company all kinds of useless counsels are generally brought forth (Wis. ii. 10). Men with men, women with women, thus it was among the heathen, and so should it also be among us Christians. How much that is unchaste would thereby be avoided, which is usually found in such gatherings (Sir. xix. 2). Although beauty is a gift of God, still one should not make a boast of it nor yet be proud (Prov. xxxi. 30). Pride occasions much sorrow, and often plunges others into destruction (Sir. iii. 30; Prov. xxix. 23; 1 Pet. v. 5)."

On vers. 13–22. 1. The wise men, on whom Ahasuerus depends to give a decision as to how Vashti should be treated, are both judges and masters of ceremonies. They are to execute law and justice, but they are also to see to it that court-etiquette be maintained. Instead of at once following out the suggestions of his wrath, and doing what he thinks best to be done, Ahasuerus subjects himself to an objective will-power, namely that of law and custom. This in itself is great and beautiful. This is the victory of culture over crudeness and passion. But in the manner in which this is done here, it amounts to nothing after all. We seem to feel in advance that nothing good will come of it. It sounds to us as if the advice of Memucan came from a court of judgment: where what was held to be light is changed into darkness, and what was deemed to be sweet is changed into bitterness. The queen's act, which was at the most but a trivial mistake, is now stamped as a dark crime, and this sentence is supported by them with learned reasons and wise references. There is guardianship of justice and of morals which is nothing more than hypocrisy, by means of which injustice and violence are made a cloak for the performance of abominable deeds. Hence we must seek to know, not what pleases man, but what pleases God. What is good and beautiful in itself is to be sought after. Feuardent: "All might have been explained in a milder sense, and a reasonable excuse might have been offered. She was forbidden to enter that promiscuous assembly by the very modesty which is a woman's chief ornament."

2. However wisely the counsellors of Ahasuerus counsel together, yet all their wisdom in truth is nothing but folly; to such a degree as to cause us to smile, but yet pity. They would forestall the assumptions of the women, and would protect the respect due to men. They suppose that they firmly ground the honor of man, if they suppress the rights of woman. They do not perceive that if they compel woman to be subject to them, even to the sacrifice of her modesty, they will divest her of all humanity, and thereby make her truly and offensively bold and arrogant. Ahasuerus appears equally foolish. By not rendering a decision himself, but deferring to his court for judgment, he would protect himself from the reproach of cruelty and blind passion. But the real responsibility nevertheless falls upon him. Nor does he by any means guard himself against the great loss of a wife, of whom he has been so proud, and whose merits he will so soon be compelled to recognise. Now the question remains, Were other heathen princes or judges really any wiser? We know that it has ever pleased God to bring to shame the wisdom of the world; and we would not hazard much, were we to say that the folly of Ahasuerus and his counsellors would be found repeated more or less in all human measures and arrangements which have not proceeded from a fear of God, but have reference solely to human desire, inclination, and advantage. The divine law only is truly wise, and those who are led thereby are surely protected from loss. Though that law pronounces sentence of banishment against those who are rebellious, still it is just; and even those so banished, if they but come to themselves and look within, must recognise its justice. It only rejects these, to make room for all those who do turn within and strive to give place to grace.

Starke: "Vers. 13–15. 'For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God' (Jas. i. 20). Vers. 16–18. Thus it is ever in the world: as long as one is able to stand, others run to aid, knowing that their help is not needed. When, however, signs of falling are seen, all help to push him down. Ver. 19. True counsellors must set aside all respect for private interests, they must keep their eyes fixed upon public dangers. They must exert themselves to avert general misfortune, though thereby they even endanger their own welfare. Oh that all great lords would have respect to the laws of the great God, as they desire to have *their* laws respected! God's law is truly of such a nature and obligatory character upon us that it neither can nor should be changed. Vers. 20, 21. This is the manner of all great lords; when their honor is insulted, they are very severe, and promptly bring their laws into execution. But when God's honor is insulted, then they are easily quieted, and can readily and quickly change their purposes."

# FIRST SECTION.

## The Rise and Conflict of Opposite Elements.

CHAPS. II., III.

### A.—ESTHER IS RAISED TO THE PLACE OF VASHTI, AND MORDECAI MAKES HIMSELF DESERVING OF THE FAVOR OF AHASUERUS.

CHAP. II. 1-23.

I. *Esther's Elevation.* Vers. 1-18.

1 AFTER these things [words], when [as] *the* wrath of king Ahasuerus was ap-
peased [subsided], he remembered Vashti, and what she had done, and what was
2 decreed against her. Then [And] said *the* king's servants [young *men*] that
ministered unto him [his waiters], Let *there be* fair [good of appearance] young
3 virgins sought [let them seek] for the king: And let the king appoint officers in
all *the* provinces of his kingdom, that they may [and let them] gather *together* all
*the* fair young virgins [every young virgin good of appearance] unto Shushan the
palace, to *the* house of the women, unto *the* custody [hand] of Hege *the* king's
chamberlain [eunuch], keeper of the women; and *let* their *things* for purification
4 be given *them* [*let there be a* giving their furbishments]: And let the maiden
[young *woman*] which pleaseth [that seems good to] the king be queen instead of
Vashti. And the thing pleased [seemed good to] the king, and he did so.
5 *Now* in Shushan the palace *there* was a certain [man] Jew, whose [and his]
name *was* Mordecai, *the* son of Jair, *the* son of Shimei, *the* son of Kish, a Benjamite,
6 Who *had* been carried away [made captive] from Jerusalem with the captivity
which *had* been carried away [made captive] with Jechoniah king of Judah, whom
7 Nebuchadnezzar *the* king of Babylon *had* carried away [made captive]. And he
brought up [was supporting] Hadassah (that *is* Esther) his uncle's daughter; for
she had neither father nor mother, and the maid [young *woman*] *was* fair [beauti-
ful of figure] and beautiful [good of appearance];[1] whom [and her] Mordecai,
when her father and mother were dead, took for his *own* [to him for a] daughter.
8 So [And] it came to pass [was], when *the* king's commandment [word] and his
decree was heard, and when many maidens [young *women*] were gathered *together*
unto Shushan the palace, to the custody [hand] of Hegai, that [and, *i. e.* then]
Esther was brought [taken] *also* unto *the* king's house, to the custody [hand] of
9 Hegai, keeper of the women. And the maiden [young *woman*] pleased him
[seemed good in his eyes], and she obtained kindness of [received favor before]
him; and he speedily gave [hastened to give] her her *things* for purification [fur-
bishments], with [and] such *things* as belonged to her [her portions], and seven
maidens [young *women*], *which were* meet [seen, *i. e.* chosen] to *be* given [give] her,
out of *the* king's house: and he preferred [changed] her and her maids [young
10 *women*] unto *the* best [good] *place* of *the* house of the women. Esther *had* not
showed [told] her people nor [and] her kindred [lineage]: for Mordecai *had*
11 charged [enjoined upon] her that she should not show [tell] *it*. And Mordecai
walked [*was* walking to and fro] every day [continually][2] before *the* court of *the*
women's house, to know how Esther did [the peace, *i. e.* welfare of Esther], and
what should become of [be done with] her.
12 Now [And], when every [each] maid's turn was come [approached] to go *in* to
[the] king Ahasuerus, after that she had been [at the end of her being] twelve
months, according to *the* manner [law] of the women, (for so were *the* days of their
purifications [furbishments] accomplished, *to wit*, six months with oil of myrrh,

and six months with sweet odors [spices], and with *other things for the* purifying
13 [furbishments] of the women,) Then [And] thus [in this *time*] came *every* maiden
unto the king; whatsoever she desired [might say] was [would be] given her, to
14 go with her out of *the* house of the women unto *the* king's house. In the evening
she went, and on the morrow [in the morning] she[3] returned *into the* second house
of the women, to *the* custody [hand] of Shaashgaz *the* king's chamberlain [eunuch],
which kept [keeping] the concubines: she came [would come] *in* unto the king
no more, except the king delighted in her, and *that* she were called by name.
15 Now [And] when *the* turn of Esther, *the* daughter of Abihail *the* uncle of Morde-
cai, who had taken her for his [to him for a] daughter, was come [approached] to
go *in* unto the king, she required [sought] nothing but what Hegai *the* king's
chamberlain [eunuch], *the* keeper of [keeping] the women, appointed [might say]:
and Esther obtained [was receiving] favor in *the* sight [eyes] of all *them* that looked
16 upon [seeing] her. So [And] Esther was taken unto [the] king Ahasuerus *into*
his house royal in the tenth month, which *is the* month Tebeth, in *the* seventh year
17 of his reign. And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained
[received] grace [favor] and favor [mercy] in his sight [before him] more than all
the virgins; so *that* [and] he set *the* royal crown upon her head, and made her
18 queen instead of Vashti. Then [And] the king made a great feast [banquet] unto
all his princes and his servants, *even* Esther's feast [banquet]; and he made a
release [rest] to the provinces, and gave gifts [a contribution] according to the
state [hand] of the king.

II. *Mordecai makes himself deserving of the favor of Ahasuerus.* Vers. 18–20.

19 And when *the* virgins were gathered *together* the second *time, then* Mordecai sat
20 [*was* sitting] in *the* king's gate. Esther *had* not *yet* showed [*was* not telling] her
kindred [lineage] nor [and] her people, as Mordecai *had* charged [enjoined upon]
her: for Esther did the commandment [saying] of Mordecai, like as [what she
21 was] when she was brought up [in her being supported] with him. In those days,
while [and, *i. e.* when] Mordecai sat [*was* sitting] in *the* king's gate, two of *the*
king's chamberlains, Bigthan and Teresh, of *those* which kept [keeping] the door
[threshold] were wroth [was enraged], and sought to lay hand on the king Aha-
22 suerus. And the thing [word] was known to Mordecai, who [and he] told *it* unto
Esther the queen, and Esther certified [said to] the king *thereof* in Mordecai's
23 name. And *when* inquisition was made of [they sought] the matter [word], [and]
it was found *out;* therefore [and] they were both hanged on a tree: and it was
written in *the* book of *the* Chronicles [words (*i. e.* deeds) of the days] before the
king.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 7. Of the two expressions here used, the former refers to general *symmetry* of person, יְפַת־תֹּאַר, and the latter specially to *comeliness* of countenance, טוֹבַת מַרְאֶה. Esther had not only a fine form, but also a fine face.—Tr.]

[2] [Ver. 11. The expression here used is doubly emphatic, בְּכָל־יוֹם וָיוֹם, to show Mordecai's intense solicitude for his ward.—Tr.]

[3] [Ver. 14. The pronoun, being expressed, is here emphatic — *each* individual singly.—Tr.]

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–4. *Plan for procuring a new Queen.*—The history which informs us how Ahasuerus caused virgins to be brought together from all the parts of his kingdom; how in consequence he loved Esther in the place of Vashti, begins properly here, at the point when the anger of the king against Vashti had allayed, and when he thought of what she had done, and what was determined respecting her. In view of ver. 16 we would be led to assume, since Esther was brought to the king's palace in the seventh year, and the tenth month of the year, that now we stand in the fifth or even the sixth year of the reign of Ahasuerus. Hence there would be between ch. i. (comp. ver. 8) and chap. ii. a period of nearly three years. We may assume that it did not take longer than a half year to execute the order here given; and the preparation of the virgins described in ver. 12 did not continue more than a year. Meanwhile Ahasuerus was employed in Greece during the sixth year of his reign, but he returned in the seventh. In all probability we are still in the time of the Grecian war. We may also very naturally conclude that under the circumstances many years were not suffered to

pass before it was thought to find a substitute for Vashti. This resolution was formed soon after the rejection of Vashti, but its execution may have been delayed because of the newly undertaken Grecian war. The literal meaning of ver. 1 seems to be that Ahasuerus rued in his sober moments what had passed, that hence the fear might have arisen lest he would now direct his anger from Vashti and let it fall upon his counsellors.

שֹׁךְ from שָׁכַךְ, *to let down*, to lie down, is here and in chap. vii. 10, spoken of the swellings of anger, in Gen. viii. 1, of movements of water, and is related to שָׁחַח, *to be low* or become low. גָּזַר is *to decide*, to *conclude firmly*, irrevocably, comp. גְּזֵרָה, Dan. iv. 14.

Ver. 2. The youths* that served before the king sought to avert the danger that threatened. Those here mentioned are his attendants (comp. Neh. iv. 10), who were employed about his person (comp. chap. vi. 3, 5). They advised that maidens, virgins, be brought to the king, and that these should be beautiful to look upon. יְבַקְשׁוּ, the 3d pers. plur., represents, as is usual in the Aram., the impersonal "one," as a passive expression. נְעָרוֹת, *marriageable* persons, is in itself too indefinite to be other than an appendage to בְּתוּלוֹת.†

Ver. 3. They also gave the plan of execution of this project: The king, through his appointed officers, or through specially authorized men, was to cause to be brought together from all the provinces of his kingdom the most beautiful virgins, and placed under the hand of Hege in the house of the women. This Hege was the chief eunuch of the king, the keeper of the women, under whose care and direction every young maiden taken into the harem was placed, and by him prepared for one whole year to go into the presence of the king (comp. ver. 12). הֵגָא in vers. 8 and 15 called הֵגַי, was, as above stated, the chief overseer of the king's harem.‡ **And let their things for purification be given (them).**—וְנָתוֹן, the infin. absol., gives prominence to the act purely as such, since it presupposes the subject as being self-evident: "Let them be given" [rather, "Let there be *a giving*"]. תַּמְרוּק (comp. vers. 9 and 12), from מָרַק, *to rub*, to cleanse, to make clean, is an abstract image, *purification* in the sense of cleansing; while מְרוּקִים in ver. 12 means rather [passively] *become cleansed*, or pure. Evidently such a purification meant a cleansing and anointing with precious oils, ver. 4. Their purpose was that the one who should please the king might become queen in the room of Vashti. מָלַךְ here speaks of the queen, as it elsewhere does of the king. Ahasuerus approved of this proposition also (comp. chap. i. 21).

Vers. 5–7. Now our author can and must make a reference to Mordecai and Esther as the chief persons on the one side in the conflict that is to follow. Ver. 5. **A certain Jew**—remained about there—**in Shushan the palace—whose name (was) Mordecai.**—It is a characteristic of our author in his vivid mode of statement that, instead of continuing the connection, he makes use of וַיְהִי, so taking a fresh start (comp. chap. i. 9, 10). Thus a new element, which comes into play in this history, receives greater prominence.

The name *Mordecai*, which in the later recensions is not written מָרְדְּכַי, but מָרְדֳּכַי, has perhaps connection with the Persian *mordkai*, "little man" (mannikin). Its derivation from the name of the Chaldee God, *Merodach*, is, however, extremely improbable. Its import is equally as uncertain with that of most of the names mentioned in chap. i.* **The son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite.**—According to most commentators, also Clericus and Rambach, Jair, Shimei and Kish were the nearest antecedents of Mordecai.† Still it is much more natural to hold with Josephus, who traces the genealogy of Esther to a royal house, that King Saul is meant (*Arch.* XI. 6); while both Targums hold both Shimei and Kish as being much earlier in the line, namely, identical with the men mentioned in the Books of Samuel, Shimei, the son of Gera, who cursed David (2 Sam. xvi. 5 sqq.; 1 Ki. ii. 8, 36 sqq.), and Kish, the father of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1; 1 Chron. viii. 33). This agrees with the statement that the former Shimei, the same as the one here mentioned, should have been a son of Kish. In 1 Sam. xvi. 5 he is designated as being of the lineage of Saul. Further we discover that Mordecai, by this derivation, was a Benjamite, and that already by this genealogical descent he is placed in opposition to Haman as his enemy. This is most clearly shown by our author in designating

* [נַעַר, however, like παῖς in Greek, and *boy* in English, often denotes merely a male *domestic*, with little regard to age.—Tr.]

† [It here, however, denotes something additional to the charms of the candidates for the queenly state. All young females are not virgins, nor are all virgins young. These were to be both, and more besides, to be fair. —Tr.]

‡ ["The 'gynæceum' or 'harem' was always an essential part of an Oriental palace (comp. 1 Kings vii. 8). In the Persian palaces it was very extensive, since the Persian monarchs maintained, besides their legitimate wives, as many as 300 or 400 concubines (Parmen. *ap.* Athen. *Deipon* XIII. p. 608 *a*). Hege, strictly speaking, seems to have been 'keeper of the virgins' only, since the concubines were under the care of Shaashgaz (ver. 14)." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["Mordecai has been probably identified with a certain *Matacas*, who, according to Ctesias, was the most powerful of the eunuchs during the latter part of the reign of Xerxes. ...... That Mordecai was a eunuch is implied by his adoption of a young female cousin, and also by the ready access which he had to the harem of Ahasuerus." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† [So also Rawlinson: "If the writer had intended to derive Mordecai from a royal stock, he would scarcely have omitted the name of Saul himself. Nor would he have designated Kish as a mere "Benjamite." The same writer adds that on the supposition "that the list is simply the true line of Mordecai's descent from a certain Kish otherwise unknown, who was his grandfather," and had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar; then "the four generations, Kish, Shimei, Jair, Mordecai, exactly fill up the space of 130 years from Jeconiah's captivity to the latter half of Xerxes' reign. ...... The age of Mordecai at the accession of Xerxes may have been about 30 or 40; that of Esther, his first cousin, about 20." Still these coincidences seem to be outweighed by the considerations advanced by our author.—Tr.]

the latter as an Agagite (comp. ch. iii. 1). It is also well known that it was a custom of Biblical historians not to give the genealogy complete, but rather to form a connection more or less close with celebrated names of the older times (comp. *e. g.* Maaseiah in Neh. xi. 5, the son of Shiloni; or Pethahiah, Neh. xi. 24, the son of Judah; or Shallum, 1 Chron. ix. 19, the son of Korah). The relative sentence in ver. 6: **Who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity, which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away** cannot by any means be referred to the last named Kish, as is thought by older commentators, and also by Clericus and Baumgarten (I. c. p. 127), but only to Mordecai, to whom special reference is made as being a Benjamite. Not only the analogy of similar personal designations found in the Scriptures demands this, but especially the circumstance that this reference to Kish as a Benjamite would be purely arbitrary. Thus it gives the appearance as if Mordecai had himself belonged to the first period of the exile, and not his great grand-father, and as if the history of our book, instead of belonging to the period of Xerxes, really belonged to the period of a pre-existing king of Media (perhaps to that of Cyaxares, comp. chap. i. 1). For the assumption that Mordecai had lived from the beginning of the exile up to the time of Xerxes, and then, being perhaps 120–130 years old, had become prime minister, is quite improbable. So is also the statement that he was identical with the Mordecai mentioned in Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7, an exile returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Joshua, but afterwards coming back again to Chaldæa, or rather to Shushan (Rambach). The contrast with the youth of Esther renders it in that case well nigh impossible then that she should come into notice here. Still this natural consideration may be deceptive. Since all the other incidents point to the later time of Xerxes, we are justified, indeed compelled, to bear in mind that mode of speech which was then employed. This treats of things done by predecessors as having been witnessed by their progeny, who had a certain part in them; such an analogy is found in Gen. xlvi. 8 sqq. Perhaps also the expression here indicates in advance that Mordecai had been carried away not only along with Jeconiah, but also together with the captives led away at the time of Jeconiah.* One thing, however, is clear: that though a Benjamite, he belonged to the "captivity" of Judah, and not to that of Israel, to which Joachim Lange would assign him. But in this place reference is made to him, as is indicated in ver. 7, because of his relationship to Esther. **And he brought up Hadassah [that is, Esther] his uncle's daughter.**—אֹמֵן, a participle connected with an accus., means a *guardian* (2 Ki. xi. 5; Num. xi. 12), but it may also mean one *who cares for*, or who is a foster-parent (Isa. xlix. 23). הֲדַסָּה, *myrtle*, usually masc. הֲדַס, plur. הֲדַסִּים, may be compared with the Greek names for maidens, Μυρτία, Μυῤῥίνη. The phrase, "that is, Esther," has joined with it also the other name by which she has become known. Without doubt she received this at the Persian court. אֶסְתֵּר is old Persian *stara* with א prosth.; see the term for *star*, modern Persian *sitareh*, Greek ἀστήρ. As the daughter of his uncle, his father's brother, hence also his cousin, it was very likely that she was somewhat younger than her foster-father, but not one hundred or more years younger, as would be the case if he had lived at the beginning of the exile. Her father's name, according to ver. 15, was Abihail.

In vers. 8–11 it follows how Esther, and through her Mordecai, were involved in the history of Ahasuerus. Ver. 8. **So it came to pass** (literally "when was heard," comp. chap. i. 20 and Neh. vi. 1), **when the king's commandment and his decree was heard**—*i. e.*, the decree of the king as expressed in the publicly proclaimed law, so that all were obliged to give it obedience; among other maidens **Esther was brought also into the king's house.**—Perhaps quite a time was allowed to elapse before executing the decree, on account of the war with Greece, which had broken out meanwhile. It is quite certain, according to what follows, that Esther was not brought into the palace of the king Ahasuerus before the sixth year of his reign.

Ver. 9. Now since Esther appeared very beautiful in the eyes of Hegai, and found favor in his sight נָשָׂא חֶסֶד or נָשָׂא חֵן (vers. 15, 17; chap. v. 2) occurs only in our book, commonly מָצָא חֵן, to *obtain* or bear away *grace* or favor—**he speedily gave her her things for purification with such things as belonged to her** (comp. ver. 8). מָנוֹת are *portions*, not so much of oils for anointing as rather *good food* (comp. chap. ix. 19, 22). Perhaps those maidens that were selected by the king received during their time of purification an especially good diet (comp. Dan. i. 5). But they were prepared one after the other. Hegai expedited matters that Esther should be counted among the virgins of the harem as soon as possible. The accus.: *the things for her purification and such things as belonged to her*, does not depend upon יְבַהֵל, but upon לָתֵת לָהּ; the object is placed before the infin. according to Aramæan usage. But the infin. is here added after the following object; and "the seven maidens selected" is repeated, lest the previous objective statement might seem too long. The seven maidens selected, *i. e.* from the king's service, were by law given to her as servants and to keep her company. רְאֻיוֹת means primarily *selected* for a definite purpose (comp. חֲזֵה, Dan. iii. 19); in the Talmud and Rabbins רָאוּי takes the meaning of *dignus, decens, conveniens*.*—**And he preferred**

* ["The relative clause, 'Who had been carried away,' need not be so strictly understood as to assert that Mordecai himself was carried away; but the object being to give merely his origin and lineage, and not his history, it involves only the notion that he belonged to those Jews who were carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar with Jeconiah, so that he, though born in captivity, was carried to Babylon in the persons of his forefathers." KEIL.—TR.]

* [It is implied that each concubine received seven maidens, but that by the favor of Hegai, Esther received *picked* maidens. RAWLINSON.—TR.]

**her and her maids unto the best (place) of the house of the women,** *i. e.* an especially good and beautiful part of it, the state-rooms of the women's house. Thus she might in every respect live as belonged to the distinction awaiting her.

Ver. 10. Esther owed this fortune next to her fairness to the shrewdness of Mordecai. Because of his advice **Esther had not showed her people nor her kindred,** as being one of the captive and despised Jews, else she would soon have been set back. Mordecai showed his love and shrewdness also in this, that even now he kept up his relationship to her. **And Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her.**—This was to find out whether she was really in preparation for the king. It appears that he could still approach her without hindrance, whereas in chap. iv. it is stated, that when he put on clothes of mourning, he was no more permitted either to stand in the gate of the king, or to pass up and down before the house of the women. Perhaps the laws of the harem were in those days not so strict that, though he could not speak to Esther directly, still he could find out about her by her associate maidens. We have neither a right nor claim on the explanation of Jewish commentators that he was a Persian official high in rank, and therefore he had admittance to her (comp. ver. 19).*

Vers. 12–18. Esther was preferred before all the other virgins. But in order to give prominence to the modesty and simplicity of Esther, our author tells us beforehand, in vers. 12–14, what would have been granted her in this decisive hour had she requested it. **Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus,** *etc.*—תּוֹר, really *order*, according to Ewald, § 146 *d*, probably connected with תּוֹרָת (comp. 1 Chron. xvii. 17), here in our verse corresponds to "turn," "row" (ver. 15); comp. תּוֹרִים, *rows*, chains, Cantic. i. 11. So instead of saying: "When the turn of each maid came," we would say: "When it was the turn of each maid." **After that she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women.**—One would be led to expect: "At the end of twelve months, after that," *etc.* But the author desires to give expression to the thought: "At the end of the purifications and necessary preparations." The "manner of the women" does not mean the *custom of the women* (Gen. xviii. 11; xxxi. 35, Clericus), for it would not then be necessary to add "twelve months;" but it is the law prescribing those preparations which are more fully set forth in what follows. The term "women" instead of "maidens" must not seem strange to us at this place any more than תַּמְרוּקֵי at the end of the verse. **Six months with the oil of myrrh,** *etc.*, is more fully supplemented by: "They were purified" or prepared. The purifications of the women last mentioned are still other means which were employed by the women for this purpose. The clause following in ver. 13 should perhaps read: "At the coming of every maiden to the king all these things were given her," *etc.* For this is really the declaration upon which a fact is based, namely, that when Esther came, she required nothing more of Hegai than what he appointed, as is stated in ver. 15. The expression: "At her coming" is made with a previous clause of condition, and is attached by the conjunction "and" to the sentence gone before; and it is also connected in its participial form with the principal sentence, so that it is best introduced by the terms "and when" or "now when" (comp. Job i. 13, 16, 17 seq., and Ewald, § 341 *d*). Such participial sentences of condition as are found in ver. 14 correspond to the nominative absolute, somewhat like the genitive absolute of the Greeks. **Then thus came (every) maiden unto the king; whatsoever she desired was given her to go with her.**—בָּזֶה may be understood to mean *from that time*, as does also the Sept., *i. e.*, *illo*, *sc. tempore;* but it may also have reference to the condition, *hoc modo*, *sc. ornata* (comp. בְּכֵן, chap. iv. 16). The subject, "whatever" (all that), precedes for emphasis, and does not mean a companion (Rambach)—opposed to this is ver. 15—but all kinds of articles of decoration and of precious value with which she would decorate herself to appear before the king. The lot that befel most virgins in spite of all preparation and decoration is also on this account made note of by the author in ver. 14, in order to give due prominence to the good fortune that came to Esther in her simplicity and attractive demeanor by placing it in such contrast. **In the evening she went, and on the morrow she returned into the second house of the women, to the custody of Shaashgaz,** *etc.*—שֵׁנִי is for שֵׁנִית, as in Neh. iii. 30; another part of the harem which was occupied by the concubines. Shaashgaz, who had the special oversight over the concubines, may have been a subordinate officer. **She came in unto the king no more, except the king,** *etc.*—We find that נִקְרָאָה is in other good MSS. also written with the usual punctuation נִקְרְאָה.

Following ver. 15 we have Esther's conduct and success. **Now when the turn of Esther, the daughter of Abihail, the uncle of Mordecai, who had taken her for his daughter, was come,** *etc.* Thus fully is this account given, since now the decisive moment had come, in which she should come into such an important relation to her people. **She required nothing but what Hegai the king's chamberlain, the keeper of the women, appointed.**—Not, perhaps, because of shrewdness, as if she depended on the fact that Hegai understood best the taste of the king; she did not design to please the king by means of ornamentation, and only put on what was deemed

* ["Mordecai occupied, apparently, an humble place in the royal household. He was probably one of the porters or door-keepers at the main entrance of the palace (see ver. 21, and comp. ch. iii. 2; v. 13, *etc.*). This position separated him from his adopted daughter, and some effort was needed to keep up communication with her." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

indispensable by Hegai.* **And Esther obtained favor in the sight of all them that looked upon her.**—She was attractive, *sc.* in this momentous hour. נָשָׂא חֵן, like נָשָׂא חֶסֶד, in ver. 9.—[Ver. 16. **The month Tebeth.**—"This word, which does not occur elsewhere in Scripture, is singularly like that of the corresponding Egyptian month, *Tobi* or *Tubai*. A name but slightly different is found in the Palmyrian inscriptions (Gesenius, *Thesaur*, p. 543). Tebeth corresponded nearly to our January."—Rawlinson.]

Ver. 17. **And the king loved Esther, and made her queen instead of Vashti:** no doubt at the time of the first interview.

Ver. 18. In addition he also made a joyous marriage-feast, *viz.:* **a great feast unto all his princes and his servants (even) Esther's feast.**—Perhaps such a feast, named in honor of the queen, was a custom on these occasions, and its import is this: Esther's marriage with the king was thereby celebrated in due form. To this it may be added that Ahasuerus gave to the provinces **a release, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king.**—The verbal form of the Hiphil of הֲנָחָה in Chaldee may mean a *release from taxes;* the Sept. has it more indefinitely as ἄφεσις. But the Vulg. has it *requies*, as if it meant only a day of rest, for which עָשָׂה may be more appropriate. מַשְׂאֵת, according to Amos v. 11; Jer. xl. 5, is a *gift* of corn or articles of food. כְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ, as in chap. i. 7.

Vers. 19–23. The author connects with the elevation of Esther a meritorious act of Mordecai, namely, the discovery of a conspiracy against the life of Ahasuerus. This fact, though not at once apparent as to its present bearing, became of very great importance in the history yet to be developed. And it could even now serve to confirm the hope, by means of Esther's elevation, that henceforth an especially good time was coming for Judaism in Persia. Mordecai, who had previously shown himself a very shrewd man, now also reveals himself as a righteous subject. It seems that he, even more than Esther, was to be celebrated. The introductory sentences in vers. 19 and 20 are very obscure. **And when the virgins were gathered together the second time, then Mordecai sat in the king's gate.**—It may be asked what is meant by this second gathering of virgins. Clericus thinks "they seem on the first occasion to have been collected into the various provinces, and afterwards at Susa, before they were introduced into the royal *gynocæum*. The writer returns to what had happened before the marriage of Esther." So likewise Grotius: "It is an ἐπάνοδος or retrogression; for reference is made to the incidents in chap. ii. 2."

* ["No doubt the virgins generally took the opportunity—one that would occur but once in their lives—to load themselves with precious ornaments of various kinds, neck-laces, bracelets, ear-rings, anklets and the like. Esther allowed Hegai to dress her as he would."—Rawlinson. Thus, as ever, it proved that true piety is the highest ornament, even in a heathen's sight; and modesty is the brightest jewel of female beauty (1 Pet. iii. 3, 4).]—Tr.]

But the word שֵׁנִית does not well correspond to this, nor the circumstance that, now, according to ver. 20 sqq., Esther is already queen: so that Mordecai now no more takes his post at the inclosure of the house of the women, but in the gate of the king, and thus through him she is enabled to give information to Ahasuerus. Drusius and Bertheau assume that the writer speaks here of the gathering or transfer of those maids who had been with the king into the other part of the house of the women which was under the care of Shaashgaz. Thus we may explain the fact that Mordecai no longer walked up and down before the house of the women, but stopped in the gate of the king, and was at his post when the virgins were conducted from the house of the king back to the house of the women, where he might expect that Esther would pass, since as the beloved queen she frequently came to the king. But then we would not read of a gathering, especially one of virgins, בְּתוּלוֹת. Besides שֵׁנִית does not well have a place in this explanation, and the idea that in the gate of the king one would be nearer to the women when returning from the king's palace is incorrect. The choice of the same expression קָבַץ, which was employed in verses 3 and 8 with reference to the first collection of women, as well as then שֵׁנִית, leads to the sense, as is recognised by Corn. à Lapide, as also by more modern expositors, Keil included, that after the elevation of Esther a still further collection of virgins was made, perhaps of such as came from distant provinces, and who arrived later. We must keep in mind that the selection of Esther did not prohibit Ahasuerus from loving other virgins also and crowning them queens, even though she had the preference before all the others. Solomon had seven hundred queens and three hundred concubines. The latter were only *secundariæ uxores* (concubines). Then it may further be asked, What purpose was served by the mention of the second gathering in this connection? Keil's assumption that thereby the period of the history following is designated, is insufficient, especially since it does not well serve as a designation of a period of time. The words immediately following make it probable that it was intended thereby to express how Mordecai could before this remain the more readily and oftener at his post in the gate of the king without attracting attention, or even without regard being paid to him. It may be assumed that at that time people did often come to the gate of the king except when the virgins had arrived, and in order to see them, while at other times they remained away. Usually, however, it was the seat for the officials, whether high or low in position (comp. chap. iii. 2, 3, and Dan. ii. 49; also Xenophon's *Cyrop.* VIII., 1, 6; Herodot. II., 120). We find nothing leading us to suppose that Mordecai was already an officer of the court, and as such had a place in the gate. If such had been the case it would have been mentioned, since, as an explanation to sitting in the king's gate, it was essential to the matter in hand. But, in chap. iii. 2, we again find him sitting in the king's gate, and that too, day after day. This may be accounted for. We may assume that, in conse-

quence of the event stated of him in this place, he had in a certain sense obtained the right to stand among the servants of the king who had their position there. A confirmation of this view may be found in ver. 20, the object of which, without this connection, will remain obscure. **Esther had not (yet) shewed her kindred nor her people**, *etc.* If we look at what follows, where the door-keepers did not pay much regard to him, the sense seems to be: Mordecai did not remain there as the foster-father of Esther, for as such he would have been a distinguished personage, and one to be feared, but simply as an unimportant stranger. The reference is clearly to ver. 10. The author, in the repetition of this remark, and as is also clearly shown by the use of the participle, desires to indicate that Esther, as from the first so now also, maintained a strict secrecy, even after having become queen. Besides, the position of the word מוֹלַדְתָּהּ is notable. מוֹלֶדֶת, in distinction from עָם, signifies the family connection or relationship, *kindred.* This is here placed first, because the relation of Esther to Mordecai is under consideration. The strong emphasis laid on the fact that, Mordecai had so instructed her, that she only carried out his wishes, as when she was under his care, seems to oppose the opinion that she did it from other reasons, as that she was ashamed of her descent, and hence kept silence. כַּאֲשֶׁר here means "like as when;" comp. Job x. 19, where it signifies "as if." אָמְנָה, *education*, care, has the *raphe* over the ה, so that the ending may not be taken for a suffix.

Vers. 21–23. In these days when Mordecai sat in the gate of the king, **Bigthan and Teresh,* two of the king's chamberlains, of those which kept the door** (Sept. ἀρχισωματοφύλακες), or watchmen of the palace (comp. 2 Kings xii. 10), **were wroth**, became angry (קָצַף), **and sought to lay hand on the king.**† Contrary to ver. 20 the Sept. adds: *Because Mordecai had become distinguished.* But the matter became known to Mordecai in some way, according to Josephus through the Jewish slave of one of the conspirators; in truth, perhaps, because the lower officers, who had become party to the conspiracy, did not exercise sufficient discretion. Mordecai, through Esther, gave the king notice thereof.

Ver. 23. The matter was investigated, and it was so found, *i. e.*, established, and **they were both hanged on a tree**, *i. e.*, they were hung on a stake, or impaled; a customary mode of crucifixion (comp. chaps. v. 14; vi. 4; vii. 9, 10; Ezra vi. 11; and Herodot. III., 125).‡ These events were recorded in the book of the history of the reign, *i. e.*, in the chronicles of the empire (comp. chaps. vi. 1; x. 2; Ezra iv. 15), and that **before the king**, which may mean, either in his presence, so that he might be assured of their correct insertion, or that the chronicles of the empire were deposited before him, in his palace (comp. chap. vi. 1). It was a Persian custom to insert the names of those into the chronicles of the empire, who had deserved well of the king, as is confirmed by Herodot. VIII., 85. He also relates that Xerxes, on his campaign against Greece, had historians in his train, who were required to record the deeds of the Persians in a book.*

## DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

It is of the every-day life of a purely worldly, of a heathen court, that the author of our chapter treats. This moves in the high places of this world, and yet it is a very low life. Ahasuerus begins to feel the loss which he has brought on himself by the rejection of his wife, and his courtiers advise him to procure for his lust another, most liberal indulgence. He lends an ear to their suggestion, and orders what might be expected to follow as a matter of course. Nothing seems more improbable in these events than a divine control and government; and we would hardly be led to expect the thoughts and guidance of God under such circumstances. Yet we are soon made aware that we are standing right in the midst of divine providence. Independent as the world may appear in its outward life, still the Lord knows how to make even the lowest impulses and movements—indeed even the sin present in them—serviceable to His purposes. While on the one side Ahasuerus desires nothing but to find the most beautiful of virgins, God on the other side places Esther in the right position, and through her brings help and protection to His people in the face of the dangers that threaten them on the part of the world. He permits His people to become involved in the low life of the world, nay, He has humbled them to such an extent that even *their* virgins must be brought to Shushan at the king's command. But in thus revealing the full depth of their degradation He also begins again to elevate them. Besides, it is remarkable, how the life of human love, even in its sunken state, can illustrate the work of divine Love. For just as Ahasuerus caused virgins to be brought together from all peoples and tribes, in order to select the most beautiful for himself, so God has in a certain sense tested all the peoples of mankind to see if He could find one that would be peculiarly His own. And then, in preference to all others, however many there might be, and however many excellencies they might have in certain directions, He would select the one least noticed as His bride and spouse.

On vers. 1–7. The author permits us here to take a hasty but deep insight into the domestic life of a powerful and wealthy heathen ruler, who lives in the world merely to live, and on the other hand he gives us a view into the every-day life of a seemingly poor Jew, who is also despised in the common lot of his people, but who nevertheless incontestably stands under the blessing

* ["*Bigthan* (the Bigtha of ch. i. 10) is probably the Old-Persian *Bagadana*, *i. e.*, God-given. *Teresh* is by some derived from *tars*, 'to fear;' but it is more like a foreign than a Persian name." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["Conspiracies inside the palace were ordinary occurrences in Persia. Xerxes was ultimately murdered by Artabanus, the captain of the guard, and Aspamitras, a chamberlain and eunuch (Ctesias, *Pers.*, § 29; Diod. Sic. XI., 69, § 1). A similar fate befell Artaxerxes Ochus." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

‡ [Especially "of rebels and traitors in Persia (see Herod. III., 159; IV., 43; and the Behistun Inscription, *passim*)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* ["These royal chronicles were distinctly mentioned by Ctesias, who said that he drew his Persian history from them (Diod. Sic. II., 32)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

of his fathers. Ahasuerus, amid all his wealth and splendor, feels an oppressive want. He remembers his wife whom he has rejected, and especially regrets the wrong which he has done her. Without doubt the feeling gains a place in him that the loss of a personal being whom he could call peculiarly his own, was a loss which could not be made good by any other possession, however precious. And the wrong which he thinks he had experienced from her, is, like all the wrongs of men of the world of which they accuse each other, rather of a doubtful kind. It may be a question whether it could not have been excused, or even taken in a good sense. In truth it was only because of his despotic and mistaken view of common rights, which even the wife has, that caused him to reject her. He had trampled under foot her feminine feelings. Nevertheless she was now for ever lost to him. He was not prudent, not cautious enough. He must even confess to himself that though he had consulted his counsellors, he still had acted in a passionate manner, and given too free a rein to his wrath. Though surrounded by affluence, he is yet discontented, more especially with himself; he is filled with vexation and conflict, though no one has dared to oppose him. Of course there are not wanting those who recommend to him means and ways for shaking off this oppressive feeling. One thing, however, is evident: he cannot attain to a true satisfaction in the manner which *they* recommend to him as regards the points in question. This can only be brought about by true love. But love, as is beautifully shown and carried out in Canticles, cannot be commanded nor yet purchased; it can only be won, and can only be brought into life and sustained by true love's labor. The view into the domestic life of Ahasuerus is, therefore, a view of the brilliant, but hopeless misery of heathendom, which only deceives the sensual fool with reference to its true nature, but which convinces those more circumspect of the poverty of those living without God in the world.

How different a picture is presented to us in the domestic life of Mordecai! Mordecai is a lowly descendant of a formerly distinguished, indeed royal family. He belongs to the scattered foreigners fallen under contempt, who were carried away captives from Jerusalem. He is in a strange land. He has, it appears, neither father nor mother, neither wife nor child. Even his relatives, his uncle and his aunt, are dead. But the latter left an orphan; he is to her a father, she to him a daughter, indeed a precious treasure. Doubtless he is aware how great a trust was left to him in her and with her, how God is justly called the Father of orphans, and that He especially blesses those who pity and minister to them. He knows his duty toward her, and its fulfilment brings to him satisfaction, makes him happy. God has blessed her with beauty, but what is more, He has bestowed on her an obedient, humble, and unassuming spirit, as is afterward fully shown by her conduct in the royal house of the women, and as had doubtless been often manifested before. She loves her people, and surely also its customs, laws, and religion. Thus she is to him indeed a Hadassah, a *myrtle* in the true sense of the word, an unpromising and yet promising bud. Indeed to him she has developed into a lovely flower of hope; and though it happen that she is taken into the royal house of the women, she will still be to him a lovely flower, whose presence he seeks, whose prosperity lies at his heart day by day, whose development will cause him to rejoice. Again she will more and more become to him a brilliant *star*, an Esther (*aster*), in whose light he views his own and his people's future. In this manner his life is not poor, though he appear insignificant and obscure, though it be filled with painful reminiscences and great perplexities which he must combat daily in his heathen surroundings. On the contrary he is rich in light and hope; and even if he had realized the latter in a less degree than he eventually did, still his existence would not have been in vain.

On vers. 8–11. That which gave Esther distinction above all the other virgins, who were at the same time selected with her, and whereby she obtained first the favor of the keeper of the harem, and then the love of Ahasuerus, was certainly not merely greater personal beauty. This would hardly have made such a favorable impression upon the eunuch. But it was rather a certain graciousness of being and carriage, which could only be present where the spiritual element does not occupy a lower plane than the physical, as was the fact with most Persian poorly-trained maidens, but rather where the spiritual element elevates and transfigures the mere bodily element. This grace had its ground partly in her fortune, but also for a great part in the spiritual nature of Judaism through the blessing of an adoration of the true, exalted, and spiritual God. It was therefore not without reason that the then existing Jews thought themselves recognised and honored in the preference of Esther, which, no doubt, they did to its full extent. They all more or less participated in her spiritual advantages, or at least all could or should have participated in them. This, however, affords little ground for beholding in the victory she won an indication of the triumph which Judaism, then so oppressed and despised, should obtain over proud heathendom at large. Nevertheless in the before insignificant but lovely Hadassah, who is now the powerful Esther, we see a symbol of the weaker but better element in Israel perfecting itself as the powerful community of the Spirit in the Christian church, which will yet conquer the world.

Luther: "Whatever heart is thus minded, will bear ornamentation without danger to itself; for it bears and yet does not bear, dances and yet dances not, lives well and yet not well. These are the heavenly souls, the sacred brides of Christ; but they are scarce. For it is difficult not to have a lust for great ornamentation and display." Stolberg: "Undazzled by splendor and royalty, the tender virgin rejected all these things. With noble simplicity she took the ornaments, neither selecting nor demanding anything, which the chief chamberlain brought to her. Even after she became queen above all the wives of the king, her heart still clung not only with gratitude, but with childlike obedience, to her pious uncle and foster-father, as in the time when he trained her as a little girl."

On vers. 12–18. In the small compass of what has here been said respecting heathen virgins on the one hand and Esther on the other, we find a beautiful picture of the world and of the kingdom of God—the opposite tendencies as also destinies, by which these conceptions are designated. Doubtless the heathen maids decorated themselves with all possible precious things, for the evening for which they had so long prepared themselves by their purifications and anointings, in order to make the best possible impression upon Ahasuerus, upon whose favor or disfavor their whole future happiness of life depended. But by all this tinsel they gained nothing more than to look beautiful in their own eyes, and that for a moment which flew away so soon, and in which they were allowed to harbor hope. The majority were only permitted to see the king, and thereafter for ever to bury their hopes. For them there remained the sad lot of the concubines; they must bid farewell to the joys which they might have had in another sphere of life, without obtaining any compensation for that loss in their strict seclusion. The elevated feeling that they had fulfilled their life-work must for ever be denied them. They had missed their life-purpose; life became to them more and more a uniform dark monotony. In like manner the children of this world act and deceive themselves. Although they are firmly intent on enjoying the pleasures of life, although they direct all their endeavors to this one object, and prepare and decorate themselves in their way at their very best, still they enjoy it but for a single fleeting moment. Esther, on the other hand, was distinguished by her lack of desire or claim to shine in external decoration. She only put on, what so to speak, was forced upon her. But she was thereafter beautiful not only in her own eyes, but in the eyes of all that beheld her.

Thus also her fortune was not a speedy disappointment; she really obtained, not what she had desired, but what she had never hoped nor expected. She really obtained a favorable intercourse with the king; she became his choice, his wife, she became queen. All these things plainly indicate that she possessed in an unusual degree God's favor and friendship, which still accompanied her. The children of God enjoy a still higher happiness. They who reckon it to be a great favor to serve God in all simplicity, yea to be even door-keepers in His sanctuary, are made His chosen and loved ones, if in other respects they have properly decorated themselves for Him. He adopts them as His children, and cares for them according to what is needful for them, even with temporal blessings; for the meek shall inherit the earth. He also elevates them to kings and priests, and adorns them with the crown of life, for He brings them to the inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for them (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 3; i. 7).

On vers. 17, 18. It is quite possible that Ahasuerus did not clearly know why Esther was preferred before her heathen virgin competitors, and what he was pleased with in her, why he crowned her as his queen. Still we can readily discover in his demeanor an indication that heathenism is always desirous, even when it has tasted to the full all that it can procure for its own enjoyment, to obtain something different and higher. Certain it is that these higher needs, which could be satisfied with nothing low, and which exhibited a higher receptivity, should arrive at this point. It was meet also that the heathen should see the fact fulfilled, that they themselves, their heathen kings and princes must pay homage to the people of the Lord, as to a queen who above all is worthy to be placed upon the throne, and to impart to the world her laws and ordinances (comp. Isa. xlix. 23; lxii. 4 sqq.). When this shall be entirely fulfilled, then the marriage-feast which Ahasuerus made in honor of queen Esther, with the edict proclaiming a temporary freedom from taxation of the people, and the relief from their oppressive yoke granted at the same time, shall correspond to the entire life of mankind.

On vers. 19–23. 1. Esther was silent in regard to her Jewish descent and religion, and this was permissible so long as she was not asked to reveal it, so long also as the weal of her people did not require a different course. This she could the more readily do, inasmuch as the Old Testament religion, by reason of its limitation, did not impose the duty of a missionary confession. Even the Christian can keep his faith out of sight so long as its confession will not benefit, but would rather do injury, and so long as the duty of veracity is not violated. At all events the martyr's crown, if it is not hastily seized, but rather borne with dignity, is far more glorious than a royal crown. Yet true faith will manifest its world-conquering power, and be encouraging to its devotees only when it is openly confessed, though its confessors stand at the martyr's stake, or die by the claws of wild beasts.

2. Nothing justifies us in assuming that Mordecai reported those conspirators because of selfish reasons, or in order to gain distinction and merit, or because Ahasuerus as the husband of Esther was nearly related to himself. Besides being an indication, it may be an expression of shrewdness, of his sense of duty. Although the Jew as such did not have a very warm feeling of attachment to the Persian king, still, in so far as he lived according to the divine Word, he sought to perform his obligations also toward the heathen governmental authority (comp. Jer. xxix. 7). Thereby he also becomes a practical illustration of the fact that the piety which is nurtured by God's Word is also of benefit to the heathen state and to heathen rulers. The governments of modern times, which treat religion not only with toleration but also with indifference, should remember that godly fear, as it is useful for all things, is also the most substantial bulwark for the continuance of the state.

Brenz: "We have here a daughter bereft of the protection of man by the death of her parents, but God elevated her to great distinction, so that all men gave her honor. Why was she carried into exile, but that she should reign? why bereft of parents, unless that she might become the favorite of God and man?'

Feuardent: On vers. 8, 9. "From this it may be concluded, as later is actually affirmed by Paul, that God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the things which

are mighty; and the base things of the world, and things which are despised, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are: that no flesh should glory in His presence. For what is weaker than a little girl, or what more lowly and contemptible than an exiled orphan, born among a people of all other nations the most ignored and hated? What, on the other hand, in the estimation of the flesh and this world, is more wise and prudent, more glorious and powerful than Ahasuerus, Vashti, Haman and the other Persian and Median satraps? Yet by the means of a single person, Esther, they are confounded, superseded, ejected. By her office, I said, but by the help of God, although by the authority and arrangement of judges, of whom Esther was only the organ; lest the flesh should have aught whereof to glory, but that all the praise of the church preserved in the Persian realms should be referred to God. He was able, as in former days, so to have rallied under a brave Samson or Gideon His entire people scattered hither and thither, and to have fortified them with arms and strength, as to destroy by mutual slaughter all His foes when the great battle was joined; but in that case men would have arrogated something to themselves, and perhaps have said: Our own right hand, and not God, has done all this."—On ver. 15: "Let then both men and women learn by this case so to direct all their aims and desires as to please God alone by the ornament of a good conscience and by the forms of minds well adjusted; but to despise the adventitious bodily ornaments of this world as vain in His sight, and by this piety gain the surer rewards of heaven. For this alone is the true beauty, which is precious in God's view, and which causes us to be approved by the King of kings, and joined to Him in spiritual matrimony. . . . . Surprising that even the heathen saw and taught this. For Crates says: 'That is ornament which adorns. But that adorns which makes a woman more adjusted and more modest. For this end neither gold nor gems nor purple avails, but whatever has the import of gravity, modesty, and chastity.' "

STARKE: On ver. 1. "Whatever has been undertaken in anger against God's command can well be changed (1 Sam. xxv. 34, 35)."—On ver. 2. "To heap sin on sin is the master work of art of all ungodly persons (2 Sam. xv. 1; xvi. 22; Isa. xxx. 1; Jer. ix. 3)."—On vers. 3, 4. "The advice of courtiers is most generally directed towards the object to which they think their lords are chiefly inclined, and they speak to their wishes (2 Sam xv. 4; xvi. 21). Carnal ears love to hear nothing better than what will please their lustful hearts (2 Sam. xvi. 22)."—On vers. 5–7. "When orphans fear God, He will also care for them (Ps. xxvii. 10) In a pious and virtuous maiden beauty of person is a great gift of God (Prov. xi. 2). We should not neglect the orphans of blood relatives. God is the Father of orphans (Ps. lxviii. 6), and He knows how to open the hearts of pious people who will faithfully care for them (Ps. x. 14)."—On vers. 8, 9. "What care and cost is required for the decoration of the soul, when it would prepare as an acceptable bride for Jesus (Ps. xlv. 14.)"—On vers. 16, 17. "God will raise the miserable one from the dust, so that He may seat him next to princes (Ps. cxiii. 7, 8)."

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## B.—HAMAN ATTAINS TO POWER AND DISTINCTION. HE DETERMINES UPON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS.

### CHAP. III. 1–15.

1. *Haman's elevation. His resolve with reference to the Jews.* Vers. 1–7.

1 AFTER these things [words] did [the] king Ahasuerus promote [elevated] Haman *the* son of Hammedatha the Agagite, and advanced [make great] him, and set
2 [put] his seat above all the princes that *were* with him. And all *the* king's servants, that *were* in *the* king's gate, bowed [were bending] and reverenced [bowing themselves to][1] Haman: for the king had so commanded concerning [enjoined for] him: but [and] Mordecai bowed not [would not bend] nor did *him* reverence [and
3 would not bow himself][1]. Then [And] *the* king's servants, which *were* in *the* king's gate, said unto Mordecai, Why transgressest THOU[2] the king's commandment?
4 Now [And] it came to pass [was], when they spake daily unto him, and he hearkened not unto them, that [and] they told [*it* to] Haman, to see whether Mordecai's
5 matters [words] would stand: for he had told them that he *was* a Jew. And *when* Haman saw that Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence, then [and] was Ha-
6 man full *of* wrath.[3] And he thought scorn [despised in his eyes] to lay hands [hand] on Mordecai alone; for they *had* showed [told] him *the* people of Mordecai; wherefore [and] Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that *were* throughout [in]

7 *the* whole kingdom of Ahasuerus, *even the* people of Mordecai. In the first month,
(that *is the* month Nisan,) in *the* twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast[4] Pur,
that *is*, the lot, before Haman, from day to day, and from month to month, *to the*
twelfth *month*, that *is the* month Adar.

2. *With the permission of Ahasuerus Haman issues the decree to exterminate the Jews.* Vers. 8–15.

8 And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, *There* is[5] a *certain* [one] people scattered
*abroad* and dispersed among the people [peoples] in all *the* provinces of thy king-
dom; and their laws *are* diverse from all [every] people, neither keep they[6] the
king's laws, therefore [and] it *is* not for the king's profit [fit for the king] to suffer
9 them [let them rest]. If *it* please the king, let it be written that they may be de-
stroyed [to cause them to perish]; and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to
the hands of those that have *the* charge [the doers] of the business [work], to bring
10 *it* into the king's treasuries. And the king took his ring [signet] from [off] his
hand, and gave it unto Haman *the* son of Hammedatha [the Medatha] the Aga-
11 gite, the Jews' enemy. And the king said unto Haman, The silver *is* given to thee,
the people also [and the people], to do with them [it] as *it seemeth* good to thee [in
12 thy eyes]. Then [And] were the king's scribes called on *the* thirteenth day of the
first month [in the first month in *the* thirteenth day in it], and *there* was written ac-
cording to all that Haman *had* commanded, unto the king's lieutenants [satraps],
and to the governors [pashas] that *were* over every [each] province, and to *the*
rulers [princes] of every [each] people *of* every [each] province,[7] according to the
writing thereof, and *to* every [each] people after their [its] language; in *the* name
of [the] king Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring [signet].
13 And *the* letters [books] were sent by posts [*the* hand of the runners] *into* all the
king's provinces, to destroy, to kill [smite], and to cause to perish all Jews, both
young and old [from lad even to old *man*], *little* children[8] and women, in one day,
*even* upon *the* thirteenth *day* of *the* twelfth month, which *is the* month Adar, and *to*
14 *take the* spoil of them for *a* prey. *The* copy of the writing, for *a* commandment
[law] to be given in every province,[9] *was* published unto all people [the peoples],
15 that they should be [to be] ready against [for] that day. The posts [runners] went
out, being hastened by the king's commandment [word]; and the decree [law] was
given in Shushan the palace [citadel]. And the king and Haman sat *down* to
drink; but the city Shushan was perplexed.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 2. The different degrees of deference are well expressed by these two terms, of which the first, כָּרַע, denotes a simple *inclination* of the body as to an equal in courtesy, and the latter, שָׁחָה, a complete *prostration* in Oriental style of homage to a superior.—Tr.]

[2] [Ver. 3. The pronoun is emphatic, being expressed.—Tr.]

[3] [Ver. 5. חֵמָה, a more intense feeling than the ordinary אַף.—Tr.]

[4] [Ver. 7. הִפִּיל is impersonal, *one caused to fall.*—Tr.]

[5] [Ver. 8. יֶשְׁנוֹ the נ is epenthetic for euphony between the verbal noun יֵשׁ and its suffix וֹ.—Tr.]

[6] [Ver. 8. The original is emphatic, "And *there is* none of them doing."—Tr.]

[7] [Ver. 12. The true construction is "*In* province by [*lit.* and] province *was it written*," *etc.*—Tr.]

[8] [Ver. 13. טַף, a collective term for *girls and boys.*—Tr.]

[9] [Ver. 14. The original is emphatic, "In every province, and province, *i. e.*, severally.—Tr.]

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–7. The author in very brief terms places the elevation of Haman, the Agagite, by the side of the exaltation of Esther, as shown in the previous chapter. Hence it is the more surprising that he adds what we would least expect upon the elevation of Esther, namely, that Haman, provoked by the apparent irreverence shown to him by Mordecai, resolves to destroy the Jews.

Ver. 1. **After these things did king Ahasuerus**—in ver. 7 we are in the twelfth year of the reign of Ahasuerus, five years after chap. ii. 16, but here somewhat sooner—**promote Haman the son of Hammedatha.**—גִּדֵּל, usually used in bringing up children, here means to *make him a great man*—**and set his seat above all the princes that (were) with him,** *i. e.* above all those princes who were in his immediate presence, above his chief officers. He made him, so to speak, his Grand

Vizier. Haman from *humajun=magnus, augustus*, or according to Sanscrit *somán*, meaning a *worshipper of Somar*, was **a son of Hammedatha**, whose name is formed from *haomo, soma*, and signifies *one given by the moon* (Benfey, *Monatsnamen*. p. 199). Nowhere else do we find it Hammedatha, but rather *Madathas* (in Xenophon) or *Madathes* (in Curt. v. 3, 6). This form according to Pott (*Zeitschr. der D. M. G.*, 1859, p. 424) has the same signification; and probably the ה is placed at the beginning on the ground that it may readily have fallen away, and thus is regarded as the article and so pointed. It is quite possible that the author knew the meaning of these names, and found them significant in what follows. Haman would accordingly be noted as a representative of heathendom.* The epithet הָאֲגָגִי leads us to this conclusion. One thing is certain, that this designation with Jewish interpreters, as Josephus and the Targums, had in it a reminder of the Amalekitish king Agag in Saul's time (1 Sam. xv. 8, 33). But we have evidence more nearly at hand, since Esther and Mordecai in chap. ii. 6 are traced back to a family that had to do with the Agag just mentioned. Haman may not have been an actual descendant of the Amalekitish king, nor yet have been known as such But possibly our author desired to designate him as a *spiritual* offshoot of that race.† Agag was a king, and hence also a representative of that people which had kept aloof from Israel from motives of bitterest enmity, and at decisive times had placed itself in the way in a very hateful manner (comp. Ex. xvii. 8 sqq. and my Comment. on Deut. xxv. 17), and against whom the Lord also declared an eternal war (Ex. xviii. 15; Num. xxiv. 20). As an Amalekite, he formed, as is fully shown in the Targums, a link for Haman with the equally rejected and hateful rival people, the Edomites. Again, the author would seem to indicate that the flame of conflict, which soon broke out between Haman and Mordecai, inasmuch as it was originally war between heathendom and Judaism, had burned from ancient ages; and when Mordecai so vigorously withstood his opponent, causing his fall and destruction, he thereby only paid off a debt which had remained due from the time of Saul upon the family of Kish, since Saul had neglected to manifest the proper zeal by destroying the banished king (Agag). In the second Targum (on chap. iv. 13) Mordecai gives expression of this view to Esther, namely, that if Saul had obeyed and destroyed Agag, Haman would not have arisen and opposed the Jews. The author doubtless placed Haman in relation to Agag in particular, and not to the Amalekites in general, since he was a leader and prince, and not a common man of the people. The Arabs and even later Jews applied such genealogical distinctions to Greeks and Romans (comp. *e. g.* Abulfeda, *Historia Anteislamica*). In the Old Testament the word כּוּשׁ in Ps. vii. 1 offers only a doubtful analogy; but on the other hand in Judg. xviii. 30 the change of *Mosheh* into *Menashsheh* is a parallel case wherein the faithless Levite Jonathan comes into a spiritual connection with the godless king Manasseh.

Ver. 2. All the servants of the king, who had their posts in the gate of the king, *i. e.*, all royal court-officers, were obliged to bow the knee before Haman and to prostrate themselves; **for the king had so commanded concerning him** (לוֹ, as with אָמַר and similar verbs, comp. *e. g.* Gen. xx. 13). It was a custom among the Persians to bow before the king, fall prostrate, and kiss the ground (Herodot. iii. 86; vii. 136; viii. 118; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* v. 3. 18; viii. 3, 14), so also before the high officials and other distinguished men (Herodot. iii. 134). Mordecai, however, refused to do reverence to Haman. He did this not from stubbornness or personal enmity. It is clear from ver. 4 that it was because of his character as a Jew alone; otherwise that fact would not have been mentioned in this connection. Again the Jews could not have thought such ceremony under all circumstances unfitting or non-permissible, as did the Athenians, perhaps, who regarded its observance (before Darius) by Timagoras, as a crime worthy of death; or as did the Spartans (Herod. viii. 136), and later still the Macedonians, who would not fall down before Alexander the Great according to Persian custom. This mode of obeisance was established and sanctified for the Jews by the manifold examples of the fathers (comp. *e. g.* Gen. xxiii. 12; xlii. 6; xlviii. 12; 2 Sam. xiv. 4; xviii. 28; 1 Kings i. 16). Even the Alexandrine translators and the authors of the Targums, as also the majority of modern interpreters, agree that bowing the knee and prostration upon the face has here a religious significance. Persians regarded their king as a Divinity, and paid him divine honors, as is abundantly attested by classical authors. In Æschylus, *Pers.*, 644 sqq., it is said: "Darius was called their Divine Counsellor, he was full of divine wisdom, so well did he, Persia's Shushan-born god, lead the army." Curtius says (viii. 5, 11): "The Persians not only out of devotion, but also from motives of policy, reverenced their kings as gods, for majesty is the safeguard of the empire." Comp. also Plutarch *Themist.* 27. In Haman as the chief officer it was doubtless intended to manifest a reflection of the divine dignity of the king, which should have reverence paid to it. Mordecai, it is held, thought that bowing the knee before Haman would be idolatry, and contrary to the commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness." But this law in itself would hardly have restrained him

* ["The name *Haman* is probably the same which is found in the classical writers under the form of *Omanes*, and which in ancient Persian would have been *Umana* or *Umanish*, an exact equivalent of the Greek *Eumenes*. *Hammedatha* is perhaps the same as *Madata* or *Mahadata* ('Madates' of Q. Curtius), an old Persian name signifying "given by (or to) the moon." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["It is certainly difficult to assign any other meaning to the word; but on the other hand it seems unlikely that Agag's children, if he had any, would have been spared at the time of the great destruction of Amalek, without some distinct notice being taken of it. Haman, moreover, by his own name, and the names of his sons (ch. ix. 7-9), and of his father, would seem to have been a genuine Persian." Rawlinson.—We may therefore conclude that the epithet "Agagite" is here used symbolically of a *heathen enemy* of the Jews. —Tr.]

therefrom. Against this speaks, not only ver. 4. which does not make a reference to the word of his God, nor yet to his monotheism, but only to his general character as a Jew; this, however, might be explained from the very slight indication in the style of our author. But the greatest difficulty in the way of this view is the circumstance that from such a conviction in regard to the act of bowing the knee, he must also refuse its performance even before Ahasuerus. In that case a later more intimate relation could not have subsisted between them. Moreover the facts seem against this view, since such Jews as Ezra, and especially Nehemiah, pious and loyal to the Law, found no difficulty at all observing the usual customs in their relations with the Persian kings of their time. It must certainly have been in his mind that to him Haman was an Agagite and Amalekite, *i. e.* a man placed under the curse and bann of God. He regarded bowing the knee before him as idolatry, if at all such, for the reason that a distinction only belonging to the representative of God would here be shown to one cast out and banished by God. Brenz says correctly: "The apocryphal statement (in the Sept. version) that Mordecai is said to affirm, that he would adore none but God, although a pious remark, is nevertheless not appropriate to this place. . . . Mordecai had in view certain passages (Exod. xvii. 15 and 1 Sam. xv.), from which he understood that the whole race of Amalek and all the posterity of Agag the king of the Amalekites, to which Haman belonged, were accursed and condemned by God. Therefore Mordecai, stirred by the Holy Spirit, confesses with magnanimous candor that he is a Jew, and is unwilling to bless by his veneration one whom God had cursed." In this view of the case Feuardent and Rambach substantially concur. If, on the contrary, we hold that Haman was not really an Agagite, and that the Jews regarded him as such only because of his disposition, then, of course, we must suppose that it was Mordecai's arbitrary will which regarded Haman as one rejected by God. Haman's inimical disposition against the Jews would not in itself have given a valid ground to the enmity of Mordecai. On the contrary it would still have been his duty to honor him because of his office. But this objection rests upon a stand-point such as we cannot assign either to Mordecai nor yet to the author of our book. It would have been different had it only had reference to a common personal enmity of Haman against Mordecai. But as the enemy of the Jews, who hates and persecutes them *in toto* because of their laws and religion, every one thought it proper to count him among those transgressors for whose extermination nearly all the Psalmists had prayed, over whom they had already seen the curse of God suspended, before whom one was not to manifest reverence, but rather abhorrence. It is well to bear in mind that Haman is not an enemy of the Jews, such as were so many heathen kings and rulers before him, but that in him the hate specially against the Jewish law was perfected, whereas other heathen magnates had usually manifested great indifference towards it. Mordecai had certainly abundant opportunity to become informed as to the kind of enmity thus exhibited. The author has not given this point great prominence because in his usual manner he thought he had done enough if he designated him as the Agagite. If this assumption be correct, then the import of our book is somewhat more general than is usually held; it does not in that case signify that the people of God can as such refuse to pay homage to men in certain definite ways and modes, but rather that to certain persons, as those who are rejected of God, *all* honorable distinctions may be denied. But it at all events amounts to this, that God's people may not lessen the reverence due to Him by doing reverence to others; for homage shown to those rejected of God would be against the honor of God, would be idolatry. In so far as Haman is an enemy of the Jews, who will not allow the observance of their law and religion, the final question would after all be whether the people of God, together with its law and religion, can be suppressed by heathendom, or whether it will have the victory. Comp. also Seiler on this chapter.

Vers. 3 and 4. The other officers daily questioned Mordecai because of his refusal, and finally reported him to Haman **to see whether Mordecai's matters would stand** (would withstand, succeed): **for he had told them that he was a Jew.**—By "his words," we can only understand an assertion that, as a Jew, he was prevented from participating in the ceremony of doing homage to Haman.

Vers. 5 and 6. Haman, when he had convinced himself of the conduct of Mordecai, regarded it lightly, and did not deem it sufficient to punish him alone; for the people to whom Mordecai belonged, had been told him, hence Haman knew that he belonged to the despised people of the Jews. But he rather strove to destroy all the Jews in the whole realm of Ahasuerus as being of the same mind with Mordecai.*

Ver. 7. Haman reasoned that for such a difficult and great undertaking he must select an especially appropriate day, and for this purpose he caused lots to be cast day after day throughout the whole year, and stopped at every day to see whether it was the one most proper for the undertaking. It was **in the first month, that is, the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus,** when this was done. Since he found a suitable day only in the twelfth month, namely, the thirteenth day of the month, according to ver. 13, it is clear that he manifested much persistency and endurance. Possibly, what in itself is not of great moment, namely, the time in which he examined every single day, is here given, in order to give due prominence to the greatness of his zeal. Possibly another reason may have obtained in this designation of time.

* ["In the West such an idea as this would never have occurred to a revengeful man; but in the East it is different. The massacres of a people, a race, a class, have at all times been among the incidents of history, and would naturally present themselves to the mind of a statesman. The Magophonia, or a great massacre of the Magi at the accession of Darius Hystaspis, was an event not fifty years old in the twelfth year of Xerxes, and was commemorated annually. A massacre of the Scythians had occurred about a century previously." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

If the day of extermination was determined on already in the month of Nisan, and proclaimed on the thirteenth of that month (comp. ver. 12) then it is clear that the Jews were for a whole year harassed in their mind regarding their fate in view of the edict which was now no longer a secret to them. Especially, if those living in and around Shushan had already heard on the 14th or 15th Nisan what was determined relative to them, then the most sacred joy which came to them in the Paschal festival was turned into utter sorrow. That it was the Paschal month in which their destruction was determined on, is by our author not so clearly expressed, since he seems to omit what might be understood as self-evident, but deserves consideration here. It seemed as if the old Paschal celebration, which indicated the ancient redemption out of the slavery from the world, was now to be abolished; as if Israel was now again to be handed over into the despotism and cruelty of foreign rulers. Instead of partaking of a feast it was enjoined on Mordecai, Esther and her friends to fast, as is shown in the old Targums (comp. chap. iv. 1, 16). But the more the ancient deliverance from Egypt seemed to be divested of its import, the more the new deliverance from Persia must have risen in significance; the more doubtful the joy of the Paschal-feast became, the more was the rejoicing of the feast of Purim enhanced. The feast of Purim as the second celebration of deliverance was hence co-ordinate with the Paschal festival as being the first deliverance, but in such a manner that the former became a vital support to the latter.

We do not regard Haman as the subject (Bertheau) to be supplied with הִפִּיל פּוּר, as is generally assumed according to ver. 6, but an indefinite "he," some one, *i. e.*, "they." The author seems to presume that casting of lots in such cases as the one in hand was not infrequent, and that some one had the office of casting the lots, so that the subject of הִפִּיל may be implied as impersonal. If Haman himself had been the subject, then the words לִפְנֵי הָמָן following הוּא הַגּוֹרָל would be remarkable, instead of which one would expect to find it לְפָנָיו. Bertheau connects this sentence with the explanatory phrase הוּא הַגּוֹרָל, as if the use of the foreign word פּוּר by the Jews did not mean every lot, but only that cast before Haman. But then the author would have expressed it more easily and shorter: This is the lot of Haman and not the lot before Haman. That פּוּר in the Old-Persian signified *lot* may not be doubted. Even in Modern-Persian it is *behr* and *behre*, "appointment," fate, *portio*, *pars;* so that a ground meaning, such as "lot," is not improbable (comp. Zenker, *Turkisch-arab.-pers. Handwörterbuch*, p. 229). It lies still more natural to compare it with, *para* or *pare* = "piece," *morceau*, *pièce*, originally perhaps also *portio* (*ib.* p. 162).* The casting of lots in ancient times was very common (comp. Van Dale, *Orac. ethn.* c. 14; Potter's *Archæol.* I. 780) and is especially mentioned of the Persians (comp. Herod. III. 128). The opinion, so closely connected with Astrology, that one day was favorable and another unfavorable for a certain undertaking, is met with also among other ancient peoples, and very extensively among the Persians. Indeed it obtains in those regions even to-day (comp. Rosenmüller, *Morgenland*, III., p. 302).*

The words: **from day to day, and from month to month**, are not to be understood as if the casting of lots had been continued from one day to another, *etc.*, and thus repeated over and over, but, as is clear from ver. 18, the meaning is that, in the first month every day of the year one after the other was brought into question.† It is noticeable that, in addition to the words: "from month to month," the number of the chosen month is added, *the twelfth.* One would expect such a sentence as this to follow: "And the month was chosen, and then the number." At least after the phrase, "from month to month," it would have been added "up to the twelfth month." Hence Bertheau concludes that the Sept. has given the words here: "And the lot fell upon the fourteenth day of the month, which is Adar," because they found them in the text, and that the eye of the copyist slipped all between the first לְחֹדֶשׁ to the second, after which latter follow the designation of the day and its number. But since the Sept. also adds: "In order to destroy the people of Mordecai in *one* day," it is plain that it supplemented our verse with the thirteenth verse; and since it was not the fourteenth day, but the thirteenth (according to ver. 13; chap. ix. 18, 19) that was designated, it is clear that the Sept. assumed to make changes arbitrarily. Probably the author in his customary short style spoke just as we read it. The use of the cardinal number instead of the ordinal made such a contraction possible; and the statement as to which *day* had been decided by the lot, might readily be wanting here.

Vers. 8–11. In order to gain the king also over to his own murderous plan, and to obtain of him a legal edict, Haman said to the king: **There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom.‡**—יֶשְׁנוֹ has the *Nun* inserted before the suffix as in 1 Sam. xiv. 39; xxiii. 23; Deut. xxix. 14 (Ewald's *Lehrb.*, p. 262 *e*). אֶחָד is a numeral. He means: "Only one of the many peoples has dared to disobey the

* ["*Pur* is supposed to be an Old-Persian word etymologically connected with the Latin *pars*, and signifying "part" or "lot." In modern Persian *pareh* has that meaning. The recovered fragments of the old language have not, however, yielded any similar root." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* ["The practice of casting lots to obtain a lucky day continues still in the East, and is probably extremely ancient. Assyrian calendars note lucky and unlucky days as early as the eighth century B. C. Lots were in use both among the Oriental and the classical nations from a remote antiquity." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["A lot seems to have been cast, or a throw of some kind made, for each day of the month and each month of the year. The day and month which obtained the best throws were then selected." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

‡ ["Although a part of the Jewish nation had returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, the greater portion was still despised among the provinces, in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere (see Ezra vii. 6; viii. 17; Neh. i. 1, 2, *etc.*)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

laws of the king." This *one*, however, is so generally scattered and dispersed among the others that the evil example is of no small moment. It seems as if Haman here gave expression to a presentiment, whose fulfilment is declared by Seneca when he (*De superstit.* 8, p. 427) says: "Such power have the customs of this detestable people already gained that they are introduced into all lands; they the conquered have given laws to their conquerors." **Their laws (are) diverse from all (other) people**, especially from the laws of this realm (comp. in ver. 1, "above all the princes").* **Therefore it (is) not for the king's profit to suffer them.**—שֹׁוֶה, as in ch. iii. 8; v. 13, while in chap. vii. 4 it has a somewhat different sense. לְהַנִּיחָם, *to leave them in peace.*

Ver. 9. **If it please the king let it be written** = let it be commanded by a public announcement, which is as irrevocable as a formal edict of the empire (comp. chap. i. 19), **that they may be destroyed. And I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business.**—Such a great sum (according to the Mosaic Shekel twenty-five million, and according to the common shekel, twelve and a half million *thalers; vide* Zöckler on 1 Chron. xxii. 14) does he hope to bring in by the confiscation of the property of the Jews.† "Those that have charge of the business," in 2 Kings xii. 11, designated builders (masons, *etc.*); but here and in chap. ix. 3 are meant the officers of the treasury ["the collectors of the revenue." Rawlinson].

Ver. 10. The proposal of Haman seems to have pleased the king so much that he gave him his seal ring, and thus empowered him not only to cause the before-mentioned public proclamation to be made, but also to issue other suitable decrees, and by imprinting the royal signet to give them the authority of irrevocable commands (comp. chap. viii. 8, 9). In private relations the present of a ring was the token of the most intimate friendship. Princes, however, thereby designated the one who held it as their empowered representative, (comp. chap. viii. 2; Gen. xli. 42; 1 Macc. vi. 15; Curt., X. 5, 4; Aristoph., *Eq.* 947; Schulz, *Leitungen, etc.*, iv. 218 sq.; Tournefort, *R.*, II. 383).‡ Sometimes successors to the crown were also thus appointed (comp. Josephus, *Ant.* XX. 2, 3). The significant designation of Haman as "the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy," points out how eventful this bestowal of authority upon Haman became to the Jews.

Ver. 11. The prospect of the great treasure thus to be acquired must have had considerable weight with Ahasuerus, who needed much money. Still it must not assume the appearance as if covetousness had anything to do with it. Hence he left the money to be gained to Haman, for thus he would also be the more sure of him in possible and coming events. **The silver (is)** (let it be) **given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee.**—The participle נָתוּן is a short mode of expression appropriate to the king. The sense is: "It is," or: "Let it be given." So also לַעֲשׂוֹת, "let it be," or: "It must be done."*

Vers. 12–15. Haman at once caused the necessary proclamations to be prepared, and had them sent into all the provinces of the kingdom. Ver. 12. [**Then were the king's scribes called.**—"The 'scribes' of Xerxes are mentioned more than once by Herodotus (vii. 100; viii. 90). They appear to have been in constant attendance on the monarch, ready to indite his edicts, or to note down any occurrences which he desired to have recorded."—Rawlinson]. In the very same month in which he had the lot cast, and on the thirteenth day of the same (בּוֹ, *in it*, the said month). Perhaps it appeared that the thirteenth day of the first month was favorably indicated together with the thirteenth of the twelfth month.† **And there was written according to all that Haman had commanded unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors that (were) over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every province.**—אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים and פַּחוֹת are here, as in Ezra viii. 36, placed together, the satraps of the larger provinces and the rulers among the separate peoples of the provinces. The שָׂרִים are the native so-called born *princes* of the different peoples. Before the following מְדִינָה, and likewise before עַם further on, it should really be repeated: *to the satraps, etc.* The sense is: "For the governors of each province according to their mode of writing (style), and to those of every people according to its language." In the addition: "In the name of king Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring," the perfect tense only is fitting, and not the participle. And though נִכְתָּב may have a *Kamets*, to give it greater distinctiveness, still this is not true of נֶחְתָּם, though so given in several editions.

* ["Compare the charges made against the Jews by Rehum and Shimshai (Ezra. iv. 13–16)." Rawlinson. Tr.]

† ["According to Herodotus (III. 95), the regular revenue of the Persian king consisted of 14,560 silver talents, so that if the same talent is intended, Haman's offer would have exceeded two-thirds of a year's revenue (or two and a half millions sterling). With respect to the ability of Persian subjects to make presents to this amount, it is enough to quote the offer of Pythius (Herod. vii. 28) to present this same monarch with four millions of gold darics, or about four and a half millions of our money, and the further statement of the same writer (Herod. i. 192), that a certain satrap of Babylon had a revenue of nearly *two bushels* of silver daily." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

‡ ["The signets of Persian monarchs were sometimes rings, sometimes cylinders, the latter probably suspended by a string round the wrist. The expression here used might apply to either kind of signet." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["Some understand this to mean that Xerxes refused the silver which Haman had offered to him; but the passage is better explained as a grant to him of all the property of such Jews as should be executed. In the East confiscation follows necessarily upon public execution, the goods of criminals escheating to the crown, which does with them as it chooses (comp. ver. 13 *ad fin.*, and chap. viii. 1, and 11 *ad fin.*). Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["Haman had apparently (comp. ver. 7 with ver. 13) obtained by his use of the lot the 13th day of Adar as the lucky day for destroying the Jews. This may have caused him to fix on the 13th of another month for the commencement of his enterprise." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

Ver. 13. **And the letters were sent by posts,** *etc.*—נִשְׁלוֹחַ, infin. abs. Niph., instead of the finite verb in vivid description (comp. chap. vi. 9; ix. 6, 12). Letters, without the article, for the thought is: "Letters whose contents are that . . . . . should be destroyed." By the *runners*, by whom they were sent, are meant the posts, the *angari* or pressmen, who were posted on the main roads of the empire at definite distances from each other, from four to seven parasangs, and who rapidly expedited the royal (mail) letters or commands (comp. Herodot. V. 14; VIII. 98; Brisson, *De reg. Pers. princ.* I. c. 238 sq.). **To destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish, all Jews,** *etc.*—The crowding of verbs impresses the murderous import. **And to take the spoil of them**—*i. e.*, to thus obtain their property as spoils. Haman, of course, did not desire to come short in that which fell to him; but by giving the people the privilege of plundering, he desired to awaken their zeal the more. Thus they would either give him a share of the spoils, or else he hoped to obtain the sum before mentioned by the help of his servants or his coadjutors.*

Ver. 14. **The copy (contents) of the writing,** *etc.*—The statements respecting the contents in ver. 13 are too indefinite. It was not yet ordered that the officers only should fall upon the Jews, but that the people themselves should do this. This is expressly made to appear here. With reference to פַּתְשֶׁגֶן, see Ezra iv. 11. The substance does not there follow verbatim, but is indicated by the infinitive. **For a commandment to be given in every province.**—But the decree itself reads: **Let it be published unto all people that they should be ready against that day.**—What was to be published is also indicated, but briefly. Thus in the style of expression the details are noted as is common in edicts, with abbreviation of points referred to. Since דָּת is feminine, as is seen, for example, in vers. 8, 15, we cannot render: "That they should publicly proclaim the edict—make it manifest to all." Still less are we to understand it, as does Keil: "A copy of the writing of the substance that a law be given, and be declared to all peoples." Instead of גָּלוּי this verb would then have to be in the perfect tense, and נִגְלָה does not mean, as Keil interprets, *open* or unsealed in its transmission; neither does it mean *opened*, *revealed*, made known. גָּלוּי is rather in the optative, the same as is נָתוּן in ver. 11 (so also Bertheau).

* ["By the issue of the decree at this time ('the first month') the Jews throughout the empire had from nine to eleven months' warning of the peril which threatened them. So long a notice is thought to be 'incredible' (Davidson), and the question is asked, 'Why did they not then quit the kingdom?' In reply we may say—(1) that many of them may have quitted the kingdom; and (2) that those who remained may have believed, with Mordecai (chap. iv. 14), that enlargement and deliverance would arise from some quarter or other. As to its being improbable that Haman should give such long notice, we may remark that Haman only wished to be quit of Mordecai, and that the flight of the Jews would have served his purpose quite as well as their massacre." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

Ver. 15. **The posts went out, being hastened,** *etc.*—דָּחוּף, *went speedily*, in haste; in 2 Chron. xxvi. 20 is the Niph. נִדְחַף. The additional clause: **and the decree was given in Shushan the palace** means to assert from whence they went out. But the remark: **And the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city of Shushan was perplexed** reveals the terrible contrast between the gluttony of these men and the distress into which they plunged the land. It also indicates by what means Haman sought to draw the king away from the business of government. נָבוֹכָה primarily does not mean that it was *distressed* by terror or sorrow, but that it was *perplexed*, did not know what to think of such a terrible command (comp. Joel i. 18); in an external sense נָבֹךְ means to have erred (Ex. xiv. 3).*

## DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

On vers. 1–7. 1. Mordecai's meritorious act, though recorded, had not yet been rewarded. One would naturally think that at this period he would obtain the deserved honor. But instead it is expected of him on his part to do honor to a man such as Haman, who was the sworn enemy of his people and a bitter opponent of the Jewish law; who finally, as an Agagite, was under the curse of God. Esther, who no doubt was true to Judaism, although she had not yet openly professed it, was seated on the throne as the chosen queen. And now one would be led to expect—certainly the Jews hoped—that she would bring the people relief from oppression, and restore for them liberty which would secure them from injuries such as they had hitherto experienced, or at least had been threatened with. Instead of this, Haman, empowered with full authority, resolves to wholly exterminate the people; indeed he is in haste, although this exterminating process was to begin only after eleven months, to make the people acquainted with their fate long before the event comes to pass. Now it happens that Haman thereby utterly ruins their holiest joy, and the season of Paschal rejoicing is converted into a time of distress and grief. It seems by such notice as if the people could no more place any reliance in their God as their Saviour; as if their Lord, who had at one time chosen them as His peculiar people, and who, if He would, could even now deliver them from the distress of exile, was no more to be the source of their joy. But, however unexpectedly these turns in their affairs may seem to some, and however the question might be raised, which is so often mooted, why it must thus transpire, seemingly against all hope; still that which came to pass was not so very surprising, but quite natural. One would very naturally expect of a prince

* ["The remark that 'Shushan was perplexed' has been attributed to 'Jewish conceit,' but without reason. Susa was now the capital of Persia, and the main residence of the Persians of high rank. These, being attached to the religion of Zoroaster, would naturally sympathise with the Jews, and be disturbed at their threatened destruction. Nay, even apart from this bond of union, the decree was sufficiently strange and ominous to 'perplex' thoughtful citizens." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

who, like Ahasuerus, did not live to perform his duties, but to indulge in sensual gratification,—who sought, not the welfare of his subjects, but their wealth, would leave the power and government in the hands of men who knew how to flatter his weaknesses and to gratify his desires.

But above all, we cannot but notice the sharp contrast between the heathen state, as such, and the people of God. It looks very much like a merely casual human command, when Ahasuerus decreed that every one should bow the knee to such a man as Haman, and as if this single instance called forth a conflict. But in reality there is expressed the unconditional subordination which the state, especially the heathen one, must insist upon in reference to its laws and regulations. So long as the latter have proceeded not from the Spirit of God, but from the unregenerate heathen heart, so long will they contain demands to which the people of God cannot subject themselves. So long as the State is not entirely irreligious, it will be even inclined to operate within the religious domain, and thus the conflict takes its rise immediately between it and the people of God. We may also expect that the state will avail itself of such instruments to carry out its orders as of themselves are little disposed to be friendly to God's people; instruments who, because of that people's peculiarities, look upon them as a disturbing element, and are little disposed to exercise forbearance and toleration towards them. The people of God, on the other hand, have their obligation to obey all authorities under whose dominion they may be placed, even to the extent that they must endure condemnation to death, and suffer execution (Rom. xiii. 1 sqq.). But they are equally obligated to give honor to God and not to man. They can only give honor to man in so far as God has so ordered it. They must refuse honor to those who are opposed to God, at the risk of provoking the most powerful and dangerous men of authority in the government. There is in short a great contrast between those who know nothing higher than the law of the state and state religion and those who look above and beyond these to the true and living God, and who supremely reverence His law. This contrast in later times gave rise to the wars of the Maccabees, and still later, though differently in form, to the war against the Romans; and it was this, too, which more especially brought on the persecutions of the Christians. In short, it is the contrast which in the history of mankind has asserted its power even at the cost of conflict for life or death. It is so irreconcilable and so powerful that it could not and can not be removed by any compromise whatever, but only unconditional subjection on the one part—namely, of the kingdom of the world—and by victory on the other—namely, of the kingdom of God. This contrast has always revived anew where the powers of the world have thrown off from themselves the bands of the Lord and His anointed.

Berlenburg Bible: "That believers obey not the laws of the king has always been the chief complaint among the anti-Christian rabble, of which Haman furnishes a copy. The children of God, in their eyes, must ever be insurrectionists, disturbers of the peace, persons subject to no law or order, and by whom the public weal is endangered." Thus we have expressed the view in which Christ and His apostles were regarded (Luke xxiii. 2, 5). But this is the greatest of all falsehoods."

2. It is not only offended ambition that incites Haman against Mordecai; it is also hate against Judaism. It offends him that it has privileges and laws so different from those of the other peoples in the empire (comp. ver. 8). Hence he is not content to lay hands on Mordecai alone, but he resolves also to exterminate all Jews. As his offended ambition strengthens his hate against Judaism, his hate receives fresh occasion from the offence to his ambitious designs on the part of Mordecai. The contrast between him and Mordecai has therefore a more general and deeper reason. Even Mordecai's religion is endangered thereby. Haman demands the bowing of the knee, because according to the Persian notion, Deity is thereby honored in him. This is to him a religious rite. This is especially clear from the fact that he does not himself arbitrarily determine the day in which he will carry out his designs respecting the Jews, but he is rather dependent on the voice of Deity, as it is revealed to him by means of the casting of the lot. Nevertheless he gives religion a subordinate position in his thoughts, tendencies, desires and purposes,—so that the former really becomes merely a means to the latter. It is just the opposite with Mordecai. Had it lain in his power to determine, he would doubtless cheerfully have obeyed the king's order to bow the knee before Haman. He no doubt comprehended the greatness of the danger that threatened him in case of refusal. He would perhaps the more easily have given in, since no doubt a voice often whispered in his ear that it might be very questionable whether or not he should view Haman as an Agagite, as one rejected of God. But the facts were too plain, and God's Word required Mordecai to abominate instead of honoring Haman. This he must perform not only when it was most agreeable to his disposition, but also in the most opposite case. Viewed in this light Haman and Mordecai clearly indicate to us that the emphatic difference between heathen and Jew is true piety. The former serves when the worship of deity is only worship of self; in the lower plane it is only worship of nature and of the flesh; in the higher grades it has its basis in worship of human ideals. True piety, however, is a surrender to another will, to the will of the Holy God. Hence the former perfectly corresponds to the selfish manner of men, as they live at present, because of sin; the other opposes this in sharp contrast. But while the first is a flatterer, who, if any man will give heed, will deceive, the latter is a trusty friend who will lead upon a right way and toward salvation.

Brenz: "Satan, as Christ says, is a liar and a murderer. Hence he is ever busy in persecuting the church with his lying and murderous designs. You have heard before his lie: 'The people are using new laws and ceremonies, and they despise the edicts of the king.' Now hear his murderous words: 'If it pleases thee, decree that this people be destroyed.'" Feuardent: "The sorrowful condition of the Jews becomes

very apparent and plain as here revealed; likewise the just judgment of God is here fulfilled. He says: 'They would not obey God in their own land, where they enjoyed such great freedom, but now they groan under the severe service that presses upon them, and they are brought into the risk of life itself. They refused to assemble in the sanctuaries of Jerusalem under their own kings, they ran after the golden calves, the sacred groves, and idols and superstitions of the heathen. Now they are placed and scattered under the most tyrannical form of government. They neither can nor dare congregate to offer a service of praise to God." STARKE: "A man resigned to the will of God will disregard the laws of men, whenever these stand opposed to the will and laws of God, however much he may suffer thereby (Acts v. 19; Dan. vi. 10 sq.). Although we should hold in honor those whom the higher authorities command to be honored, still such homage must not conflict with that due to God. When men disobey the laws of man and violate them, it is very soon taken notice of (Dan. vi. 11–13); but if they violate the law of God, then no one seems to observe the fact. We should not make man our idol, nor make flesh our arm (Jer. xvii. 5). Immoderate ambition generally breaks out into cruelty. The anger of great men is fierce (Prov. xvi. 14); hence one should have a care not to arouse the same against one's self."

On ver. 24. The people of God, in the conflict with their enemies, may rely on the protection of God, if they are morally in the right. Thus also the enemies of such people will be their own destroyers by virtue of their machinations. Such is the tenor of this whole book. But a more difficult question arises here, whether Mordecai, in refusing to bow the knee to Haman, and thereby bringing on the conflict, was really in the right. This question is the more grave, inasmuch as Haman could not properly be termed either an Agagite or an Amalekite; and all turned upon a form of homage proper and permissible in itself. The question would be more simple if Haman, as opposed to Mordecai, had been only a *private individual*. That in that case the latter's conduct would have been right and proper, cannot be doubted. As the Lord sanctioned enmity against all that are like-minded to Amalek in the command: "Remember what Amalek did unto thee" (Deut. xxv. 17), David justifies himself before God in hating those that hate God, and is grieved at those who raise themselves against Him; indeed he hates them with perfect hatred (Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22). When he would recount the chief characteristics of a truly pious person in the church, he makes this trait prominent (Ps. xv. 4). This, according to Luther, means that the just man is no respecter of persons; nor does he care how holy, learned, or powerful one be. If virtue be reflected from any one, the just man will honor him, though he were even a beggar. But if virtue be *not* found in him, then he will be esteemed as bad, and as nothing; the righteous man will tell him of it, and censure him. He will tell him, "Thou dost despise the Word of God, thou dost slander thy neighbor; therefore I desire no connection with thee." The Christian must in like manner perform this duty. He must do it for the sake of mercy, if no other means will avail; or for the sake of truth, which pronounces evil to be evil, and censures it. He must hold up to reproof him who by a persistent immoral life brings disgrace upon the name of Jesus Christ, or even by his conduct manifests enmity against the same. This the Christian should do often, not only as respects the particular person, but also as respects his acts or disposition. In regard to this, Harless says very justly: "It were a gross error to think that the Christian should content himself with reproving simply the offence and its tendency, but that thereafter he could nevertheless maintain personal and external relations with such a person. On the contrary, the blessings of the Spirit of Christ given to His church, will materially depend upon the principle that in the *selection of personal companionship* the consciousness and *true unity* which should unite the church must be maintained by external separation. The Christian, in so far *as it depends on his own selection and is consistent with his calling*, should avoid the society of those whose disposition he has found to be reprobate. We cannot term it other than a lack of Christian consistency when such Christians call it Christian love to seek out society from all the world in an indiscriminate manner, and cultivate it, and that according to *one's own choice* (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 33, *etc.*)" (*Christliche Ethik*, § 47, p. 456, 7th ed.). But all this has reference primarily only to the relation of the common intercourse of neighbors. Haman was to Mordecai an *official magisterial* person. Besides, it was expressly commanded by the king that he should be thus honored by bowing the knee before him. Hence the command: "Honor thy father and mother," and also the other that, "one should not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people" (Ex. xxii. 27), demanded respect. Neither was the precept to be forgotten: "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king" (Prov. xxiv. 21). In the New Testament the two chief apostles exhort us to submission under authority: Paul in Rom. xiii. 1 sqq.; Peter in 1 Pet. ii. 13 sqq. Peter closes the paragraph cited with the words: "Fear God. Honor the king." If by the word *honor* we are to understand merely the rendering of obedience, as seems to be implied in verse 13, then it would not be doubtful as to its proper limits. The word of the apostle: "We ought to obey God rather than man" (Acts v. 29) is very conclusive and direct, and needs no further confirmation. The church-fathers of the first centuries, in treating of this point, strongly assert that we should honor the authorities *in*, and not as *opposed to* God. Comp. J. Gerhard, in *De magistratu politico*, § 474. Then when the stability of order within an organized community is attacked and overthrown in defiance of right,—and such was the situation in Persia when Haman in an inimical manner attacked the Jews, who up to this time had had the undisputed right to live according to their law and faith; when he became to them an Agagite and an Amalekite,—then *resistance*, and individual participation therein, is justified and commanded. This, of course, holds within the limits of the existing order of a

people and of the individual calling. Stahl (*Die Partheien in Staat u. Kirche*, p 288), as also Harless (*Christl. Ethik*, § 54), is very clear on this point that, "the doctrine of the blamableness of any active resistance, and the unconditioned obligation of passive obedience is opposed to the Christian's sacred maintenance of right. So also is the assumption false that obedience must be rendered to authority because it is authority, even though it deny and disregard all right and law in the enforcement of its own claims to authority—an authority which it has not received for its own sake, but because of the right whose guardian and executor it is its calling to be" (Harless, as above, p. 541). Hoffmann (*Schriftbeweiss*, II., 2, p. 409) speaks from the same conviction: "It is certainly not morally permissible that one people rise against the righteous order in the existing government of another people, or of a foreign ruler. But it is a moral duty that it should not submit to be despoiled by a foreign power of that element, which, in God's order, is essential to its existence and to its substantial peculiarity." Experience has ever proved that resistance grounded upon a good conscience, and supported by so high and noble an enthusiasm, is indeed countenanced by God in so decided a manner, that no force, however great, can accomplish anything against it. It is worthy of notice that the command to honor the king and secular authority demands more than obedience, it embraces also regard and homage. Hence arises the question, whether or not we ought to meet certain persons with esteem and homage, to whom we must refuse obedience, indeed against whom—in contrast with Mordecai—we are compelled to offer resistance. There are doubtless many cases where these conditions obtain. Such a case would especially occur where the authorities think that right is on their side. When they proceed from a different view or conviction with reference to the case, they are by no means to be disregarded. The admonition in 1 Peter ii. 18 is in place here: "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." Now if the authorities, as says Harless, really assume to disregard and deny right and law, in its claim of jurisdiction, which it can only have as the guardian and executor of justice, then practically it ceases to be authority. If it sanction oppression and pillage; if it touch the existing right, religion, and conscience, then it becomes a chief enemy of those who will not submit to the spoiling of these possessions—for so did Haman, nor otherwise could he justly be called an Agagite.

Hence homage can only be denied to the magisterial office where the bearer of the name is regarded as unworthy of the position he occupies. An external homage, in connection with which one must manifest hostility, would then become hypocrisy, and the more so since instead of giving the honor due from a sincere heart, we can only despise and execrate. To refuse it is only to act honestly, though it often requires courage. This is the more necessary since the opposition is grounded upon and confined to what is permitted according to right and calling. As was the case with Mordecai, we should take an early opportunity to manifest our determination to refuse homage to authority, since its false ways cannot be too severely condemned.

On vers. 8-15. 1. So long as Israel possessed a political independence the chief support of its religion had been the State. The State had jurisdiction over its own laws and those of religion. Now, however, the State takes an opposite stand to its religion. The complaint of Haman was, that this people had different laws from those of the other peoples of the kingdom, and hence did not obey those of the king (which was correct as regarded the laws that were opposed to its own). For this reason also, Ahasuerus permitted the decree for the extermination of Israel. The State, even at this period, could not avoid demanding decided submission; and where it encountered insuperable obstinacy it adopted extreme measures, even banishment and extermination. But it would have been better had it been tolerant to the last degree. All the means of might were at its command, by which to carry out its will. All the offices and organizations which the State had established for the weal of its subjects, as is indicated in vers. 12 and 15, could have been employed in their subjection. One might feel inclined to ask whether, in view of all these things, there remained any hope for Mordecai; whether his opposition did not, at the very beginning, promise to be futile. Doubtless his hope was in Him for whose honor he was jealous; namely, in the living God. That Being now desires to make manifest for all ages by a striking example, that He can sustain His people, not only without the aid of any civil power, but also in opposition to a foreign State. Indeed He can preserve it even amid the heathen, in spite of all distracting elements. Hence the church need not fear, be the relation of the State what it may. The Lord knows how to make even the most unfavorable circumstances serviceable and useful to the church.

2. If now we inquire upon what natural basis Mordecai could establish his hope, then we observe that truth was on his side. That which is rejected of God, instead of being honored, is to be abhorred. Hence for him who believed in the true God, no doubt existed but that this truth would eventually obtain a more general recognition. But in order to this, a still longer development was needed. Heathendom must first become conscious of itself, *i. e.*, of its own weakness and impotence, which were a part of its existence in spite of all external power; then only can it learn to know the true God. For the present, it was the weakness and failing which attached to the leaders of heathenism, that offered resting-places for the helping hand of God. Whether these were already well known to Mordecai is doubtful; but to our eyes they are already manifest in this chapter. Haman would not venture to come before Ahasuerus and exhibit his wounded vanity and spirit of revenge; and Ahasuerus does not desire to reveal the fact that he is anxious to possess the money of the Jews. However, with the former vanity, and with the latter an inordinate desire for money, plays the chief part. They would have it appear as if their acts were done under the impulse of right and duty. They would kill off the people

of God with proper decency. They dissemble; but they thereby gain only a self-condemnation of their own evil motives. An official who is guilty of dissembling, is in danger of being unmasked; and a prince who is so weak as to be led by a motive of which he must needs be ashamed, especially in such a grave and extraordinary occurrence, easily exposes also other weaknesses. Hence it would not be difficult for others likewise to gain the ascendency over him, who could easily dissuade him from a purpose, even after the same had become an irrevocable edict. The remark at the close of the chapter is also very significant and characteristic. A prince and an officer who at the time when the inhabitants of their chief city are in the greatest consternation, when above all an entire people is thrown into mortal fear of their life, can sit down to eat and drink, manifest either an inhumanity, which would easily arouse a general revolt, or an evil conscience which already foretells the failure of their plans. If we ask respecting the natural foundations upon which the expectation of an eventual victory of Christianity is based, in the face of all the assaults and dangers to which it is exposed, then the power of truth, as it breaks its way and compels universal recognition, would emphatically answer the question, and be the main point of reliance. The experience of centuries teaches one fact definitely and variously, that there is salvation in no other, and that no other name is given to men whereby they may be saved, than the name of Jesus Christ. But the weaknesses of those who deem themselves strong will ever be a matter of observation. Christians should be better informed than they often are, of the impotency and nothingness of those in opposition to them. They have a clear right to the question: What can men do to us? Even their opponents must acknowledge, if they are not too much blinded, that in those nations among which the pure faith reigns supreme, there is a different type of fidelity, conscientiousness, devotion, and readiness to make sacrifices than among those who have been dried up by the sun of false enlightenment. The course of events will soon compel them to see their mistake.

Brenz: "This is plainly what Christ afterwards said to His little church; that is, His disciples: 'Verily, verily I say unto you, ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.' For as in the passion of Christ the chief priests triumphed, and the soldiers mocked, but Christ hung on the cross and was afflicted with exceeding misery, so the joy of the wicked will be at its highest over the sorrow of the godly. . . . But that is most true which we read: 'The triumphing of the wicked (is) short, and the joy of the hypocrite (but) for a moment. Though his excellency mount up to the heavens and his head reach unto the clouds; (yet) he shall perish for ever like his own dung: they which have seen him shall say, Where (is) he?'" Feuardent: "Observe now how active everything is in this matter, and how all conspires for the extermination of the people of God. The terrible sentence is defined and described in as many languages and modes as there are peoples in the empire. . . . . But while the godly are in great distress, as they anticipate the fatal day of the cruel execution, the king and Haman indulge in drunkenness and lust and joy. So perisheth the righteous, and no man layeth it to heart (Isa. lvii. 1). So the servants of God are oppressed by the agents of the Devil. So cruelty triumphs. . . . . But it is well. There is a God in the heavens." Starke: "When wicked men cannot otherwise persecute the pious, then his religion and laws must furnish them with a cause and a covering for their evil intentions (Acts xvi. 21, 22). In important matters it is not good to render a hasty judgment, it is better to reflect (Isa. xxviii. 7). God permits the wicked to have success beyond their own expectation at times, but afterward destruction will come all the more unexpectedly. (Ps. xxxvii. 35, 36; Job x. 45.")

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# SECOND SECTION.

## The Conflict of Opposites.

Chapters IV. V.

### A.—MORDECAI, GREATLY SORROWING WITH HIS PEOPLE, URGES ESTHER TO PLEAD FOR MERCY WITH THE KING.

Chapter IV. 1–17.

I. *Communication between Mordecai and Esther.* Vers. 1–5.

1 When [And] Mordecai perceived [knew] all that was done, [and, *i. e.* then]
Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with [and] ashes, and went out *into*
2 *the* midst of the city, and cried[1] *with a* loud [great] and *a* bitter cry; And came
even before the king's gate: for none *might* [*there was* none to] enter [go] into the

3 king's gate clothed *with* [in clothing of] sackcloth. And in every province,[2] whi-
thersoever [*the* place that] the king's commandment [word] and his decree [law]
came [*was* approaching], *there was* great mourning among [for] the Jews, and
fasting, and weeping, and wailing [smiting *the breast*]: *and* many lay in sack-cloth
4 and ashes [sack-cloth and ashes was strown for the many]. So [And] Esther's
maids and her chamberlains [eunuchs] came and told *it* her. Then [And] was
the queen exceedingly grieved; and she sent raiment to clothe Mordecai, and to
5 take away his sackcloth from [upon] him: but [and] he received *it* not. Then
[And] called Esther for [to] Hatach, *one* of the king's chamberlains [eunuchs],
whom he *had* appointed *to attend* upon [stationed before] her, and gave him a com-
mandment [enjoined him] to [upon, *i. e.* concerning] Mordecai, to know what it
*was*, and why it *was*.

II. *Mordecai commissions Esther to present his petition; but she raises a point of difficulty.* Vers. 6-11.

6 So [And] Hatach went forth to Mordecai unto *the* street of the city, which *was*
7 before the king's gate: and Mordecai told him *of* all that *had* happened unto him,
and *of the* sum [designation] of the money [silver] that Haman *had* promised
[said] to pay to [upon] the king's treasuries for [in consideration of] the Jews, to
8 destroy [cause them to perish]: Also [And] he gave him *the* copy of *the* writing
of the decree [law] that was given at Shushan to destroy them, to show *it* unto
Esther, and to declare [tell] *it* unto her, and to charge [enjoin upon] her that she
should go [to go] *in* unto the king, to make supplication unto him, and to make
9 request before him for [upon] her people. And Hatach came and told Esther *the*
10 words of Mordecai; Again [And] Esther spake [said] unto Hatach, and gave him
11 commandment [enjoined him] unto Mordecai; All the king's servants, and the
people of the king's provinces, *do* know [*are* knowing], that whosoever, *whether*
man [every man] or [and] woman, shall [who shall] come unto the king *into* the
inner court, who is not [shall not be] called, *there is* one law of his to put *him* to
death, except *such* to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that [and]
he may live; but I[3] have not been called to come *in* unto the king these [this]
thirty days.

III. *Mordecai presents his request still more urgently, and Esther promises to execute it.* Vers. 12–17.

12, 13 And they told to Mordecai Esther's words. Then [And] Mordecai commanded
[said] to answer Esther, Think not with thyself [in thy spirit] that thou shalt
14 escape *in* [to deliver] the king's house more than all the Jews. For [But] if thou
altogether holdest thy peace at this time, *then* shall *there* enlargement and deliver-
ance arise to the Jews from another place; but [and] thou and thy father's house
shall be destroyed [utterly perish]; and who knoweth whether thou art come [hast
15 approached] to the kingdom for *such a* time as this? Then [And] Esther bade *them*
16 [said to] return Mordecai *this answer*; Go, gather *together* all the Jews *that are* present
[found] in Shusan, and fast ye for [upon] me, and neither eat [eat not] nor drink
[and drink not] three days, night or [and] day: I also and my maidens will fast
likewise; and so will I go *in* unto the king, which *is* not according to the law;
17 and if [whereas] I perish [have perished], I perish [have perished]. So [And]
Mordecai went his way [passed] and did according to all that Esther *had* com-
manded [enjoined upon] him.

## TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 1. זְעַק, a later or Aramæan form for צְעַק, seems to be intensive of קָרָא, including the simple *call* for help, שַׁוַּע, and the *shriek* from pain or danger, אָנַק, and denotes an earnest and vociferous demonstration.—Tr.]

[2] [Ver. 3. See Note 7 in preceding section.—Tr.]

[3] [Ver. 11. The pronoun, being expressed in the original, is emphatic.—Tr.]

## EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The author manifestly desires to show in this chapter how very difficult it was for Mordecai to make even the one effort to save his people from destruction. But he was faithful and persistent; taking step after step until the object was attained. He here entered a conflict which was forced upon him, and which he was unable to avert. But

thereby he ran the greatest danger both for himself and for Esther, whom he required to assist him. Three separate endeavors are recorded by our author as made on the part of Mordecai in order to involve Esther in this conflict. The first was preparatory, being designed simply to establish a connection with her; of the second the only result was the objections raised by Esther; and in the third she expressed her willingness and her resignation to a possible fate.

Vers. 1–5. Here is described *the first step.* The first thing Mordecai did was to take a leading part in the general sorrow of the Jews. Thereby he attracted the attention of Esther, and induced her not only to send him other garments than those of mourning, but also to send a confidential messenger through whom he could communicate with her. Ver. 1. **When Mordecai perceived all that was done.**—As is told us in ver. 7. Mordecai was even informed as to the sum of money which Haman expected to obtain by destroying the Jews. Possibly some of Haman's intimate friends heard of it and spoke of it in the king's gate where Mordecai could hear it. **Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes,** *i. e.*, a garment of hair cloth, and with the same also put on ashes, by strewing ashes over his person and clothing (comp. Dan. ix. 3; Job ii. 12).* **And went out into the midst of the city.**—He did not conceal the fact that he was in deep distress, **and cried with a loud and bitter cry;** literally, occurs in Gen. xxvii. 34 with reference to Esau.

Ver. 2. **And came even before the king's gate,** *i. e.*, up to the free place that was before the entrance to the royal palace (comp. ver. 6),—further he could not come, no more could he come into the gate of the palace as before—**for none (might) enter into the king's gate clothed with sackcloth.**—So אֵין לָבוֹא, comp. Ewald, § 321 *c.*

Ver. 3. Many other Jews also mourned. The sorrow was general. Despite the elevation of Esther her people now had everywhere only distress and grief, instead of honor and joy. It seems as if the author would here describe how the Jews were treated contrary to what one would naturally expect after the elevation of Esther. He would here, doubtless, also give prominence to the remarkable mode which Mordecai adopted to secure the attention of Esther. Further in ver. 8 he would show us how pressing was the need of every possible endeavor for their preservation. **And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came,** *etc.*—מְקוֹם is the Accusative of place found in *stat. constr.* before אֲשֶׁר, as in ch. viii. 17; Eccl. xi. 3; comp. Lev. iv. 24 בִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר. **And many lay in sackcloth and ashes.**—While all gave vent to their distress and tears, many manifested their sorrow by putting on sackcloth and sitting in ashes (comp. Isa. lviii. 5).

Ver. 4. The first object that Mordecai gained by his public grief was that he drew the attention of Esther's women-servants and eunuchs, *i. e.*, such as were assigned her for her exclusive service (comp. chap. ii. 9), and they gave notice to the queen. Though they had not as yet discovered the nationality of Esther, still they became aware of Esther's relation to Mordecai, who on his part was very diligent in his inquiries concerning her. Hence they delayed not to inform the queen of all that they know of him. Following the Kethib we should read וַתְּבוֹאֶינָה. As this prolonged form of the word does not usually occur after a *Vav. cons.*, the Keri has the form וַתָּבוֹאנָה. The object of יַגִּידוּ is found in what follows: the present appearance of Mordecai in mourning garments was not the cause (comp. ver. 5); but this was enough to give her considerable anxiety. וַתִּתְחַלְחַל, a passive intensive from חוּל, *they were seized as with pains of delivery.* She sent clothes to her guardian, that he might put them on, doubtless, that thereby he might again stand in the gate of the king, and so relate to her the cause of his grief. But he refused them, not only because he would wear no other than garments of mourning, but because he desired a private opportunity to communicate with her.

Ver. 5. Mordecai accomplished his object, and Hatach the eunuch was sent to him to obtain particulars. הֶעֱמִיד לְפָנֶיהָ, the king had appointed Hatach to serve Esther; hence he belonged to her eunuchs (ver. 4). וַתְּצַוֵּהוּ עַל, *she commissioned him with respect to* or עַל, substantially similar to אֶל, "she sent him to," (comp. ver. 10).

Vers. 6–11. Here we have *the second step.* In the face of the greatness of the danger that threatened the Jews it was hardly to be expected but that Mordecai should make a request of Esther whose fulfilment would be very serious in its consequences.—Vers. 6 and 7. When Hatach had proceeded to the open place before the palace, he found Mordecai, who in the hope that Esther would do something more, had remained there longer or more frequently resorted thither. Then Mordecai informed him of all that had occurred and that now threatened the Jews, and mentioned also the sum of money that Haman promised to place in the king's treasury, in return for the extermination of the Jews. This he did, no doubt, to show what low and despicable motives were at play in the matter; and thus he very naturally hoped to excite the greater indignation and wrath in Esther. She must not be left to think that Haman had found the Jews guilty of real transgressions when he obtained the consent of the king. That the king had remitted the money to Haman, is not referred to here because not pertinent. פָּרָשָׁה derived from פָּרַשׁ *to cut off*, separate, then to define correctly (comp. Lev. xxiv. 12), the exact statement of a thing, *i. e.*, here, of the amount, sum of money to be given. **For the Jews, to destroy them,** means when the Jews would be surrendered to him with permission to destroy them. The Kethib form of הַיְּהוּדִיִּים is less frequently used for הַיְּהוּדִים, which is found in chap. viii. 1, 7, 13; ix. 15, 18.

* ["To rend one's clothes in grief was as much a Persian as a Jewish practice (see Herod. viii. 99; Æschylus, *Pers.* 540–1, 1039, *etc.*)." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

Ver. 8. **Also he gave him the copy of the writing of the decree that was given at Shushan** (comp. chap. iii. 15), **to destroy them,** *i. e.*, which ordered them to be destroyed. פַּתְשֶׁגֶן could here have the meaning of "copy;" but the rendering "*contents*" of the writing of the decree is preferable, (comp. Ezra iv. 11). Possibly Mordecai had briefly noted down the substance of the decree. **To shew (it) unto Esther, and to declare (it) unto her, and to charge her that she should go in unto the king to make supplication unto him.**—וּלְהַגִּיד, contrary to the accents, is by Bertheau and Keil connected with what follows, as if it were the same in sense with לְצַוּוֹת עָלֶיהָ. But it rather belongs to what precedes according to its import. Hatach was to show the writing to Esther and give her the substance of the information it conveyed. It is quite possible that Esther could read it herself; Mordecai sent the copy for the purpose of enabling Hatach to give the proper meaning of its contents. The infinitives with לְ are here best translated by "in order that." **To declare** (explain) **it unto her, and to charge her to go in unto the king, to make supplication unto him . . . for her people.**—בַּקֵּשׁ with עַל here, as in chap. vii. 7, means: *to entreat*, supplicate for something diligently (comp. Ezra viii. 23). She should petition relief for her people.

Vers. 9-11. Mordecai elicited only the answer: **All the king's servants, and the people of the king's provinces, do know, that whosoever, whether man or woman shall come unto the king,** *etc.*—כָּל־אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה is prefixed as a *Nom. absol.* The predicate with אַחַת דָּתוֹ follows as an *anacoluthon:* "one is his law," *i. e., one law extends to all.* דָּתוֹ is the law having reference in his case. Its substance reads briefly: לְהָמִית, *to kill, i. e.*, him. One was not even allowed to enter the inner court-yard, much less the king's palace. That the king resided in the inner court before the royal house (Bertheau and Keil), would not follow from chap. v. 1. Every one was to be killed, except him toward whom the king extended the golden sceptre. לְבַד מִן, *except*, as for example, Ex. xii. 23; Josh. xvii. 5. הוֹשִׁיט, from יָשַׁט, found only in this book (in chap. v. 2 and viii. 4), in the Aramaic tongue signifies "to reach out towards, to extend," and is connected with שָׁט, שׁוּט. In the time of Deioces the Mede, approach to the king was already very difficult (Herod. I. 9); and among the Persians, with very few exceptions (Herod. III. 118), no one was permitted to approach the king without a notice (comp. chap. i. 14; and Herod. III. 140; also C. Nep. *Conon*, c. 3). According to our verse the sense of the law is not that no one should approach unannounced, but that no one should approach unless called. But the sense of both is the same. If one must give due notice of approach, one must first be also accepted; but to be accepted is to be called. As regards that law any one was free to give notice of his approach (comp. Herodot. III. 140), and hence arises the question, why Esther kept this privilege out of sight. Josephus says (*Antiq.* XI. 6, 3) that the husband of Esther (according to him Artaxerxes) forbade his people, by a special law, to approach him while he sat upon the throne. But he would manifestly give greater weight to our explanation. If we desire to find the correct answer we must not overlook the remark of Esther, that she had not been called to the king for now thirty days.* Possibly she apprehended that the king had become somewhat indifferent to her, and that, if she were to announce herself without being called by him, she would be refused admittance to his presence. This would have made the venture still more dangerous. According to chap. iii. 7, nearly five years had passed since their marriage. Hence she had possibly been somewhat forgotten. It could hardly appear otherwise in her eyes than that it was best to approach the king unannounced and place reliance on the fact that her appearance should kindle his love anew.†

Vers. 12-17. *The third step.* In order to move Esther to a compliance with his request, despite her hesitation, Mordecai had it reported to her (ver. 13): **Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Jews.**—To be saved does not here mean, *if I only am saved, the others do not concern me*, as if Mordecai would warn her of a selfish and indifferent feeling toward her people. But the sense is: "Do not think that thou shalt escape, or that thou art better off." This is clear from ver. 14: **For if thou altogether holdest thy peace,** not making intercession with the king, **at this time, (then) shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed,** *i. e.*, be not better off, but worse. That the entire Jewish people cannot be thus destroyed is a matter self-evident to Mordecai. This is an incontestable truth, under all circumstances, which in his mind is made sure by the divine promises. And although neither God nor God's assurances are here mentioned, still, as is justly remarked by Brenz: "We have this noble and clearly heroic faith of Mordecai, which sees the future deliverance, even amidst the most immediate and imminent danger." Those Jews only can and must be destroyed, in his opinion, who, when it concerns the preservation of the people, do not perform their duty. It is very improbable that he should think that Haman has not power sufficient to cause the destruction of the Jewish nation as a whole, but merely of that detested Mordecai

* ["According to Herodotus (iii. 69), the wives of a Persian king, whether primary or secondary, shared his bed in rotation. As their number sometimes exceeded three hundred, the turn of a particular wife might not come for nearly a year." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† [As to the *golden sceptre* Rawlinson observes. "A modern critic asks: 'Is it likely that a Persian king would always have a golden sceptre by him to stretch out towards intruders on his privacy?' It seems enough to reply that in all the numerous representations of Persian kings at Persepolis, there is not one in which the monarch does not hold a long tapering staff (which is probably the 'sceptre' of Esther) in his right hand." —TR.]

and his family, hence also Esther, must die (Bertheau,—otherwise he would not have said: "thou and thy father's house," but "thy father's house and thou, ye shall perish." He here makes reference rather to a divine punishment that shall come upon Esther first, but on her account also upon her father's house. רְוָחָה = רֶוַח (Ex. viii. 11) means relief from pressure because of want of air. עָמַד in later language may have been given the meaning of קוּם, so that it should mean *to arise*, to go forth, to be (1 Chron. xx. 4). But it may also signify: *deliverance will be established* (Bertheau), or *stand ready*. The "*other place*" is not *God* as immediate for help, but *another agent of God*, in contrast with Esther. Mordecai means: God will find other instruments whom He will employ, if thou wilt not serve Him. The last sentence of ver. 14 is, by most interpreters, declared to mean: "And who knows but that thou hast been elevated to be queen for just such an emergency as this, where there is danger, which thou shouldst assist in averting, so that thou canst easily help. But if thou wilt not help, thou wilt not escape an especially severe sentence." But to take אִם in the sense of הֲלֹא, is to say the least, venturesome, and cannot be justified by the fact that מִי יֹדֵעַ is sometimes, (but without אִם) used in the sense of *perhaps* (2 Sam. xii. 22; Joel ii. 14; Jonah iii. 9). Again it does not correspond to the sense of "if," "whether;" and we may say with Bertheau: "Who knows, when thou hast approached the royal throne (beseechingly), what then shall happen, whether the king will not receive you graciously;" or again, as Keil says: "Who knows but that thou hast attained to royalty for just such a time as this (as was no doubt true), what shall then be done by thee?" Mordecai would perhaps say, by way of adding to the before-expressed threat, "Thou shalt be destroyed, if thou art silent: and who knows whether thou shalt really be courageous enough to speak for us, and thereby manifest to us that, for just such a time as this thou wast elevated to royal dignity?" A doubt such as this would evidently be the most powerful incentive to her to do what was requested of her.

Ver. 15. In fact this resolve was reached by her. She made request that Mordecai, together with the Jews in Shushan, should fast three days and nights in her behalf. Doubtless she thus expected to secure the help and protection of God for that eventful hour and step, and therefore she declared, with great resignation, that she would venture to fulfil their request. This fast could only mean that great misery impended over their heads, that with a contrite spirit God's hand was seen in this event, and that prayer was made to God for help (comp. 1 Kings xxi. 27–29; Joel i. 14; Jonah iii. 5). That Esther still does not make mention of God, no more than did Mordecai before this, when he asserted his faith in the indestructibility of the Jewish nation, may easily be explained, as has been observed in the Introduction, § 8, by remarking that it pertains to the style of the author. To the expression: **fast ye for me,** Esther adds: **and neither eat nor drink three days, night nor day,** in order to mark the severity of the fast. A strict fast of three days would indeed have been a severe task, and Esther would thereby have done injury to her appearance (J. D. Michaelis). But these *three days* seem, as in Jonah ii. 1, not to be clearly understood; hence the sense would be, from this day until the third day. For the fast must have begun on the same day that Esther's answer came to Mordecai. The "third day" mentioned in chap. v. 1 must mean the third day from that in which the decision of Esther was made. This decision was the main fact from which time was reckoned. Of course we cannot expect that Mordecai should that very day have induced all the Jews in Shushan to fast. Still it matters not so much that not *all*, if only *many*, fasted.—**And so will I go in unto the king, which is not,** *etc.*—בְּכֵן, *i. e. under such circumstances*, or under such conditions. אֲשֶׁר לֹא כַדָּת may simply mean: "which is not legally allowed," *although not, etc.* אֲשֶׁר may be taken in a neuter sense, although אֲשֶׁר לֹא reminds us of the Aramaic דִּי לָא, and hence it can easily be taken in the sense of "without" (comp. Ewald, § 322 *c*). The last words: **And if I perish, I perish,** are an expression of willing submission to the fate that may threaten her in the performance of her duty (comp. Gen. xliii. 14). Esther had great cause to prepare for her own destruction. She not only proposed to go to the king without being called, but also to request something of him, which, according to Persian custom, it was impossible to grant. She would by her petition recall the edict and thereby seem to disregard the royal majesty. She would and indeed must reveal herself as a daughter of this detested Jewish people thus given over to destruction. Last of all, she must thereby place herself in open opposition to that all-powerful favorite, Haman.

Ver. 17. Mordecai went forth to fulfil the wish of Esther. The verb עָבַר has induced the Targums and older interpreters, as J. D. Michaelis, to advance the opinion that he had violated, "passed over," namely, the law, which ordered the Paschal feast to be celebrated in a joyous manner (from chap. iii. 12 it might follow that we are still in the time of the Passover); but the word has the meaning of: *going away*, going further. It has its explanation as contrasting with what Mordecai had done before, since, so long as Esther's answer was not satisfactory, he remained standing there.

### DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

Ver. 1 sqq. 1. Mordecai rends his clothing, and puts on sack-cloth and ashes. He enters the city thus, and raises a great and bitter lamentation. So also the Church of God, in its development as regards the history of humanity, should again and ever anew put on the habiliments of mourning. "The world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful." The then existing nation of Jews could not manifest its loyalty to

the law without coming into conflict with heathendom. Nor can the Church bring to development its inherent spiritual powers without challenging all the Hamans and their opposition in the world. Even this present period is an instance in proof. Following upon the great progress of the things of the kingdom of God since the time of wars for freedom, we must naturally expect reactions, such as have been manifest in the sphere of science and other relations. Indeed, we must constantly look for increasing opposition on the part of the world. But when the Church shall have most fully developed the gifts of grace granted to it, then conflict and sorrow will have reached its highest point at the end of days. The real cause of sorrow on the part of the true members of God's Church will not be, as was the case with Mordecai, their own distress, but that of the world. It will consist in the fact that the world is still devoid of the blessed society of the true God; that the kingdom of God is still rejected and even persecuted. What joy it would give, if, instead of enmity, recognition and submission, and, instead of disdain, a participation in the gifts and grace of our Lord were to become the universal experience!

2. The more difficult the position of the Church as in contrast with the world, the more favorable is her position for bringing to view her glory. Her glory is that of her Head. If even in the Old Testament times, and in the "dispersion" itself, there existed a Mordecai, who for love of the people manifested his firmness and strength in the hour of tribulation; and if there was found an Esther, who, when called upon, willingly came forward to bring about the salvation of her countrymen; how much more in New Testament times and in the modern Church will there arise individuals, who, in following the Lord, especially in evil days, will manifest a watch-care for others and a self-sacrificing spirit for them; who will show forth patience and meekness, as well as energy, fidelity and tenacity, a spirit of giving and an ability to make sacrifices; and withal will carry in their hearts joy and peace as the seal of their kinship with God. All these graces may be so many illuminating rays of the glorious life of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who more and more attains in them a full stature. May all seize the special opportunity, recognize the particular duty, and know when to perform it, which the times of distress of the Church place in their hand, of showing forth the power that dwells in them by their life and work!

3. Mordecai took an especially great part in the universal grief that overcame the Jews when the edict of their annihilation was issued and promulgated. It was not his personal danger that alarmed him, but, as may be expected of such a faithful follower of Judaism, it was the calamity threatening the whole Jewish people. While, however, thought and feeling were centred upon the event, he was free from despair. With him it was a settled conviction that the people of God, as a whole, could not be destroyed, and that deliverance must come from some source. Instead of giving way to despondency, he turned his distress into a power that urged him to still greater endeavors. There was no more a fear of appearing as a Jew, nor did he hesitate because his loud lamentation would attract general attention, and thereby expose him to the derision and disdain of many. However reluctant he might have been to expose his beloved Esther, whose welfare had ever been a matter of great concern to him, to extreme danger, still he persisted with the greatest determination that she should run the whole risk, and only rested when she gave her assent. It is barely possible that he attributed some blame to himself because of his firmness against Haman, or thought that on that account he more than any other was under obligation to remove the threatened danger. The sole moving impulse was doubtless his love for his people. But this should not be less in any true member of the Church. It should rather, in proportion as there are more members in the body of Christ, be the stronger than it was in him. Would that no one among us were behind him as regards energy, self-denial and a willingness to make sacrifices! There are doubtless many who are able to endure all this in their own person. But—if no lighter consideration—the thought that their relatives, yea, even wife and children, may suffer on account of their confession, bows them down. Would, if necessary, that we too may stand equal to Mordecai in willingness to surrender our dearest kin!

Ver. 6 sqq. Mordecai manifests a remarkable tenacity as opposed to Esther. He keeps his position at the gate of the king until she sends him not only her maids with garments, but also Hatach to transmit his message. He departs not thence until she has resolved to stand before Ahasuerus as a Jew pleading for the Jews. Under other circumstances he might have been thought to be tiresome by his persistency and demands; but his relation to her now justified it. When he had been accustomed to inquire concerning her health and well-being, to give her counsel, to care for her, he had shown no less persistency; and his demand that now she should reveal her Jewish descent, and as such should venture all, was equally in keeping with his character. So long as no danger threatened he counseled her to keep silence respecting her Jewish parentage; but now he had himself taken the lead in an open confession of the fact. Although it had before been difficult for him to approach Esther as the queen, or request any favor at her hand, now he hesitated no longer to implore her help, not so much for himself, as for the whole people. There was no motive for him to be selfish, or to conduct himself in a heartless or severe manner towards her. Hence there was no question but that his undertaking would succeed, that Esther would be willing to comply with his request. It is eminently desirable that those who, like him, must move and induce others to make sacrifices of self and possessions in the service of the kingdom of God, should stand on a level with him in this respect.

Brenz: "At first the lazy (*i. e.* Jews) do not snore. For the Holy Spirit exhorts us in all adversities to confide in the Lord; He does not exhort us to be indolent, indifferent and sleepy.

For our confidence in the Lord is a powerful and efficacious means of stimulating in His service all strength and limbs. . . . . Further, the Jews, though in the greatest peril, do not utter virulent words against the king, nor do they fly to arms. . . . Mordecai and the other Jews rend their garments, put on sack-cloth, strew ashes upon their heads, wail, weep and fast. These manifestations signify not that the Jews in Persia were turbulent, but that they take refuge in God; since help could not be discovered upon earth, they seek it from heaven. . . . 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' . . . . By this example we too are taught that when afflictions are sent upon us, we should reflect that God then sets before us the fat oxen and calves which we may offer to Him. In this way we offer to God in our prayers the afflictions which we sustain, and call upon the name of the Lord that He may help us. . . . Behold, however, the reverse of this order of things. The palaces of princes are divinely instituted to be the places of refuge for the miserable. On the contrary in the palaces of Persia nothing is regarded as more odious and abominable than men with the signs of affliction. . . . Heaven is ever open to the cries of mourners, and God is never unapproachable to those calling on His name by faith."

Starke: "Temporal fortunes and successes are never so great as not to be subject to sorrow, terror and fear (Sir. xl. 8). God permits His Church to be plunged into sorrow at times; He leads her even into hell; but He also takes her out again (1 Sam. ii. 16). Though the Lord elevate us to high honors, we should never be ashamed of our poor relatives (Gen. xlvii. 2), but rather relieve their needs (1 Sam. xxii. 3). We should never reject proper and suitable means to escape a danger, but promptly use them (2 Cor. xi. 32, 33)."

Ver. 13 sqq. Mordecai manifests a precious sense of trust, saying: "For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place." But he who would save his soul will lose it. The risk which Mordecai called upon Esther to assume, that she should come to the king uninvited, and manifest herself as a daughter of the people thus devoted to destruction, was indeed great and important. Moreover, the hope that Xerxes would recall his edict, thus, according to Persian ideas, endangering the respect due his royal majesty, and likewise abandoning his favorite minister, was very uncertain of fulfilment. But Esther had been elevated to a high position. Mordecai, who in a doubting manner sends her word: "Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" doubtless did it from a conviction that she must now prove herself worthy of such distinction, if she would retain it. He also conveys the idea that the higher her position the greater her responsibility, and consequently, in case of failure because of carelessness or fearfulness, the more intense her guilt. In these convictions of Mordecai are contained the most earnest exhortations even for us. This is especially true since we are all called to be joint heirs of Jesus Christ to the throne of the heavenly kingdom. In the deportment of Esther a no less reminder to duty is contained. It appears quite natural that Esther should order a fast not only to be observed by Mordecai and the rest of the Jews, but she also imposed on herself this fast of three days' duration. Had she had a little more of the common discretion of her sex, she would have feared the effects of the fast upon her appearance. Hence she would have adopted quite a different plan or preparation previous to her entrance into the king's presence. Here also she reveals the same attractive feature of mind and manner as when she was first presented to the king. Instead of placing reliance upon what she should externally put on or adorn herself with, we find her trust placed upon something higher. She well knows that she will only succeed if the great and exalted Lord be for her, who, notwithstanding His glorious majesty, yet dwells among the most lowly of men. It is in just such times as these, when we are raised to the greatest endeavors and self-sacrifices, that we must not expect to accomplish these things by our own power, but only through Him who in our weakness is our strength. Otherwise, despite our best intentions and most successful beginnings, we shall soon grow discouraged and fail. Our own weakness is but too often made manifest to our eyes. It is only when we consider and remember that the hand of the Lord is in it all that we will be saved from a lack of courage.

Brenz: "As it is the most pleasing worship to God to support the Church with all our strength, so He execrates no one more than him who withholds from the Church when in danger that help which he is able to render. . . . . If the cry of a single poor man is so availing that although unheard by man, it finds an avenging ear in God, what must be the influence of the cry of the whole Church in her affliction imploring assistance from Him who it hopes is able to help? . . . This teaches us that God confers power upon princes, riches upon the rich, wisdom upon the wise, and other gifts upon others, not that they may abuse them for their own pleasure, but that they may assist the Church of God, and protect it in whatever way they can. For the Church on earth is so great in the eyes of God, that He requires of all men whatever may serve her. 'The people,' He says, 'and the king that will not serve thee shall perish, and the nations shall dwell in a solitary place.'"

Starke: "Our flesh is always timid when it has to encounter a hazard (Exod. iv. 13). My Christ in His divine majesty stands at the entrance into the faith, and sounds the free invitation to each and all, 'ever frequent, ever dear, ever happy' (Sirach xxv. 20, 21). One should succor his neighbor in peril and need (Prov. xxiv. 11; Ps. lxxxii. 3), and especially the brethren in the faith (Gal. vi. 10), even at the peril of one's own life (1 John iii. 16). We are born for good not to ourselves, but to others, and thus God oftentimes shows us that through us He aids our own, our country and the community (Gen. xlv. 5). Faith is the victory that

**overcomes the world (1 John v. 8). We may use ordinary prayer for important blessings (James v. 14; Gen. xxiv. 7; xliii. 14). Life can never be spent better than when it is the aim to lose it (Matt. xvi. 25; Acts xx. 24; xxi. 13).”**

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### B.—ESTHER IS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED BY THE KING; BUT HAMAN, HIGHLY DISTINGUISHED BY THE QUEEN, RESOLVES, BECAUSE OF THE REFUSAL OF MORDECAI TO BOW THE KNEE BEFORE HIM, TO HAVE HIM HUNG.

CHAPTER V. 1–14.

I. *Esther finds favor with the King, and invites both him and Haman two separate times to a banquet prepared by herself.* Vers. 1–8.

1 Now [And] it came to pass [was] on the third day that [and] Esther put on
*her* royal *apparel*, and stood in the inner court of the king’s house, over against the
king’s house: and the king sat [*was* sitting] upon his royal throne in the royal
2 house, over against *the* gate [opening] of the house. And it was *so*, when [as] the
king saw Esther the queen standing in the court, *that* she obtained [received] favor
in his sight [eyes]: and the king held out to Esther the golden sceptre that *was* in
3 his hand. So [And] Esther drew near, and touched *the* top of the sceptre. Then
[And] said the king unto her, What wilt thou [*is* to thee], queen Esther? and
what *is* thy request? [*ask*, and] it shall be *even* given thee to *the* half of the king-
4 dom. And Esther answered [said], If it *seem* good unto [upon] the king, let the
king and Haman come this [to-] day unto the banquet that I have prepared
5 [made] for him. Then [And] the king said, Cause Haman to make haste, that
he may do [to do] as Esther hath said [*the* word of Esther]. So [And] the king
6 and Haman came to the banquet that Esther had prepared [made]. And the
king said unto Esther at *the* banquet of wine, What *is* thy petition? and it shall
be granted thee: and what *is* thy request? even [*ask*, and] to *the* half of the king-
7 dom it shall be performed [done]. Then [And] answered Esther, and said, My
8 petition and my request *is;* If I have found favor in *the* sight [eyes] of the king,
and if it please [*seem* good upon] the king to grant [give] my petition, and to per-
form [do] my request, let the king and Haman come to the banquet that I shall
prepare [will make] for them, and I will do to-morrow as the king hath said [ac-
cording to *the* mind of the king].

II. *Haman, encouraged by the remarkable distinction extended to him, at once resolves upon the immediate destruction of Mordecai.* Vers. 9–14.

9 Then [And] went Haman forth [on] that day joyful and with *a* glad [good]
heart: but [and] when [as] Haman saw Mordecai in the king’s gate that [and] he
stood [rose] not *up*, nor moved [*or* trembled] for [on account of] him, [and, *i. e.*
10 then] he [Haman] was full of indignation against Mordecai. Nevertheless [And],
Haman refrained [restrained] himself: and *when* he came home [to his house],
[and] he sent and called for [brought] his friends [lovers], and Zeresh his wife.
11 And Haman told [recounted to] them of the glory of his riches, and the multitude
of his children, and all *the things* wherein the king *had* promoted him [made him
12 great], and how [that] he *had* advanced [raised] him above the princes and [*the*]
servants of the king. [And] Haman said *moreover*, Yea, Esther the queen did let
no man come *in* with the king unto the banquet that she *had* prepared [made] but
13 myself; and to-morrow *am* I[1] invited [called] unto her also[2] with the king. Yet
all this availeth me nothing, so long as [in all *the* time that] I see [*am* seeing]
14 Mordecai the Jew sitting at [in] the king’s gate. Then [And] said Zeresh his wife
and all his friends [lovers] unto him, Let *a* gallows be made [Let them make *a*

**tree] *of* fifty cubits high [*in* height], and to-morrow [in the morning] speak [say] thou unto the king that [and] Mordecai may be hanged [they will hang Mordecai] thereon: then [and] go thou in merrily [joyful] with the king unto the banquet. And the thing [word] pleased [*was* good before] Haman; and he caused the gallows to be made [made the tree].**

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 [Ver. 12. The pronoun, being expressed, is emphatic.—Tr.]

2 [Ver. 12. The position of גַּם before לְמָחָר gives the latter emphasis; this was a fresh token of favor. —Tr.]

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–8. Mordecai's opposition against Haman receives fresh support by the movements of Esther. But they have as a first result that Haman on his part also determines the utmost extreme against Mordecai. Hence the conflict against Mordecai is here also the chief feature, as was that of Mordecai against Haman in the previous chapter. Esther risks an unannounced entrance to the king—so it seems—only that she might together with him invite Haman to the banquet in order to distinguish the latter before all other officers. Thereby the arrogance of Haman is extraordinarily strengthened.

Ver. 1. **On the third day**, viz., after her interview with Mordecai (comp. chap. iv. 14 sqq.), **Esther put on (her) royal (apparel).**—If we will not with Bertheau on chap. vi. 8 and viii. 15 sanction the rejection of לְבוּשׁ before מַלְכוּת, then we must accept the fact that מַלְכוּת in itself signifies *royal* dignity (comp. chap. i. 19), but also means *royal apparel;* or that it was usual in poetic language to say לָבַשׁ הוֹד וְהָדָר (comp. civ. 1; Job xl. 10), as also לָבַשׁ מַלְכוּת. An accusative of limitation, "according to the king's manner," is highly improbable here. Esther *posted herself*—so here תַּעֲמֹד, according to 1 Kings xx. 38; 1 Sam. xvii. 51; not: *stood,* remained standing,—in the inner court in such a position that the king, who sat upon his throne in the king's house, could see her. He sat נֹכַח פֶּתַח הַבָּיִת, not: *before*, but *opposite*, over against *the door of the house.* Since נֹכַח may easily be rendered "before" in the sense of "opposite," it is well so to translate it. Perhaps the king had selected this position in order the more easily to see what transpired in the court of the house. Perhaps also the throne was situated not far from the farthest wall, and nearer to the door.*

Ver. 2. As his eyes fell on Esther she found grace in his sight, see chap. ii. 9. As he extended the golden sceptre to her she touched its point, possibly, as is indicated by the Vulg., kissing it.

Ver. 3. [**What wilt thou?** "Rather, 'What ails thee?'"—Rawlinson.] He promised her: **it shall be given thee to the half of the kingdom,** viz., she might make bold request, and it should be granted her what she desired; similarly as in the case of Herod in Mark vi. 23.* Feuardent: "Observe, I pray you, the promise, so thoughtless, rash, and imprudent (a common fault among kings), which, without consideration, is here repeated for the third time (comp. chap. vi. and vii. 2). So excessive and prodigal are princes as regards women, good-for-nothing, gluttons, sycophants, traitors, and such like." But here it is in point to notice the greatness of that object which is capable of calling forth true love, and for it nothing is too great.

Ver. 4. The first and simplest thing that Esther dared to request was to invite Haman and the king to dine with her. אִם טוֹב עַל, as in chap. i. 19. She would doubtless first convince herself whether the impression which she made on the king was deep enough to encourage her to express such a great request as she intended to present.† She desired Haman to be present, in order, as Calov remarks, that "she might charge him by name in the presence of the king with the decree surreptitiously obtained against her people, and to his very face cut off every possibility of cavil;" perhaps also in order to make his confusion the more complete.

Ver. 5. The king ordered Haman to be quickly called, and with him accepted the invitation of Esther. מַהֲרוּ, *hastened, i. e.,* to cause to make haste, comp. 1 Kings xxii. 9; 2 Chron. xviii. 8. לַעֲשׂוֹת, as an infin., may have Haman as its subject: "that he may do as Esther hath said." This also would explain the phrase, in order that one do, *i. e.*, the words of Esther.

Ver. 6. **At the banquet of wine** (comp. chap. vii. 2),—thus is indicated the more advanced stage of the banquet, where drinking was the chief thing, and where, in consequence, the most cheerful feeling prevailed (Bertheau), the king repeated his question and reasserted his promise.‡ וְתֵעָשׂ (chap. vii. 2; ix. 12), "and it

* ["This is the usual situation of the throne in the 'throne-room' of an Oriental palace. The monarch, from his raised position, can see into the court through the doorway opposite him, which is kept open."—Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["According to Herodotus (IX. 109), Xerxes, on another occasion, when pleased with one of his wives, offered to grant her any request whatever, without limitation."—Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["Esther seems to have been afraid to make her real request of Xerxes too abruptly, and to have wished to impress him favorably before doing so. She concluded that the king would understand that she had a real petition in the background, and would recur to it, as in fact he did (ver. 6, and chap. vii. 2)."—Rawlinson.—Tr.]

‡ ["After the meats were removed, it was customary in Persia to continue the banquet for a considerable time with fruits and wine (Herod. I., 133). During this

shall be granted thee," is the shortened form of the imperf., the so-called jussive future, instead of וְתֵעָשֶׂה.

Vers. 7, 8. Still Esther hesitates with her principal request. It is true she begins: **My petition and my request (is)**; as if she would now express herself, but she breaks off as if courage failed her, or as if she reflected upon it; and she leaves it there, simply again inviting the king and Haman to another banquet, at which she obligates herself to make her petition known. She doubtless was not yet sure of the success of her undertaking.*

Vers. 9–14. Haman, completely puffed up because of the distinction shown him on the part of the queen, felt all the more bitterly the apparent stubbornness of Mordecai, which still continued, and resolved, aided by the counsel of his friends and wife, on the following day to request his execution from the king.

Ver. 9. On the same day he again met Mordecai in the gate of the king. It must needs be that on this very day Mordecai must provoke his anger to the highest degree, and thereby unconsciously assist in precipitating the inimical orders of Haman. The whole plan of the book is thus brought out in its correspondence to the conception and development of the present treatment. Mordecai could now again stand in the gate of the king. The garments of mourning which had prevented him from this, were doubtless laid aside when he assuredly knew that Esther would take the step promised to him, *i. e.*, go to the king. Fasting no doubt also ceased at the same time. In consequence he was doubtless more than ever drawn to that position where he might first hope to hear of the success of Esther. To the expression: **But when Haman saw Mordecai in the king's gate**, there is added the statement, **that he stood not up, nor moved for him.**—Such sentences of condition may be inserted without a copula (comp. Ewald, § 346). The ו before לֹא־קָם, therefore, instead of being a copula, is a correlative to the following ו before לֹא־זָע: so that we have an apposition, "neither"—"nor." Still it is more common and natural to accept a connection by means of ו, "and" (comp. Gen. xviii. 11; xxiv. 21; Joshua vi. 1). קָם and זָע are not participles—for then their subject would be made prominent—but they are third pers. *præt.* But זָע with מִן does not mean: *neither did he even move from before him* (Vulg. and most interpreters), but according to Dan. v. 19; vi. 27: *he trembled not*, was not terrified before him, as he should have done had he violated the law of the king (chap. iii. 2).

Ver. 10. Haman controlled himself, but only to consult soon after with his friends and wife, *i. e.*, those who he knew would sympathize with him, and who would restrain him from too great rashness in determining upon radical measures against Mordecai.*

Ver. 11. The author, with great art of statement, gives Haman an opportunity to recount all that would make him great and happy, but yet so as to make him admit that there is one thing missing for the completion of his happiness, and this is indispensable, namely, the destruction of Mordecai. The higher the fortune and honor in which he rejoiced, the greater would be the fall, so soon to be realized; and the more impressive must be his history upon those who read it. Next to the **glories of his riches** he makes mention of the **multitude of his children** (sons). According to chap. ix. 7–10 there were ten of them. Bertheau thinks these do not belong here, and he would change the reading. But Haman was obliged to mention them in honor of his wife. What indeed would his riches have been to him had he possessed it for himself only, or if he had not hoped to cause his sons to inherit after him, in whom, so to speak, he continued to live on? Not only among Persians, but also among Israelites, the happiness of parents depended largely upon the multitude of children; especially of sons. Likewise also the esteem in which they were held, particularly with the king, who sent presents annually to parents having the greatest number of children (comp. Herod. I. 136). Then also he recounted all **wherein the king had promoted him,** *etc.* אֲשֶׁר is here the second accus., depending on גִּדַּל, and one of definition or of instrument.

Ver. 12. As the highest point of his distinction, and the very latest, he mentions the circumstance that, above all others, he alone was invited to the banquet of the queen to be given the day following. This is the most direct proof that the author regarded these invitations as the very highest point of distinction. And he lays great stress thereon in order the more powerfully to show the overwhelming disaster that befel Haman, and also to prepare the reader for the climax of the story. אַף, *also*, moreover, indicates in advance that what follows is a new ascending period. אֲנִי קְרוּא־לָהּ means *she has invited me* (see Ewald, § 295 *c*).

Ver. 13. **Yet all this**—thus he himself must make prominent his folly and insatiableness, and at the same time pronounce his own sentence—**availeth me nothing**, is not satisfactory to me, **so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.**—בְּכָל־עֵת אֲשֶׁר may mean: *at all times*, every time, when I; so that the sense is that the feeling of dissatisfaction comes to the surface each time But it may also mean: *during the whole time* when I, *i. e.*, so long as I (comp. Job xxvii. 3, according to Schlottmann and the older interpreters). The fact that such a Jew may defy him unpunished seems to be a counter-proof against his dignity and power.

Ver. 14. **Then said Zeresh his wife and all his friends.**—Zeresh being first, and also

part of the feast the king renewed his offer."—Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["Esther still cannot bring herself to make the request on which so much depends, and craves another day's respite. She will soften the king's heart by a second banquet, and then she will submit her petition to him. There is something extremely natural in this hesitation."—Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["The name *Zeresh* is probably connected with the zend *zara*, 'gold.' Compare the Greek *Chrysis*." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

the singular form of the verb, indicates that she led the counsel. Even kings as well as their chief officers doubtless often allowed themselves to be directed by their wives. **Let a gallows be made,** *i. e.*, erected, **of fifty cubits high.**—The third person plural here, as also in what follows, again points to an indefinite "one," "let one," "let them." The height of the gallows should intensify the disgrace of hanging, but should also serve to make manifest the dreadful punishment, and to terrify as many as possible from being discourteous to Haman. Feuardent well says: "But why make it so high (*i. e.* the tree, gallows)? In order that his disgrace might be plainly observable to the eyes of all, and the more striking. Wherefore should he be in such haste about it? Lest there should be danger in delay or procrastination. For what reason have it erected before his own house? So that he and all his family going in and out, seeing Mordecai hanging, might mock and feast their cruel eyes and minds with so miserable and foul a spectacle." **Speak thou unto the king that Mordecai be hanged thereon,** *i. e.*, speak, that they hang. תָּלָה as in chap. ii. 23. These advisers take it for granted that the king will give his consent.* Hence the gallows should be already prepared in order that the execution may come off that very morning. Then, of course, his joy can be unclouded for his noon meal.†

### DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

Vers. 1–8. 1. The destiny of God's people depended not only on the humors of this Persian king in general, but also upon the impression which a woman might make upon that monarch. This must appear as very peculiar and highly significant. Women have often exerted a decisive influence upon the destinies of nations. But here it seems as if this was not quite consonant with the dignity of the people of God, as they were still worthy of being called. It seems as if such a state of things could only be true of a degenerate cause. At present we have the view of Esther standing before the king, not as a wife before her husband, but as a petitioner before a sovereign, imploring protection, and anxiously waiting whether he would graciously reach out his sceptre to her. This truly represents the condition of dependence and lowliness of the Church of the Diaspora. In contrast with it Ahasuerus represents the dignity of the worldly power bearing rule over the people of God. For all this, however, every one feels that true dignity does not dwell with the former; he would else not have been taken captive by the charms of a woman, nor have made such unlimited promises, as he expressed. But true worth dwells with Esther, who, impelled by love for her people, risks even her life. Judgment concerning him would be vastly different if his liberality were to remind us that divine love above is prepared to give the better (godly) people all that is needed for its salvation and welfare. At any rate Esther here very well represents the better people. There are found in her beautiful countenance traces of the deep grief which fills her heart. She has become weakened by the fasting which she has imposed upon herself. She is pale in consequence of fear, which she cannot suppress. Hence her appearance is all the more noble and winsome to us. And if in Ahasuerus we regard the power which must be overcome, and in her the possibility of Israel's power, then it can no more be doubtful, how great will be the victory of Israel.

Brenz: "This is truly heroic magnanimity, by which Esther declares as great a faith towards God, as love towards His church. Her trust in Him is such that she incurs the peril of her life in obedience to His call. For though all the circumstances of the case threaten her destruction, still she hangs by faith upon the divine promises. For whom God calls and leads into danger, to him He has also promised preservation and deliverance in those dangers. To Abraham He said: 'Get thee out of thy country and thy father's house.' This was a call to face danger. But He also added the promise: 'I will make of thee a great nation.' It is love alone that exposes itself in behalf of the church of God, and would rather risk its own life than leave the Church of God in danger. We may at the same time observe the modesty of Esther. Though elevated to regal majesty she does not disregard nor despise her relatives, even when most unfortunate and outcast; but condescends even to run the hazard of her life for them. How very far are some men, who have obtained a dignity beyond others, from exhibiting this modesty!"

2. We may recognize the picture of a soul praying to God in the image of Esther standing with humble and imploring attitude before Ahasuerus. Sacred poetry, especially, has made use of single features or expressions of this history in this regard. So Dressler in his beautiful hymn: "My Jesus to whom seraphim," *etc.*, causes the pious supplicant to say: "Reach thy sceptre to my soul, which like an Esther bows to thee, and shows herself thy bride to thee. Speak: 'Yea, thou art she whom I have chosen.'" The representative signification of the persons in this history have, as it were, brought with them their own recognition. The Christian may certainly employ them in this sense. So Starke when he says: "If a heathen king can willingly grant such grace, how much more willing is the most faithful Lord to receive all poor destitute sinners coming to Him in faith, and in the good time to come to place them upon His throne." Ahasuerus paid no regard to the fact that Esther had violated his commandment, but received her very graciously, although his irrevocable edict stood in the way of granting her petition. The father heart of God, although we violate all His laws,

* ["A gallows, in the ordinary sense, is scarcely intended, since hanging was not a Persian punishment. The intention, no doubt, was to crucify or impale Mordecai; and the pale or cross was to be seventy-five feet high, to make the punishment more conspicuous. On the use of impalement among the Persians, see the note on chap. ii. 23." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["As Ahasuerus had already consented to a general massacre of the Jews within a few months, it seemed probable that he would readily allow the immediate execution of one of them. Requests for leave to put persons to death were often made to Persian kings by their near relatives (Herod. IX. 110; Plutarch, *Artax.* 14, 15, 17, 23, *etc.*), but only rarely by others." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

and though His unchangeable holiness be against the sinner, still yearns toward us in its great love and grace. But just as Esther came boldly and yet modestly, so we also must combine with true humility a true and elevated courage, a disheartened repentance together with confiding faith.

BRENZ: "Consider a moment the happy issue that these events take, which are undertaken with faith and pious prayer. . . . How did Esther extort this from so great a king? Certainly not by outcries, nor by contempt, nor by disdain, nor by quarrels, nor by contention, nor by dishonest means; for by these practices women are wont to get blows and wounds rather than power and control; but by piety toward God, by reverence toward her husband, by modesty and all other reputable virtues. For so by serving and being obedient women rule, which is their only legitimate mode of governing."

STARKE: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever He will (Prov. xxi. 1). My God reach Thy sceptre also to Thy bride now humbling herself before Thee.—To promise much is the universal custom of great men, but those keeping promises are few in number, (1 Macc. xi. 53). It is far easier to obtain favors by an humble and modest behaviour than by sullenness and a boasting manner (Gen. xxiii. 7 sqq.)."

Vers. 9-14. 1. Our book is distinguished by showing us the greatest and most surprising changes of fortune of opposite character in a very small compass. Esther and Mordecai, after having the most pleasing prospects held out to them, are plunged in the greatest distress: indeed they are seized with the terrors of death, and fast in sackcloth and ashes. Then again they are lifted up to the highest pinnacle of human fortune. Haman, on the contrary, the most powerful favorite of Ahasuerus, can even think of exterminating a whole people in order to satisfy his desire for revenge. The king not only agrees to all that he undertakes, but the queen also distinguishes him before all other officers in the most flattering manner. This he himself regards as the very summit of his fortune and honor; and then his fall is so sudden and great, that he finds his end on the very accursed tree which but shortly before he caused to be erected for his mortal enemy. In this way our book strikingly illustrates the double truth, that, whomsoever the Lord would raise especially high, He often humbles very low; and, on the other hand, he whom He would suddenly overthrow, is often raised to great heights. In other words, it shows us in what wonderful ways the Lord leads His own children, as well as godless sinners. But it also gives a very definite reason why the one receives such exalted station and the other such great degradation. We must not therefore think of God in an anthropopathic, *i. e.*, unholy manner, nor must we speak of "a freak of fortune." The process of humbling brings forth quite a different result in the pious person than does elevation in an ungodly one. The humiliation of Mordecai causes him to enter upon most severe and long-continued exertion, instead of remaining in a state of inactivity and reserve. He begins to exert himself in a most persistent manner to do all in his power for the deliverance of his people, without regard to his own personal cost or comfort. He even puts at stake the welfare of his beloved Esther, for the good of all the people. He prevails upon Esther, and she is willing to endeavor to save her people, even at the risk of her own life. By means of their humiliation they both were elevated to a grand height of purpose, which they had not before known. But the matter chiefly interesting is, that they submit to this humbling process. This is shown by their fast. They become conscious that in them are many things that provoke the displeasure of God, and thus they are purified by means of their sorrows. There was doubtless not wanting in them the proverbial Jewish stiff-neckedness; and this had first to be broken, before they became fitted for the good days coming, especially in manifesting humility, gratitude, and condescension towards others. Haman, on the contrary, as soon as he came from the banquet with Esther, gathers his friends and wife, boasting of his glorious riches, and the multitude of his sons, and his exalted dignity and honor, not in order to bring a thank-offering to his God, but only to impress upon them, to what recognition and distinctions of honor he can lay claim. The first and great mistake of the wicked is that all which they have accomplished and gained becomes a source of self-exaltation; the result is, that instead of finding their success more than great enough, they still find fault, indeed regard it as worthless, as nothing, so long as they have not yet attained the one thing, which now appears to them as chief. The effect is not that they reflect and become conscious of their internal want, but they accuse those circumstances that bring the want. Hence their third and most desperate mistake is, that they conceive the resolution, or are moved thereto by others, that, whatever be in their way, let it cost what it may, be it even an outrageous deed, they will remove it, so only they reach the longed-for object. If the antecedent humiliation is the proper beginning for the elevation of the pious, then the preceding elevation is already a beginning of divine judgment for the wicked. The words: "When thou dost humble me, thou dost make me great" (Ps. xviii. 36), which in the original reads: "Thy gentleness (condescension) hath made me great," has its truth well expressed in Luther's translation; and in so far he correctly interprets the text, since God condescends or humbles Himself only to those that are humbled. But the other: "Surely thou didst set them in slippery places" (namely the wicked), must mean that by simply permitting the success of their plans and their prosperity, the Lord places the feet of the wicked on ground which will turn to water under their feet (comp. Job xx. 16).

BRENZ: "Remark in Haman the stupendous and wonderful judgment of God. For the impious Haman is most exultant and fearless as regards the preservation and augmentation of his dignity and power; and he is most certain also of the destruction of Mordecai, whom he prosecutes with hatred. But behold now the end of the thing. The impious and secure Haman shall perish with sudden destruction; while the pious and afflicted Mordecai is unexpectedly

raised to the highest dignity. . . . Let us therefore cast away all impious security, and fear God; so that, walking according to the calling of God, you may be preserved though the sky fall and the earth be moved."

FEUARDENT (from Rupert, *De victoria verbi*, VIII., 18): "'In order that he may give over a huge wild beast, as a fierce bear, to destruction, he first draws him to his food; so that he may no sooner hear the report, than feel the pang; no sooner see the pit, than fall into it. The cautious hunter well knows that it is more convenient to overpower the entrapped beast, than to overtake it by a doubtful chase with the dogs when frightened and running through the woods. These things are evidently to be regarded as not merely a part of the prudence of Esther, but much more of Divine Providence, which directed the prudence of the queen.'—Surely Haman errs in that boasting, since he neither recognises God as the author and bestower of so many good things, nor gives Him thanks without contumely and the mark of a most ungrateful mind. . . . What could be more effeminate and miserable than such a spirit? Does he not seem like another Tantalus, catching at the streams that flee his lips? . . . So they who have not peace toward God and love toward their neighbor, cannot even have them toward themselves. 'Peace to those who are near and to those that are afar off,' says the Lord; 'but the wicked are like the troubled sea, that cannot rest, whose waves cast up mire and dirt' (Isa. lvii. 20). . . . Observe finally how false and vain is the confidence of impious and cruel men, who seek and hope to oppress and utterly destroy the servants of God. It is themselves that perish by the just judgment of God, and they are often caught by the very snares they lay for others; while God rescues His servants, and magnificently vindicates them. Goliath and Holofernes are slain with their own sword, and the saints triumph with their heads. The Babylonian satraps seemed to themselves secure, when the flames and the lions were about to devour Daniel and his companions; but the latter were gloriously preserved, and the former ignominiously perished by their own artifices and instruments. Pharaoh boasted, 'I will overtake (the Hebrews), I will divide the spoil' (Exod. xv. 9); but he immediately became food for the fishes, and a prey for the servants of the Lord. 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are foolishness.' 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh at them.' These are the effects of that judgment of which the Holy Spirit speaks by the prophets: 'Evil-doers shall be cut off; but those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth' (Ps. xxxvii. 9). Let us therefore cast away impious security, contempt of God, and inhumanity towards others; but let us walk in the love and fear of the Lord, that at length we may come to His heavenly kingdom."

2. The previous chapter has shown of what exertions and self-denial Mordecai and Esther were capable in their conflict with Haman, since the salvation of their people was at stake; the present chapter shows us the extent of the evil mind of Haman, since he was only concerned for himself. It was not enough for him to have procured an edict commanding the universal destruction of the Jews. It seemed too long a time before this should be accomplished. Neither in his eyes should Mordecai perish in the manner of the rest of the Jews. He made it a point not only to destroy Mordecai, but to expose him to public shame. So instead of abiding by the lot, the voice of his divinity, which had imposed patience on him, he took counsel with his wife and friends. Thus he reached a point in his madness of impatience and insecurity which in itself is the best proof that such a one is not far from self-destruction.

STARKE: "An envious man cannot peacefully enjoy the benefits which God gives him. Go not after thine lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites (Sir. xviii. 30).—It is very grievous of wives to urge their husbands to do wickedly (1 Kings xxi. 7; Sir. xxviii. 15, 16).—He who digs a pit for others will fall in himself (Sir. xxv. 11, 20).—We must not of ourselves revenge ourselves on our enemy, but first bring him before the proper tribunal (Rom. xii. 19).—When the wicked are busy to remove from their path what will mar their earthly joy, then, on the other hand, the godly should be diligent to remove that which will embitter their spiritual and heavenly joy."

# PART SECOND.

## THE DANGER REMOVED.

CHAPS. VI.—X.

## FIRST SECTION.

### The Fall of Haman.

CHAPS. VI. VII.

### A.—HAMAN, EXPECTING THE HIGHEST HONOR, IS BROUGHT LOW. HE MUST GIVE THE HIGHEST HONOR TO MORDECAI.

CHAPTER VI. 1–14.

I. *Ahasuerus is reminded of Mordecai's former meritorious act and desires to know what reward has been given him.* Vers. 1–5.

1 ON that night could not the king sleep [*the* sleep of the king fled]; and he com-
manded [said] to bring *the* book of records [memorials] of *the* Chronicles [words of
2 the days]: and they were read[1] before the king. And it was found written, that
Mordecai *had* told of [upon] Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains
[eunuchs], *the* keepers of the door [threshold], who sought to lay hand on the king
3 Ahasuerus. And the king said, What honour and dignity [greatness] hath been
done to Mordecai for [upon] this? Then [And] said the king's servants [young
men] that ministered unto him [his attendants], *There* is nothing [has not *a* word
4 been] done for [with] him. And the king said, Who *is* in the court? (Now [And]
Haman was [*had*] come *into* the outward court of the king's house, to speak [say]
unto the king to hang Mordecai on the gallows [tree] that he had prepared for him).
5 And the king's servants [young men] said unto him, Behold, Haman standeth [*is*
standing] in the court. And the king said, Let him come *in*.

II. *Haman describes the mode of honoring a deserving man, and Ahasuerus commands him to bestow such on Mordecai.* Vers. 6–11.

6 So [And] Haman came *in*. And the king said unto him, What shall be done
[*is there* to do] unto [in *the case of*] the man whom the king delighteth to honour
[in whose honour the king delighteth]? (Now [And] Haman thought [said] in his
7 heart, to whom would the king delight to do honour more than to myself?). And
Haman answered [said to] the king, *For the* man whom the king delighteth to ho-
8 nour [in whose honour the king delighteth], Let the royal apparel be brought [let
them bring, *etc.*] which the king *useth* to wear [*with* which the king has clothed
*himself*], and *the* horse that the king rideth [has ridden] upon, and the crown-royal
9 which is set upon his head: And let this [the] apparel and [the] horse be delivered
to [given upon] the hand of one [*a* man] of the king's *most* noble princes,[2] that they
may array [and let them apparel] the man *withal* whom the king delighteth to ho-
nour [in whose honour the king delighteth], and bring him on horseback [cause
him to ride on the horses] through [in] *the* street [wide *place*] of the city, and pro-
claim [let them call] before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king
10 delighteth to honour [in whose honour the king delighteth]. Then [And] the king
said to Haman, Make haste, *and* take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said

[spoken], and do *even* so to Mordecai the Jew that sitteth [the *one* sitting] at [in]
the king's gate: let nothing fail [not *a* word fall] of all that thou hast spoken.
11 Then [And] took Haman the apparel, and the horse, and arrayed [apparelled]
Mordecai, and brought him on horseback [caused him to ride] through [in] *the*
street [wide *place*] of the city, and proclaimed [called] before him, Thus shall it be
done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour [in whose honour the king
delighteth].

III. *The vexation of Haman is only increased through the evil prophecy of his friends.* Vers. 12–14.

12 And Mordecai came again [returned] to the king's gate: but [and] Haman
hasted [urged himself] to his house mourning, and having his head covered [veiled
13 *as to the* head]. And Haman told [recounted to] Zeresh his wife and all his friends
[lovers] every *thing* that *had* befallen him. Then [And] said his wise *men* and
Zeresh his wife unto him, If Mordecai *be* of *the* seed of the Jews, before whom thou
hast begun to fall, thou shalt not prevail against [be able to] him, but [for thou]
14 shalt surely fall before him. *And while* they *were* yet talking with him [and, *i. e.*,
then] the king's chamberlains [eunuchs] came [approached], and hasted to bring
Haman unto the banquet that Esther had prepared [made].

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [The original is very explicit, וַיִּהְיוּ נִקְרָאִים, "and *these* were *in the act of* being called *over*."—Tr.]

[2] ["The princes, the Parthemim," a term apparently of special distinction.—Tr.]

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–5. As in the former chapter the danger for Mordecai rose to the highest point, and we may expect nothing more than that both opponents, if left to themselves, should destroy each other on the following morning, even before the careful Esther has as yet accomplished her mission, we now perceive how timely is the occurrence of an event in the intervening night, which not only prevents Esther's intercession for Mordecai from being too late, but also brings about the beginning of the downfall of Haman. The author ascribes this occurrence to the troubled sleep of Ahasuerus. Thus any who merely take a superficial view of things might ascribe it to chance. But to judge from what we have already seen, it is certainly not opposed to his view, that the second Targum in all things transpiring takes God into account, and represents things as if the angel of God's mercy were well informed of the lamentations of the daughters of Israel, and at God's command had disturbed the sleep of Ahasuerus.

Ver. 1. **On that night could not the king sleep**—but not because the issued edict against the Jews had caused him unrest. In consequence **he commanded to bring the book of records of the Chronicles**, in which, according to chap. ii. 23, Mordecai's deed was inscribed. He caused it to be read, not in order to find out whether the Jews had really deserved their extermination. This would have been worthy of a better king, but it is opposed by the facts in ver. 10 and chap. iii. 15, and also chap. vii. 5. His object was simply to entertain himself with the records of the past. Still it is remarkable that just that point, treating of Mordecai's act, should have been read. On any other than a providential view, one would be inclined to think that he had commanded first of all to read those passages referring to the Jews.* The use of the participle וַיִּהְיוּ נִקְרָאִים signifies that the reading lasted for some time, perhaps extended through the night. Hence we may not be astonished that when the passage referred to came to be read, Haman already waited in the outer court.

Vers. 2, 3. The name *Bigthana* reads *Bigthan* in chap. ii. 21. The question of the king: **what honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this?** means, What honor and reward has been assigned him? עַל־זֶה, because of this report. עָשָׂה with עִם means: *to apportion*, to requite, (comp. 2 Sam. ii. 6; iii. 8 *et al.*).†

Ver. 4. The question: **who is in the court?** means, what officer is now present? The king desired to consult with him as to what distinction would be appropriate to Mordecai. It seems that those desiring to be admitted to the king's presence had to wait in the outer court. With reference to the king's intention to distinguish Mordecai, comp. Brisson *De reg. Pers. princ.* I., c. 185.

Ver. 5. Even though other officers were there already, still Haman stood first in choice.‡

* ["There is reason to think that the Persian kings were, in most cases, unable to read. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV., p. 16). Hence documents, which they wanted to consult, were read to them." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["It was a settled principle of the Persian government that 'Royal Benefactors' were to receive an adequate reward. The names of such persons were placed on a special roll (Herod. VIII. 85), and great care was taken that they should be properly recommended. (See Herod. III. 140; V. 11; VIII. 85; Thucyd. I. 138; Xenoph. *Hel.* III. 1 and 6, *etc.*). It is a mistake, however, to suppose (Davidson) that they were always rewarded *at once*. Themistocles was inscribed on the list in B. C. 480, but did not obtain a reward till B. C. 465. Other 'benefactors' waited for months (Herod. V. 11), or perhaps years (*ib.* IX. 107) before they were recompensed. Sometimes a 'benefactor' seems to have received no reward at all (*ib.* III. 138)." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

‡ ["He was waiting in the outer court, till it should be

Doubtless he was the most acceptable to the king. יָבֹא is a short order: "Let him come in," namely into the house of the king.

Vers. 6-11. Convinced that he only could be the man whom the king delighted to honor, Haman at once designates the very highest honor, and is immediately commanded to award it to Mordecai. Our author very strikingly portrays how Haman, in the very moment in which he expected to receive the highest distinction for himself, was most effectually and painfully brought low; and that his opponent, whom he hoped to destroy, was elevated to the highest place of honor. Both of these things, too—and this adds an additional charm to the whole—were brought about by Haman himself, by his own expressed judgment, indeed by his own hand.

Ver. 6. When the king had asked the question, Haman thought within himself (אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ), **to whom would the king delight to do honor more than to myself?**—יוֹתֵר מִמֶּנִּי, *going beyond me*, more than myself. יוֹתֵר occurs in this form only in a later period (comp. Eccl. xii. 12, 9; also chap. ii. 15; vii. 11, 16).

Ver. 7. Haman was quickly prepared to give answer, and without any difficulty called up one distinction of honor after another. The sentence: **For the man whom the king delighteth to honor**, is placed in advance as being a theme brought up by the king and pleasant for his own ears to hear. We can replace it with the Nomin. Abs. in this way: As regards the man, *etc.* Thereafter he adds honor upon honor that should be bestowed on such a one, and seems hardly to know where to stop. But his aim is that the king should thereby designate this man to be thus honored as his second or other self, which in view of the divine dignity of the Persian kings, implied a great deal.

Ver. 8. **Let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear.**—The constr. of לָבַשׁ with בְּ occurs only here and in the Arabic; in other places לָבַשׁ is followed by the accus., or by עַל with a distinct part of the body. The garment is not to be one such as the king is accustomed to wear, but as the perfect tense fully shows, one which he has worn. Hence it is not to be a common apparel for a special occasion, or the so-called Median dress, which the king himself wore, as also those distinguished by him, especially his princes (comp. Herod. III. 84; VII. 116; Xenophon's *Cyrop.* VIII. 3, 1 as also Bähr's annotation on Herod. III. 84); but it was a costly garment, whose value was much enhanced by the fact that the king had worn it. It is not expressly related that, the king gave as a present his own garments as a mark of honor, at least not by the Grecian authors. Plutarch, however, relates (in his *Artax.* 24), that Tiribazus had asked of the king that he put off his royal apparel and present it to him (Tiribazus, and doubtless as a mark of honor); but that the king had presented him with it, yet forbade him to wear it.* It is therefore to be remarked that those things which were used by the king, and which he had directly touched, especially his garments, were through him sanctified. A courtier even called the table sacred, from which Darius Codomannus had eaten, and wept when he saw Alexander the Great place his feet upon it. The steed upon which the king had ridden wore a crown, and was thereby designated as royal and sacred. נִתַּן can only be tertia præt. Niph., not prima Plur. Imperf. Kal, as in Judg. xvi. 5. אֲשֶׁר בְּרֹאשׁוֹ does not have reference to the head of a man, as if one could with Le Clerc, Rambach and others translate: "that the royal crown was placed on his head" (to this is opposed the præter נִתַּן, instead of which the Imperf. should have been chosen); but it rather means: upon the head of the horse. That the royal riding horse was thus crowned is also not expressly stated, still it is not improbable, since, according to Xenoph., *Cyrop.* I. 3, 3; viii. 3, 16, to him belonged a golden harness. Besides all this there is seen on Assyrian and Old Persian monuments, not so distinct on the latter, horses of the king, and perhaps also of princes, that wear an ornament on their heads terminating in three points, which can easily be taken for a crown.†

Ver. 9. **And let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes,** *etc.*—נָתוֹן, the infinitive, is the supplement of the optative יָבִיאוּ (comp. chap. ii. 3). *Delivered to the hand of, i. e.*, given over to, given up to. As regards הַפַּרְתְּמִים, comp. chap. i. 3. The place רְחוֹב הָעִיר, upon which the man to be honored should ride up and down, must, according to chap. iv. 6, have been before the king's gate and palace, and therefore a public thoroughfare. According to Gen. xli. 43, a similar honor was bestowed upon Joseph.

Vers. 10, 11. The king perfectly agreed to the proposition of Haman at once—and this must no doubt surprise the reader; he orders this designated honor to be shown to Mordecai. That Mordecai was a Jew and accustomed to sit in the king's gate could be well known to him from the records of the chronicle of the empire, or from the courtiers, who read the history to him, and who had doubtless also given him still

announced that the king was ready to grant audiences." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* ["The honors here proposed have been thought 'excessive,' and certainly they are such as Persian monarchs rarely allowed to subjects. Each act would have been a capital offence if done without permission. Still there is nothing contrary to Oriental notions in their being done under sufferance." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["The meaning of this clause is doubtful. Either it may be translated, 'and on whose head a royal crown is set,' the reference being to the horse, which conceivably might bear an ornament like a crown on its crest; or, 'and that a royal crown be set upon his head,' the reference being to the man, and the suggestion being not to deprive the king of his own diadem, but to place on the head of the person about to be honored a crown similar in general character to the royal one. (Compare chap. i. 11). The grammatical construction is in favor of the former rendering; but we have in evidence that Persian horses even wore crowns on their heads."—RAWLINSON. We may add that the latter idea is too fantastic for even Oriental taste.—TR.]

other information respecting Mordecai.* It is very remarkable that the king did not here remember, or at least overlooked the fact that he had decreed the destruction of the Jews, and had even given them over to Haman; but this is not entirely inexplicable, as may be seen from his usual mode of doing things.—**Let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken**, *i. e.*, omit nothing of all these things (comp. Josh. xxi. 45; Judg. ii. 19).

Vers. 12–14. While Mordecai returns, loaded with honors, to his usual place of station, the gate of the king,† Haman, with covered head and sorrowful heart, hastens home to his friends and wife only to hear the discouraging prophecy that the unfortunate occurrence will be the beginning of his end. To cover the head was a sign of deep shame and distress (comp. 2 Sam. xv. 30; Jer. xiv. 4).‡ His friends are now called *wise men*, at least some of them, because they undertook to forecast his future. Perhaps there were among them some magicians, who, according to Cicero, *Divin.* I. 23, were a nation of wise and learned men. They very wisely concluded: **If Mordecai be of the seed of the Jews, then לֹא תוּכַל לוֹ, thou shalt not prevail against him**; then shalt not thou be the conqueror, but he (comp. Gen. xxxii. 26, נָפוֹל תִּפּוֹל), either thou wilt entirely, or at least surely fail. It may be asked, how did they arrive at such a conclusion? If they only attributed enmity on the part of Mordecai, then they needed only to recall the edict against the Jews and published by Haman. But they also attribute a superior power to him, because he is a Jew. Hence they must base themselves on something else. Most interpreters, among them also Bertheau and Keil, think that although these friends had before counselled Haman to have Mordecai, the unfortunate Jew, hung, yet now when he had become a highly honored person on the part of the king, and this too, as it were, through a miracle, the truth impresses itself upon them that the Jews must be under the especial divine protection. And indeed we find far more indicated here than a fear of the shrewdness and energy of the Jews. The fact that the Jews still existed in spite of all afflictions which they had endured must have impressed many with the conviction that there was a higher power assisting and caring for them. But these persons are more concerned now to appear very wise. Hence they act as if they had not known that Mordecai was a Jew, although Haman, in chap. v. 15, had expressly so stated.

* ["There is nothing strange in the king's knowing the nationality and position of Mordecai. His nationality would probably have been noted in the book of the chronicles; and, when told that nothing had been done for him (ver. 3), the king would naturally have asked his position." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["It is quite consonant with Oriental notions that Mordecai, after receiving the extraordinary honors assigned him, should return to the palace and resume his former humble employment. Ahasuerus regarding him as sufficiently rewarded, and not yet intending to do any thing more for him." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

‡ [It was also "through shame probably; not wishing any of his acquaintance to accost him." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

Ver. 14. In order that the narrative may make a very strong impression, there must now follow blow upon blow in quick succession. Hardly had the prophecy been uttered before its fulfillment begins. Accordingly the eunuchs of the king arrive, who press Haman to come to the banquet of the king.

### DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

Ver. 1 sq. 1. Mordecai, according to chap. iv. 14, was convinced that if Esther would not undertake the rescue of her people, there would be found other means and ways. He had placed his trust less in her than in the general providence which watched over him. Now it is seen that though Esther had become willing to intercede, he was correct in his position. Even before Esther had ventured to express her request for her people, Mordecai himself was threatened with destruction; and before he could do anything to avert, or was even acquainted with his danger, it was already removed. It seems to have been a very insignificant means of which Providence availed itself for his protection. But it was one which, because it clearly lay above human co-operation, very definitely revealed the higher activity in his behalf: it was the sleeplessness of Ahasuerus. When the Lord is desirous of protecting or saving His people, something must serve Him of which men least thought before. Nothing is either too great or too small for Him.

Brenz: "This is as it is written in the Psalm: 'He suffered no man to do them wrong; nay, He rebuked even kings for their sake.' For the pious are so great a care to God, that in order to preserve them He does not even spare kings, but brings upon them various calamities."

Feuardent: "Let every one bear in mind day and night that pious proposition of Augustine concerning the solicitude of God for His saints (*Conf.* iii. 11): 'So day and night dost Thou watch for my safe-guard as if, forgetful of Thy whole creation in heaven and earth, Thou consideredst me alone, and hadst no care for others.'"

*Berl. Bible:* "O Lord, it is good to trust in Thee in the expectation of Thy help! Thou dost continually watch over the souls left in Thy care. And though Thou dost even wait until things have come to extremities, in order to cause the greater exercise of faith, so that none may despair of Thy assistance, still at the right time Thou art ever ready to help.—What indeed is more natural than that a king cannot sleep, and that he should wish something read to him? It is this altogether natural, yet wonderful leading, which causes the hearts of those who experience it to rejoice! To all other hearts this is dark. This wise, divine Providence is still unknown to those who only live in and for themselves."

2. It does not appear that Ahasuerus had a restless night because he had grievous thoughts regarding the edict of destruction against the entire Jewish peeple. We find that he is far too careless, much too indifferent and superficial, for such a state of mind (comp. chap. iii. 15; vii. 5). Still we would have naturally expected

it, and it would have been well for him if it had been so. Had he been concerned about the great number of subjects that would thus be murdered, it would not have been necessary for him first to be reminded of the fact, through the reading of the history of his reign, that he had once been in danger of being murdered himself. He would have spontaneously remembered that only a Mordecai saved him from his fate of destruction. It would have been quite just that he, while robbing so many of their rest and sleep, whom he had destined to a doom of death, should be sleepless not one, but many nights. Would that every one whose eyes cannot find sleep at night might ask whether he had at any time or in any manner done wrong, which he should be in haste to set right; or whether he does not still owe thanks for some benefit received! Would that all those who must be awake at night were clearly conscious of the fact that there is Another who is also awake, and that He it is who imposes upon us this sleeplessness! Only when we look up to Him can we find true rest (comp. Ps. cxix. 55).

8. It was soon after the marriage of Ahasuerus with Esther that Mordecai discovered and reported the conspiracy. Hence it was now over five years that this meritorious deed had been recorded, but not yet rewarded. Instead of reward, he was threatened with destruction. Those who are diligent for the welfare of others must often give up the hope of receiving their well-merited reward, even at the present day. What is more sorrowful still is the fact that one is often inclined to impugn both their motives and their work, as if they had not designed it or exerted themselves to effect it. Mordecai's history may be very instructive and comforting to such. Ahasuerus too may here again as elsewhere remind us of a faithful watchman, who, however it may go with him, never sleeps nor slumbers. The works of the good are not only recorded on earth, where they are often and easily forgotten, but they are above all recorded in heaven. It is because God saves men by His grace that He will render unto all according to their work—to those not obedient to the truth, but obeying unrighteousness, displeasure and wrath; and to the others according to their patience in good works, glory and honor (Rom. ii. 7). The seed that they have scattered, if it was good, is indestructible, and cannot be lost; and when the time comes, God will bring it to maturity, so that it may bear abundant fruit either to the sowers or to others (comp. Gal. vi. 9).

Brenz: "Although men are unmindful of benefits received, and, as Pindar says, old thanks sleep, still our Lord God is never forgetful." When God's time for reward has come, then even the zeal of enemies must assist Him, as we have seen in our history of Haman. However watchful and diligent our enemies may be in order to utterly destroy the pious, yet all their acts and labor form only the ground of the scene, which by the help of God is made to serve in perfecting the web of His leadings.—Brenz: "This is the right hand of the Most High which brings it to pass that those good things occur to the pious which the wicked hope for; and to the ungodly there come those evils which they have prepared for the godly." For the wicked are only the bearers of that power which is ever desirous of evil, and yet ever produces good.

Feuardent: "In Haman thou perceivest how blind and erring is the temper of every ambitious man. He admires and regards only himself; he fancies himself worthy of all honor and reverence, and thinks that all things are due to him. He despises all others as obscure, abject and vile. It is well, however, that there is a God in heaven who laughs to scorn, contemns, judges and hurls down the proud from their seats, but glorifies the humble: so that all may learn to be wise concerning themselves, and to be content with moderate fortune. . . . . Let all the pious therefore take courage, nor ever fail or despair of divine help on account of the rage and greatest power or violence of tyrants. For Christ still lives; He reigns, and will forever reign; and He puts all His enemies under His feet."

Starke: "Princes should have diligent care that none who have deserved well of the State or of themselves are left to go unrewarded (Gen. xli. 42; Dan. ii. 48). God knows our acts of kindness; and though we may regard them as lost or ignored, yet He can bring them to the light at the proper time to receive even a greater reward than if they had been immediately rewarded (Gen. xli. 12 sq., 39 sqq.)."

Ver. 6 sq. Feuardent: "Diligently weigh the change of the right hand of the Most High. Haman had come into the court in order that by authority of the king he might destroy Mordecai by an ignominious death. Him, however, he is compelled to exhibit and proclaim to all in royal magnificence. He had come for the purpose of raising him aloft fastened upon a very high cross with the utmost shame. But on the contrary he is compelled to adorn this very man with regal splendors, to set him on the king's horse, and to herald him publicly as the monarch's most dear and honored friend. He had come with the design of bringing a capital charge against him; and he has the task of decorating his head with the royal diadem."

It seems to us to be like a divine irony in the destiny of Haman that he is himself compelled to assign the highest distinction to his mortal enemy, and that the king instructs him to impart this honor with his own hands, thus making his downfall the more striking and lamentable. But in fact this same truth is plainly shown daily over the entire ungodly world. The world must ever concede honor and glory to those who have deserved well respecting the welfare of mankind; but it is by no means its heroes and divinities who can claim this merit, though they have been regarded as the men of glory from antiquity (Gen. xi. 4).* What the latter have accomplished has been deception, wars and vain labors. It is those whom the world regards least of all fit for their work that have done most for it. And whose will be all that the world

* According to Thiersch (*Ueber den christlichen Staat*, p. 209), Napoleon maintained that a prince who followed his conscience would be a good and noble governor, but not a great man.

has brought forth and fostered, and which it regards as great and beautiful? When the judgments of God shall have been consummated upon the world, lambs will pasture upon it as if upon *their own* pasture, and the waste places of the fat ones shall strangers eat (Isa. v. 17).

Vers. 12–14. 1. When Haman had bestowed the highest dignity on Mordecai, he hastened home, sad and with covered countenance. It is a bad sign that he knew nothing better to do in such an hour. Those are upon difficult paths who feel themselves humbled when they have been obliged to show deserved honor to others. Even in the estimation of the world it would have been far better if he had endeavored to change his enemy into a friend. And had he but reflected and correctly apprehended his present position, he would have recognized the warning voice of God, which endeavored in a firm, but yet kind tone to lead him in the way of his salvation. The final judgments of God are ever preceded by other heralds. They are indeed the announcement of the beginning of the revelations of the wrath of God; but they are also proofs of the long-suffering and love of God, which would, even in the eleventh hour lead to salvation. But it is a remarkable fact that when the worldly need their wisdom most, especially they who have usually been regarded as wise, just then they are utterly bereft of counsel; and hence their proud and stubborn hearts all at once become faint.

Feuardent: "In prosperity he is highly insolent and cruel; but in adversity he is so broken and dejected that he knows not which way to turn." But his counsellors are no better off than himself. Feuardent: "His friends do not console him, nor show him any plan for escaping his danger, which nevertheless was then the most needful help for Haman; but they throw him, just hesitating between hope and fear, into despair. 'Thou wilt surely fall in his sight,' say they. Had they admonished him indeed of his many and heinous sins toward God and His servants, of his duty of recognizing the inevitable judgment of God, of repentance, of reconciliation; then perchance it may have turned out better with him."—When our author permits these advisers to give expression of the superiority of the people of God, their words are much more to the point and weighty, as Feuardent says: "The power and efficacy of truth is so great that even its enemies and all the ungodly bear testimony to it. So the magicians of Pharaoh are compelled to explain: 'This is the finger of God;' and the Egyptians cry: 'Let us flee before Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them' (Ex. viii. 19; xix. 25)."

2. What Haman fears, and what is hinted at by his advisers, is the great truth that the Lord had laid a stone in Zion, upon which those falling upon it shall be broken. But it is just those that have placed themselves upon this stone, who are secure against all assaults by the world. And what the world daily and clearly demonstrates is the fact that it is not enough to recognize or apprehend the truth; but it is necessary also to give the heart a proper position with respect to it. Happy are they who need not fear, but who can console their hearts when the Lord says: "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee;" "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm" (Ps. cv. 15); "He who toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye" (Zech. ii. 8).

Starke: "Self-conceit, obstinacy and selfishness are three shameful and harmful evils that have plunged many into ruin (1 Tim. vi. 9). Wordly persons seek their highest good in external pomp and appearance (Ps. xlix. 12).—Self-love appropriates all things to itself, and concedes nothing to its neighbor.—Men seek perishable honor; would that they strove diligently after the imperishable honor and glory of heaven!—The manner of wicked advisers is, when the haughty fare too well, to goad them on to vindictiveness; but if something unforeseen checks them, they drive them to despair.—God is the same always; He can bring it about that neither earth nor hell can prevail against us.—The wicked are nearest destruction when they deem themselves farthest from it (Ps. lxxiii. 7, 18, 19)."

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## B.—ON THE VERY GALLOWS CAUSED TO BE ERECTED FOR MORDECAI, HAMAN, ACCUSED BY ESTHER, IS HIMSELF HUNG.

### Chapter VII. 1–10.

I. *Esther pleads for her People, and accuses Haman.* Vers. 1–6.

1 So [And] the king and Haman came to banquet [drink] with Esther the queen.
2 And the king said again [also] unto Esther, on the second day, at *the* banquet
[feast] of wine, What *is* thy petition, queen Esther? [*ask*,] and it shall be granted
[given to] thee: and what *is* thy request? and it shall be performed, *even* to *the*
3 half of the kingdom [*ask* to *the* half of the kingdom, and it shall be done]. Then

[And] Esther the queen answered and said, If I have found favor in thy sight
[eyes], O king, and if *it* please [*be* good upon] the king, let my life [soul] be given
4 me at my petition, and my people at my request: For we are sold, I and my peo-
ple, to be destroyed [*for one* to destroy], to *be* slain [to smite], and to perish [cause
to perish]: but if [and provided] we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen,
I had held my tongue [hushed], although [for] the enemy [adversary] could not
5 countervail [*is* not equalling] the king's damage. Then [And] the king Ahasu-
erus answered [said],[1] and said unto Esther the queen, Who is he [*is* he this], and
where is he [*is* this he][2], that durst presume in his heart [whose heart has filled
6 him] to do so? And Esther said, *The* [a man][3] adversary and enemy *is* this
wicked Haman.[4] Then [And] Haman was afraid [terrified] before the king and
the queen.

II. *Ahasuerus, extremely enraged, causes the Death of Haman.* Vers. 7–10.

7 And the king, arising [arose] from *the* banquet of wine in his wrath, *went* into
the palace-garden: and Haman stood *up* to make request for his life [soul] to
[from] Esther the queen; for he saw that *there* was evil determined [finished]
8 against him by [from with] the king. Then [And] the king returned out of the
palace-garden into the place of the banquet [feast] of wine; and Haman *was* fallen
[falling] upon the bed whereon Esther *was*. Then said the king, Will *he* [*Is it* to]
force the queen also before [with] me in the house? *As* the word went out of the
9 king's mouth, [and] they covered Haman's face. And Harbonah, one of the
chamberlains [eunuchs], said before the king, Behold also, the gallows [tree] fifty
cubits high,[5] which Haman *had* made for Mordecai, who had spoken [spoke] good
for [upon] the king standeth in *the* house of Haman. Then [And] the king
10 said, Hang him thereon. So [And] they hanged Haman on the gallows [tree]
that he *had* prepared for Mordecai. Then [And] *was* the king's wrath pacified
[subsided].

### TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] [Ver. 5. The Chaldaizing influence upon the language is evident in this vague repetition of the verb אמר, which eventually led to its use in the sense of commanding.—Tr.]

[2] [Ver. 5. The pron. הוא here very nearly approaches a copula.—Tr.]

[3] [Ver. 6. איש here is more than the ordinary apposition of class; it is almost a demonstrative like *iste*.—Tr.]

[4] [Ver. 6. The original is very intense: *Haman, this bad man*. Doubtless her finger pointed to him.—Tr.]

[5] [Ver. 9. The position of this clause in the original is more striking, being at the end of the sentence.—Tr.]

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Vers. 1–6. What here follows seems a thing to be expected as a matter of course, yet the manner of its occurrence, particularly the rapidity with which events succeed each other, as well as their magnitude and importance, imparts a certain charm to the narrative. Esther now steps unreservedly forward at the banquet that she has prepared and to which she has invited Haman (in chap. vi. 14), and boldly presents her accusation and request. The king is quite prepared to give a correct decision in the case.

Ver. 1. **So the king and Haman came to banquet with Esther the queen.**—לִשְׁתּוֹת stands for: *in order to participate in the* מִשְׁתֶּה. The drinking after the feast, מִשְׁתֵּה הַיַּיִן (comp. chap. v. 6) was probably regarded as the chief matter at the time. But Esther petitioned (ver. 3): **let my life be given at my petition, and my people at my request.**—The בְּ is the so-called בְּ *pretii*, "about," "for." Her petition is seemingly the ransom which she proffers: "my people" means in short: *for the life of my people*. She bases her petition in ver. 4 on the words: **For we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed,** *etc.*—She has all the more occasion for the expression נִמְכַּרְנוּ, since she and her people were left to the mercy of Haman for the sum of money he had promised the king if the Jews should be destroyed (chap. iii. 9; iv. 7). לְהַשְׁמִיד and the following active infinitives are clearly substitutes for the passive form, precisely as in the royal order (chap. iii. 13).* She also adds, however: **But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my tongue, although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage,** and she thereby indicates that it concerns not only her own, but also the king's interest. אִלּוּ, contracted from אִלּוּלֵי, as in Eccl. vi. 6, also common in the Aramaic language,

* ["Esther here quotes the exact words of the edict issued for the destruction of the Jews. Thus the king would not fail to understand her, and to learn for the first time that his favorite was a Jewess." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

introduces an event in a hypothetical manner as being more desirable, and is followed by the perfect, if instead another event than the one anticipated has occurred. In the next sentence usually the perfect follows with ו *consec.* Here, however, the ו is absent because Esther does not desire to say what she would do, but what she would have done: "I had held my tongue, although," *etc.* The sentence: כִּי אֵין הַצָּר שֹׁוֶה, means according to R. Sal. ben-Melech and Rambach: The enemy can by no means equal, compensate or make good by his money the loss which the king suffers by our destruction Similar also are the views of Clericus and others, who suggest an intermediate thought enlarging the meaning, such as: "But I dare not be silent." Though even such an addition were in itself not doubtful, still שָׁוָה in the Kal, with בְּ, does not mean *compensare* (to compensate), but to be equal to, or to be worth as much as some other thing (comp. Prov. iii. 15; viii. 11). The assumption of Gesenius, that the expression: "The enemy is not equal to the damage to the king," is only another form of sentence for: "The enemy cannot make good the damage to the king," is very improbable. Hence Bertheau and Keil interpret it: "The enemy is not worthy of the king's damage," *i. e.* is not of sufficient account that I should grieve or distract the king. They insist that נֵזֶק does not only mean *pecuniary loss,* as is commonly assumed from Ezra iv. 13, 22, but according to the Targums means also *bodily harm* (comp. Targ. Ps. xci. 7; Gen. xxvi. 11; 1 Chron. xvi. 22). Still the thought thus gained is not quite satisfactory. It would have mattered little, not whether Haman, but whether the Jews were worthy of the king's displeasure. Certain it is that Esther expressed herself in very brief words, and such as implied more. Perhaps we may enlarge their sense thus: I would have held my tongue; for the punishment of the enemy is not worthy of, is less important than the averting of the damage which the king will suffer, now that the Jews are ordered to be destroyed; but this he would not have suffered if they had been sold as slaves, and hence had realized a large sum. In this way the chief thought is made to be the loss which the king would sustain if a whole people were destroyed; and Esther's keeping out of sight her special concern about the destruction of the Jews, which would have been very shrewd in her under any circumstances, becomes particularly so in the present instance and before Ahasuerus. The ancient translators, it seems, were at a loss here, and hence offer us but little help.

Ver. 5 with its twice-repeated וַיֹּאמֶר: **Then the king Ahasuerus answered, and said unto Esther the queen,** by its solemn title: "The king to the queen," indicates the great importance of these words and of the moment. The king of the great empire here addressed her, who was a daughter of her people, but also the queen in this great realm. At the same time the twice-repeated: "he said," reveals the agitation of the king, to which also corresponds the double question: **Who and where is he?** אֲשֶׁר מְלָאוֹ לִבּוֹ: **that durst presume in his heart to do so.**—We might expect it to read: "Who had filled his heart," *viz.* with the thought to do so. But it is the heart from which proceed the thoughts, and which determines the rest of the man to conclusive purposes (Isaiah xliv. 20; Eccl. viii. 11; Matt. xv. 19).*

Ver. 6. Esther still hesitates to name Haman, but at last brings the predicate into prominence: **The adversary and enemy is this wicked Haman.**—She does not say: "The evil-disposed person," *viz.* of whom she is speaking, but without the article, אִישׁ צַר, in order to make as strikingly prominent as possible the conception of the man so inimical. Haman trembled; for נִבְעַת means more than that he was simply alarmed (comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 30; Dan. viii. 17, and בִּעוּתִים, Ps. lxxxviii. 17; Job vi. 4).

Vers. 7–10. Thereupon the king became at once terribly angry. Because of his agitation he went aside for a moment, but soon returned, and at once gave order for the execution of Haman. —**Into the palace-garden** (comp. chap. i. 5), which was the place to which he retired. This is strikingly expressed by קָם. He did this in order to recover from the first burst of anger, and to consider what was to be done with Haman. Haman remained standing **to make request of his life to Esther.**—עַל־נַפְשׁוֹ, properly, "because of his life" (בִּקֵּשׁ with עַל, as in chap. iv. 8), since he saw that on the part of the king there was no more hope for him if Esther would not intercede for him; strictly: **that evil was determined against him by the king.** *fully determined* (כָּלְתָה as in 1 Sam. xxv. 17; Ezra v. 13).

Ver. 8. **Was fallen,** *i. e.* had kneeled down (נֹפֵל as in Josh. vii. 10 and elsewhere) **upon the bed whereon Esther was** (sat), hence as a petitioner he fell at her feet.† The king, however, soon returned and said—since he could not control his anger, but now manifested it more terribly: **Will he force the queen also before me in the house?**—The infin. לִכְבּוֹשׁ is here placed, as if he were understood as asking a question. But it may also be made stronger (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 2, *etc.*), viz. to trample under foot, to subjugate. If the question had only been whether the queen could be forced sexually, then Ahasuerus could not have asked such a question so lightly. It would only have been an expression of his highest displeasure and wrath. If Esther were honest and just, she must of necessity have exonerated Haman from such an evil design. The whole situation of things makes such a foul purpose highly improbable, indeed impossible. Or perhaps Ahasuerus was only asking whether, if one would attain anything from the queen, it was

* ["Ahasuerus could not really have doubted; but he affects to doubt, that he may express his anger at the act, apart from all personal considerations." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["Like the Greeks and Romans, the Persians reclined at their meals on sofas or couches (Herod. ix. 80, 82; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* VIII. 8, 16, *etc.*"). RAWLINSON. —TR.]

necessary to make request with such force.* We can readily think that Esther sought to withdraw from Haman, but that he, as it were, forcibly detained her. The word of which it is now said: **As the word went out of the king's mouth, they covered Haman's face,** cannot mean the question that just preceded. Then it would be "*this* word;" but this is another word. We may consider that this word, possibly with a little addition, quite intelligible to the officers, was to them a command to take Haman out of his sight. The subject of חָפוּ is those whose duty it was to execute such commands, the servants of the king. The covering of the face was probably the beginning of the execution of the death-sentence (comp. Curtius vi. 8, 22: "They brought Philetas with covered head into the palace"). Even old interpreters, such as Brentius, Rickel, Feuardent, remind us of the sentence in Cicero *pro C. Rabirio* IV. 13: "Lictor, bind his hands, veil his head, hang him on the hapless tree."†

Ver. 9. In order that it might appear very strikingly what our history here would teach—that he who dug a pit for others, especially for pious Jews, shall fall into it himself; or yet more definitely that inimical heathendom shall perish by its own devices, it must be so ordered that one of the officers shall bring it about to have Haman hung upon the same gallows which he had caused to be erected for Mordecai. And in order to show how much hated this enemy of the Jews was, one of the king's officers must point out this very tree of death. This person was Harbonah, doubtless the one mentioned in chap. i. 10, one of the eunuchs of the king, *i. e.* of the higher officers who waited on the king. The word גַּם with which he begins: **Behold also, the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman had made for Mordecai,** *etc.*, may not imply that the other servants or even Harbonah himself had already brought accusations against Haman, and in addition would also reproach him with the erection of this gallows (Bertheau, Keil); but from Harbonah's view, it points out the most appropriate means at hand offered by the prepared gallows for the fate of Haman. This is more significant against Haman. In giving prominence to the fact that Mordecai was the one who spoke well of the king by revealing the plot against the king's life (comp. chap. ii. 22; vi. 2), he intimates that it was more fit for Haman to grace the gallows than the one for whom it was originally erected.

## DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

Vers. 1 sqq. 1. How very carefully Esther brings her petition before the king, even though the king for the second time has accepted her invitation! She waits until the king himself inquires into it anew, and until he has even obligated himself to her to the half of his kingdom; she so frames her speech that her more personal interest, which in the present instance would have been of paramount importance in the eyes of the king, is presented equally with, indeed in advance of, all others. She avoids at once opposing herself against Haman; and finally she seeks to take the king on his weak side by giving prominence to the fact that in the destruction of the Jews the king would sustain a great loss. It was to her still a question whether Ahasuerus would permit her to interfere in the business of government—indeed whether he would grant her a hearing while opposed to so powerful a rival. But she acted at last with fear and trembling—although she was assured of the best ally as being with her—not only Ahasuerus, but also God's love. Her petition, moreover, had the very best effect. Thus the Lord, who leads the hearts of men and of kings like streams of water, has His help prepared for us, when we in our little faith stand trembling; and often where we hardly dared hope or advance, He gives us the greatest success. All depends upon this, that our hesitation be not of unbelief, but that we have fears only from our own power, capability, or worthiness; and that we seek not so much to promote our own cause as rather God's, and ours through Him.

STARKE: "Trembling soul, if this heathen king is so trustworthy in his promises, then your heavenly King is far more faithful. The former promises only to give the half of his kingdom—but He to give you the whole kingdom (Luke xii. 32; xxii. 29). Truth may be crushed to the earth, but it dies not; it can be avoided or offended, yet it will finally come to light and triumph."

2. Haman, from the very outset, had moved toward the fulfilment of his wishes with the greatest assurance. Even after being inquired of by the king as to what should be done to the man whom the king would especially honor, he had answered with the greatest confidence. Doubtless he thought that, because of the friendship, or because of the weakness of the king, all things were for him permissible, and he hoped every thing for himself. Yet if he had but reflected, he must have acknowledged that this foundation was unsafe, and that it was easy for another to gain the favor of the king against himself. But this is the common curse of human self-confidence that it places us in a state of insecurity. He who has succeeded in gaining the favor of the great is very liable to think that now he will also easily govern the servants of his Lord.

3. Truly it is a distressing condition in which Haman finds himself at the table of Esther. Outwardly he receives the highest distinction and is made happy, but inwardly there already comes a painful presentiment of his downfall. He is indeed already bound by the cord that shall plunge him into destruction.

FEUARDENT: "But in all this the first notable thing is how far apart stand the judgments of the Almighty and those of this world, since those whom the world esteems most happy and fortunate are truly most unhappy and unfortunate before God. ..... Men, indeed, seeing only what

* ["Of course the king did not believe his own words. But he meant to tax Haman with a further offence in not sufficiently respecting the person of the queen; and he thereby suggested to the attendants his instant execution." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["The Macedonians and the Romans are known to have commonly muffled the heads of prisoners before executing them; but it is not mentioned elsewhere than here as a Persian custom." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

appears, and judging according to the outward semblance, would have boldly pronounced no man more fortunate than Haman. But in fact and in God's view, who sees the heart, he was of all men the most miserable. For he was inflated with ambition, he was hot with envy, he was bursting with hate, and went to the banquet in the most disturbed state of mind. There rankled in the bottom of his heart the thought of that fresh honor which he had lately been forced to confer upon his enemy; and he was moreover goaded to desperation by what his friends had told him to his face—that he himself, having once begun to fall before the Jew, would forever be his inferior, and that Mordecai would increase in glory and honor."

Haman, at the table of Esther, is but a picture of all wicked ones at the table of fortune. The change of circumstances now manifest, it is true, was unique, and seemed as if purposely selected for him.—FEUARDENT: "A little while ago all fell prostrate before Haman, but now he quails before a feeble woman. He who persecuted the Jews worse than a dog or a serpent, now becomes a suppliant to a Jewess. He who had procured a cruel slaughter for all the Hebrews is now anxious to save his own life. He who could not endure Mordecai now intercedes with his domestic." The old reverse substantially recurs: "At the feast he who was unwilling to afford a crumb of bread to Lazarus, asked to be cooled by the finger of Lazarus dipped in water." This change will be most striking when Christ shall lay all His enemies at His feet.

On ver. 8. 1. The only means left to Haman to be tried for his salvation evidently was that he should fall at the feet of Esther and implore her pardon. But it was just this which Ahasuerus, now returning from the garden, interpreted as a great crime, and so it filled the measure of his sin. When once the season of divine grace and forbearance allotted to sinners is closed, when punitive justice arises against them, then it seems as if they can undertake nothing but what will aggravate their case and hasten their own destruction. As Ahasuerus did in this case, so did all those who stood by the side of Haman and had given him their confidence. Now that he is so near his downfall, these are inclined to use every thing against the offender by which he might obtain deliverance. They know him too well to be ignorant of the tricks and deceptions of which he is capable. Petitions for pardon—and even repentance—is in such cases often thought to be only the repentance of Cain, affording no guarantee of genuine reform. Possibly these judges go too far in their sentence, but God's justice employs them as channels against the offenders.

FEUARDENT: "The king indeed is unjust in fixing this calumny upon Haman—but God is just who permits the righteous penalty to fall upon him for his lies and calumnies, inasmuch as he would have brought violence upon other virgins or matrons, and would have plunged the whole people of God into ruin. Accordingly it is written: "By what one sinneth, by that also shall he be punished;" and again: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again."

2. The question raised by ancient interpreters whether it was not the duty of Esther to exonerate Haman from the accusation by the king, and to second his request for pardon, can only be satisfactorily answered by making the proper distinction between the views of such points in the Old and in the New Testaments. Upon New Testament grounds, the answer would undoubtedly be in the affirmative. It is no greater offence than one which the Christian, though he have suffered the most grievous insults and offensive acts, should be prepared to pardon, in a spirit free from hatred or revenge. Now whether the king, here acting in his judicial capacity, could entertain her request, would have been a different matter. Taking, however, the Old Testament view, the answer would most certainly be, No; and this the more, inasmuch as there was not yet a more satisfactory means of averting evil than the destructive judgments of God upon Haman, who, as an Agagite and an Amalekite, was regarded as representing the cause of evil in opposition to the cause of God and of His people (comp. Doct. hist. thoughts on Neh. iii. 36 sqq.). Further, in Esther's conduct is plainly shown the important fact that, when the season of grace is expired, Justice desires no interruption through petitions for mercy. This truth must be taken to heart, and we must not bewail its force. When Christians see the wicked perish, let them weep over their fate. But we must rejoice over the divine judgments upon iniquity. This serves to strengthen our faith in a holy, ever active God. Our own opposition to iniquity must be as unrelenting as was that of Esther against Haman.

STARKE: "It is barely credible that the king should have thought further upon this matter—have perceived the wonderful dealings of God. Neither can we believe that he was thereby led to know the true God. Esther, however, and Mordecai, together with many of the Jews, must have been gloriously strengthened in their faith. Jehovah's judgments are just (Rev. xix. 2). Let the Christian here notice the goodness and truthfulness of God (Rom. xi. 22), and let both be to him a warning voice!"

On vers. 9, 10. Bitter and sarcastic must it have struck upon the ears of Haman when Harbonah, one of the eunuchs, who up to this time had humbly shown him all desired honor, remarked, now that the doomed man was led away: "Behold also, the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman had made for Mordecai, who had spoken good for the king, standeth in the house of Haman." Must it then be that this despicable creature should raise his foot against the dead lion? See how in this moment he turns toward the newly rising sun with praises in his mouth! Must this miserable slave also add to the already great misfortune of Haman—that he should be hung on just this gallows which he had intended for the Jews! Poor Haman! Didst thou not know that in such ways as were thine thou hadst no really true friend? Didst thou not perceive that a selfish spirit and hypocrisy formed thy body guard? Not know that those who externally bowed the knee to thee, inwardly gnashed their teeth against thee? True friendship and fellowship can only exist between those who are together united to God. Even then we may of-

ten discover the overweening egotism which again loosens such bonds. Where this common bond is wanting, there separation must ensue; there, in fact, each goes his own way. If in such a case all the secret endeavors and aims could be exposed, we would discover a "war of all against all." It is frequently seen that apparent friends afterward become executioners, who, by their mockery, add to the misery of the culprit. In the future also it will be found that the enemies of the people of God will themselves destroy each other in order that judgment on them may be perfect. There is a universal just government of the world on the part of God. He who is capable of so shameful an act as not only to wish to destroy his enemy, but also to cover him with the greatest possible ignominy, must not be surprised if in his own well deserved misfortune great shame shall also accompany his own end. Whoever digs a pit for others, will himself fall into it. This proverb verifies itself in its fullest sense. It has the ring of Satanic mockery when Harbonah says: "And the gallows also stand ready, and that, too, before Haman's own house." There are many people who hesitate not to utter it mockingly, and how good were it for all those who are in danger of entering the way of destruction, should they hear it said loud enough for them to hear, and should they repeat it to themselves: "Also the gallows stand ready without."

STARKE: "It must also so happen in the just judgment of God that since the highest minister of State had caused the highest gallows to be erected in accordance with his greatness of feeling and State position and honors, before which all bowed in adoration to the earth, he should himself be elevated above all other people that were hung."

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# SECOND SECTION.

## The Deliverance of the Jews.

CHAPTERS VIII. IX.

### A.—ESTHER AND MORDECAI PROCURE PERMISSION FOR THEIR PEOPLE TO STAND ON THEIR OWN DEFENCE.

CHAP. VIII. 1–17.

I. *Esther and Mordecai receive authority to order all things needful for the deliverance of the Jews.*
Vers. 1–8.

1 ON that day did the king Ahasuerus give *the* house of Haman, the Jews' enemy,
unto Esther the queen: and Mordecai came before the king; for Esther had told
2 what he *was* unto her. And the king took [removed] off his ring [signet], which
he had taken [caused to pass] from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai. And Es-
3 ther set Mordecai over *the* house of Haman. And Esther spake *yet* again [added
and spoke] before the king, and fell *down* at [before] his feet, and besought him
with tears [wept and supplicated to him] to put away [cause to pass] *the* mischief
[evil] of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he *had* devised against the Jews.
4 Then [And] the king held out the golden sceptre toward [to] Esther. So [And]
5 Esther arose, and stood before the king, And said, If *it* please [*be* good upon] the
king, and if I have found favor in his sight [before him], and the thing [word] *seem*
right before the king, and I *be* pleasing [good] in his eyes, let it be written to re-
verse the letters [books] devised by [of *the* devising of] Haman the son of Ham-
medatha [the Medatha] the Agagite, which he wrote to destroy the Jews which
6 [who] *are* in all the king's provinces: For how can I *endure to* see [and (*i. e.*, when)
I see (*i. e.*, look) on] the evil that shall come unto my people [my people shall find]?
or [and] how can I *endure to* see [and (*i. e.*, when) I see (*i. e.*, look) on] *the* destruc-
7 tion of my kindred? Then [And] the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the
queen, and to Mordecai the Jew, Behold, I have given Esther *the* house of Haman,
and him they have hanged upon the gallows [tree], because [upon that] he laid
8 [sent *forth*] his hand *upon* the Jews. Write ye also [And write YE] for [upon] the

Jews, as it liketh you [*is* the good in your eyes], in the king's name, and seal it with the king's ring [signet]: for *the* writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring [signet], may no *man* [*there is* no *one* to] reverse.

II. *Mordecai authorizes the Jews to make preparations for a common defence.* Vers. 9–14.

9 Then [And] were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month, that *is*,
*the* month Sivan, on *the* three and twentieth [twenty] *day* thereof [in it]: and it
was written, according to all that Mordecai commanded, unto the Jews, and to the
lieutenants [satraps], and the deputies [pashas], and [*the*] rulers [princes] of the
provinces which *are* from India [Hodu], [and] unto Ethiopia [Cush], a hundred
[and] twenty and seven provinces, unto every province [province and (*i. e.*, by) pro-
vince], according to the writing thereof, and *unto* every people [people and (*i. e.*, by)
people] after [according to] their language [tongue], and to the Jews according to
10 their writing, and according to their language [tongue]. And he wrote in the king
Ahasuerus' name, and sealed *it* with the king's ring [signet]; and sent letters
[books] by posts [*the* hand of the runners] on horseback [the horses], *and* riders on
[of] mules [the steed], camels [the mules], *and* young dromedaries [sons of the
11 mares]: Wherein [Which] the king granted [gave to] the Jews which [who] *were*
in every city [and (*i. e.*, by) city] to gather [congregate] themselves *together*, and
to stand for [upon] their life [soul], to destroy, to slay [smite], and to cause to pe-
rish, all [every] *the* power of *the* people and province that *would* assault them, *both*
12 little ones and women, and *to take* [*he gave*] the spoil of them for a prey. *Upon* one
day, in all *the* provinces of king Ahasuerus, *namely, upon the* thirteenth [thirteen]
13 *day* of [to] *the* twelfth [twelve] month, which [that] *is the* month Adar. *The* copy
of the writing, for a commandment [law] to be given in every province [and (*i. e.*,
by) province] *was* published [revealed] unto all people [the peoples], and that the
Jews should [*for* the Jews to] be ready against [to] that day to avenge themselves
14 on [from] their enemies. *So* the posts [runners] that rode upon [riders of] mules
*and* camels [the steed] went out, being hastened and pressed on by the king's com-
mandment [word]. And the decree [law] was given at [in] Shushan the palace
[citadel].

III. *Mordecai's honor and the joy of the Jews.* Vers. 15–17.

15 And Mordecai went out from the presence of [before] the king in royal apparel of
blue [violet] and white [linen], and *with* a great crown of gold, and *with* a garment
[robe] of fine linen [byssus] and purple: and the city of Shushan rejoiced [shouted]
16 and was glad. The Jews had [To the Jews was] light, and gladness, and joy, and
17 honour. And in every province and in every city [and (*i. e.*, by) city], whitherso-
ever [which] the king's commandment [word] and his decree [law] came [*was* ap-
proaching], the Jews had [*was* to the Jews] joy [gladness] and gladness [joy], a
feast and a good day. And many of [from] the people [peoples] of the land be-
came Jews [Judaized themselves]; for *the* fear of the Jews fell upon them.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

It seems almost self-evident after what occurred in chap. vii. that now, next to Esther, Mordecai should also come to great distinction. Whether, however, they would be able fully to reverse the fate that threatened the Jews, remained uncertain in view of the difficulty of the situation. Even after Mordecai had taken his own protective measures, up to the very hour when success was assured, uncertainty continued. In chap. viii. it is to be shown first what authority he received and what measures of policy he adopted.

Vers. 1–8. First, Mordecai's *authority*. On the very day in which Haman fell the king presented the queen with his house. Justly enough the Targums understand by the term "*house*," also the *people* in it, and the entire possessions belonging thereto. It was usual for Persian kings to possess themselves of the property of those who had been punished with death (Josephus, *Antiq.* XI. 1, 3; 4, 6). Mordecai **came before the king**, *i. e.* he was made one of the officers who saw the face of the king (comp. chap. i. 10, 4; vii. 9). He owed his position, not merely to his merit, as having himself been of service to the king, and now meriting the title *benefactor of the king* (Herod. VIII. 85), but because of his relation to Esther (chap. ii. 7). Indeed **the king took off his ring** (ver. 2, וַיָּסַר, as in chap. iii. 10), his seal-ring, **which he had taken from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai.**—הֶעֱבִיר כֵּן, as in Jon. iii. 6;

he made him prime minister (Gen. xli. 42; 1 Macc. vi. 15; comp. chap. iii. 10).* In addition Esther placed him over the house of Haman, *i. e.* left to him the honorable and lucrative management of the large estate thus reverting to her, in fact made him her governor of the house. Both henceforth enjoyed a brilliant position; but they were not misled thereby into evil. The remarks with reference to the present prosperity of Esther and Mordecai are evidently made with regard to what followed. They did not take their ease at the expense of the needed care over their people; these were not forgotten. On the contrary they believed it incumbent upon them to do all in their power to make their people happy and prosperous. The mourning of Esther was still great; it did not cease until full deliverance came to them.

Ver. 3. **And Esther spake yet again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears.**†—She thus caused him to understand distinctly that she was by no means satisfied with what had been done. In so far as Esther had implored him in a general manner to cause **to be put away**, to neutralize, to annul (העביר) **the mischief of Haman** (which he expected to inflict upon the Jews), **and his device** that he had devised against the Jews (comp. Jer. xviii. 11; Ezek. xxxviii. 10), the king showed his willingness to comply, and as in chap. iv. 11; v. 2, he again stretched forth the golden sceptre toward her, so that she could take courage to arise and stand before him. Still it was necessary to find out the ways and means how the thing should be begun.

Ver. 5. Esther suggested: **If it please the king** (comp. chap. i. 19; v. 4, 8; vii. 3); and further on feeling the doubtful character of her proposition, she added: **and the thing seem right,** advisable to him. כשר = to succeed, to accomplish, and in this sense has reference to seed which has sprouted well (Eccl. xi. 6, in the Hiphil, Eccl. x. 10); it is a later word of which elsewhere we only find the noun כשרון (Eccl. ii. 21; iv. 4; v. 10). **Let it be written,** or commanded by an edict, as in chap. iii. 9, **to reverse the letters** (להשיב, to cause to change from the state of being to non-existence) **devised by Haman.**—As is often the case, here the substance of a letter is indicated by an apposition, מחשבת המן (comp. chap. iii. 8 sq. and 12 sqq.). But in order the more certainly to carry through this doubtful proposal, she adds in ver. 6: **For how can I endure to see evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?**—With reference to the connection of אוכל וראיתי, we may indicate that one of the verbs, instead of being in the Infin. (with ל) is subordinate to the other as a finite verb (with ו), comp. Ewald, § 285 *c*. Still לא אוכל itself means: "I cannot endure it," or "I will not be able to stand it" (comp. Isai. i. 13), and the term וראיתי is equal to "when I shall have seen." ראה with ב indicates to look upon some one with interest, be it that of pleasure, as is usual, or of pain or sorrow, as is the case here; comp. in this relation Gen. xii. 1.

Vers. 7, 8. In order to indicate in advance that his good will abounds towards Esther and Mordecai, and that he would grant them all that the law would sanction in favor of the Jews, the king here reminds them of what he had so far done for Esther and Mordecai. Since, however, he could not directly annul his first decrees, but could simply make them powerless in effect, he commands them not to send new orders to the governors—in this manner a suspension or recall of the first edict could not be accomplished—but to send an edict to the Jews themselves, commanding them to prepare for their defence. The sentence: **For the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, may no man reverse,** may have the sense, and so it is generally held, that the simple recall of the first edicts was not possible. אין להשיב may indicate a reflection upon להשיב in Esther's petition in ver. 5.* But since these words so nearly correspond to what precedes: "Let it be written in the name of the king, and seal it with the king's ring," it is clearer and more natural to understand him to say: The new edict to the Jews will be just as authoritative and irreversible as was the former one to the governors. This must equally be obeyed with that. Of course the confirmation belongs still to the words of the king. The phraseology speaks only in an objective sense of the "king," because it refers to a general rule. The infin. absol. Niph. ונחתום is used instead of the perfect [by an ellipsis of the substantive verb].

Vers. 9–14. These contain the *measures* of Mordecai.† In the same manner as did Haman (chap. iii. 12–15) on the 13th of the first month, so Mordecai wrote to and "commanded the Jews and the rulers of the provinces," on the 23d of the third month, *i. e.* Sivan. This was fully two

* ["A pleasure-seeking Persian king, like Xerxes, was glad to be relieved of the toil of governing, and willingly committed to one favorite after another the task of issuing and signing with the royal signet the decrees by which the government was administered. That the official entrusted with these high powers might be a eunuch, appears from Diodorus (XVI. 50). Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† [From the statement of ver. 4 that the king again held out to her the golden sceptre, "we must understand that Esther had once more intruded on Ahasuerus unsummoned." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

* ["The answer of Ahasuerus is a refusal, but one softened as much as possible. He first dwells on the proofs which he had just given of his friendly feeling towards the Jews (ver. 7). He then suggests that something may be done to help them without revoking the decree (ver. 8). Finally, he excuses himself by appealing to the well-known immutability of Persian law." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

† ["The suggestion of Ahasuerus quickened the inventive powers of Esther and Mordecai. The scribes were at once summoned, and a decree issued, not revoking the former one, but allowing the Jews to stand on their defence, and to kill all who attacked them. It has been pronounced incredible that any king would thus have sanctioned civil war in all the great cities of his empire; but some even of the more sceptical critics allow that *Xerxes* might not improbably have done so (De Wette, *Einleitung*, p. 196 *a*)." Rawlinson.—Tr.]

months later, although Haman's fall must have occurred soon after the edict of extermination was published. No doubt Mordecai thought it expedient first to establish himself in his new position before taking such steps and proposing such measures. He wrote to the Jews, but so that the governors became acquainted with the nature of this order, and were obliged to forward it in their extensive provinces to every single Jewish community (comp. chap. i. 1).

The subject of וַיִּכְתֹּב in ver. 10 is the one transmitting or originating the writing, *i. e.* Mordecai. In order to speedily make known the edict so as to free the Jews from their anxiety, and avert the evil in time, he dispatched the messengers with the greatest speed. רָצִים, *i. e.* couriers, בַּסּוּסִים, *i. e.* on horses, **by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, and young dromedaries.**—רֶכֶשׁ, in distinction from סוּס, is the saddle-horse (dromedary), the race-horse (1 Kings v. 8), and is here used in a collective sense. אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים (vers. 10–14) are not "asses," according to the modern Persian *estar*, which in the Sanscrit = *acvatara*, and hence may have been *acpatara* in old Persian; but they were princely, royal horses, hence belonging to the court, from *kshatra*, "royal," king, according to Haug, in Ewald's *Bibl. Jahrb.* V., p. 154. רַמָּךְ = the Syriac *ramco*, "herd," particularly a herd of horses, with which we may also compare the word *ramakat*, "stud," in the Arabic.

Ver. 11. Mordecai wrote that **the king granted the Jews which were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life,** *i. e.* to defend themselves (comp. Dan. xii. 1), **to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the power,** which like an army would raise itself against them (חַיִל), **of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey.**—This too was to take place on the day already designated in chap. iii. 13, *viz.* the thirteenth day of the twelfth month. The reduplication of the expression "to destroy," *etc.*, refers to chap. iii. 13. The same should be granted the Jews which, according to Haman's edict, was allowed the heathen. The Jews were permitted to apply the *jus talionis*. The case then stood that the governors and other authorities were by no means obligated to assist in the preparation for the destruction of the Jews, nor yet to obstruct or hinder the resistance which the Jews would offer to their assailants, as might seem to be implied in the first edict. For then the second edict, which was equally authoritative, would have been little respected; but they could leave the case to the people, whether they would attack the Jews and risk a conflict, and they need not afterward punish such Jews as had slain their enemies. But still more. It was permitted the Jews to assemble and prepare and arm for their common defence in advance, so that they might act as one man against all the assaults and reverses, which in case of their standing disunited would surely have befallen them. לְהִקָּהֵל (to collect), placed in advance here, was especially important (comp. its prominence in chap. ix. 2, 15, 16, 18). Without this the Jews would not have possessed more than the simple right of self-defence, which, under any circumstances, they would have availed themselves of. Besides, even in the Persian empire the larger portion of the inhabitants seem to have possessed humanity enough to feel the disreputableness of an attack upon the Jews for the purpose of rapine, and they were little inclined to participate therein. On ver. 13 comp. chap. iii. 14 *b*, and on ver. 14, chap. iii. 15.

Vers. 15–17. The effect of this new measure was to produce great and general joy, and to bring great honor to Mordecai. He went forth from the presence of the king **in royal apparel of blue and white** (comp. chap. i. 6), **and with a great crown of gold,* and with a garment of fine linen and purple†** (תַּכְרִיךְ ἁπ. λεγ., in Aramaic תַּכְרִיכָא). He was thus adorned doubtless to show what honor had been shown him by the king, but more particularly to make it manifest how he had succeeded in the matter of the Jews, and at the same time to publish his joyous feelings thereat. Importance attaches here not to the royal garment, which had already been given him in chap. vi. 8 sq., but to the State robes of the first minister at court, which, it appears, Mordecai had not put on at the time of his elevation (vers. 1–2), but which he put on after his care for his people was removed. Then the city of Shushan, *i. e.*, its inhabitants one and all, and not the Jews alone, of whom there is separate mention made in ver. 16, **rejoiced** (צהל is not exactly to cry aloud, comp. Isa. xxiv. 14) **and was glad.**—Hence they had deprecated the massacre awaiting the Jews, and perhaps apprehended with fear the great disorders and dangers that would ensue. But the Jews, ver. 16—*i. e.*, those living in Shushan—for the others are mentioned in ver. 17, had light and joy in contrast to the darkening of their future fate (אוֹרָה, found in the fem. in Ps. xxxix. 12; in Isa. xxvi. 19, pl. אורת), and gladness, and joy, and honor.

Ver. 17. So also the joy spread to those without, who were so exceedingly distressed through Haman's edict (chap. ix. 8). They indulged in feasts, and in a good, joyous day, *i. e.*, a holiday (comp. chap. ix. 19, 22). But this was not all. Many of the people of the land became Jews (מִתְיַהֲדִים, derived from יְהוּדִי, and found only here), because the fear of the Jews, and doubtless also of the mighty and powerful God of the Jews, ruling over their destiny, and not so much the fear of Mordecai and Esther, had fallen upon them (comp. Ex. xv. 16; Deut. xi. 25).‡

* ["Not a crown like the king's (כֶּתֶר), but a mere golden band or coronet (עֲטָרָה)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["The tunic or minor robe of the king was of purple, striped with white (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* VIII. 3, § 13; Plutarch, *Alex.* § 51; Q. Curt. III. 5)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

‡ ["Mordecai's power might by itself have caused some fear, but the chief alarm felt probably was lest the Jews, when the day came for revenging themselves, should account the large class of indifferent persons among their enemies. Persons of this class avoided the danger by becoming Jews." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

## DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

On ver. 1 sqq. 1. If in the present case the danger that threatened the Jews had not been so imminent and the disposition of both Esther and Mordecai so patriotic, then they might possibly have become proud in view of the wealth and high life and station that they now enjoyed, or they might have grown indifferent or reserved with respect to the distress of their countrymen. It is too frequent an occurrence that upstarts fear to lose caste by paying regard to former relations. Hence they are quick to forget and neglect their previous friends. There is no question that the attainment of honor and wealth will bring a blessing only when these become an incentive to good works, especially in promoting God's kingdom. There is connected with their enjoyment sufficient discontent, envy and misery, and also enough trouble and curses. In general, Christians who have come to power are more timid in taking care of their friends than worldly people are. Hence the latter can more safely count on the applause of the great mass of men. But the world will not thank the former for their timidity, and God will hold them to account.

Feuardent: "We are taught by Mordecai's example that even pious men sometimes come to the head of affairs, and are safely entrusted with the reins of government; and that God adorns with this glory on earth those whom He will afterwards crown in heaven likewise. They are promoted, however, not so much for their own sake as that they may aid and promote the church and people of God, and may free and console those in affliction."

Starke: "We should have sympathy for oppressed brethren in the faith (1 Pet. iii. 8; Col. iii. 12; Gal. vi. 10). The innocence of the guiltless should be protected (Sir. iv. 9; 1 Sam. xx. 32). He who has no pity for the pious and innocent when they are in danger is not worthy of the name of a man, much less that of a Christian; for we are members of one body (1 Cor. xii. 12)."

2. Although Haman had been removed and Mordecai raised to his present station, yet the people still stood in jeopardy of their lives. Since the edict issued against them was irrevocable, their case was still critical. There were not many perhaps who deemed it possible that any means could be found to avert the threatened calamity. Mordecai himself may have long been in doubt regarding the way to be pursued out of the difficulty. And even after it suggested itself to him, it may have seemed improbable that it should lead to success. All depended on the question whether the assailants would not be too numerous for the Jews to overpower. This could not be previously ascertained. It may afford us light to know that he waited two months after his elevation before he issued the new edict. The period until then was one of dark foreboding to the Jews. But the pious Jews doubtless knew how to comfort themselves. "God often delays help, not because He will render none, but in order to exercise our faith, and to stimulate us the more to call upon Him. Then also the help granted will make the deliverance more sweet, and transform a great distress into a great joy" (*Berl. Bible*).

Mordecai, for his part, doubtless held fast to the thought that one must not despair of the salvation of God's people, and that though the danger be ever so great, God is infinitely greater, and that it is man's duty to do all in his power for himself. With respect to Esther, it was something extraordinary that she, although by descent nothing but a poor Jewess, should propose to the great king of the Persians, the mighty and proud Ahasuerus, that he would revoke in one way or another an edict whose irrevocable character as a Persian dogma was fixed. Really this was a demand to divest himself of that higher divine glory (δόξα) which the faith of the people had surrounded him with. It was to run the risk of unsettling the faith of the people in himself, and to expose himself to State disturbances. The difficulties surrounding him may even remind us of the problem that presented itself to Christ, when He, in the face of the sentence of condemnation upon the sinner on the part of justice, still made provision for grace. Esther might have feared that though her power over Ahasuerus had become great, still he might resent such boldness, and indignantly turn her away, refuse her request, and, if possible, become still more embittered against the Jews. Whatever considerations, however, may have arisen in her heart at the time, still she was doubtlessly incited by the predominant thought that the higher position one holds, the greater are the responsibilities connected therewith; that the more influence one wields, the greater must also be the courage to sustain it, so that one must not hesitate to strive after the highest aims and to tread the most difficnlt paths in the line of duty. But this correct view, this beautiful conviction, could not have been possible unless she had been first in possession of a pure love for her work. As is the case with men, so it was also with her, as a woman, that a true and correct conviction depended upon the state of her heart. If, in the following chapter, she manifests a sharp contrast with the heathen according to the Jewish Old Testament view, which threatened to cause her to err in the Christian view, and to bring vengeance and hate into play, yet, on the other hand, she reveals toward her people a love so strong, so self-sacrificing, and so bold, that it seems as if she had heard and apprehended the great question: "This I did for thee; what doest thou for me?" She here shows that mercy which is appropriate to him who recognizes how great the mercy was that met him.

3. It is a great and precious word which Esther utters in justification of her large and bold request: "How can I endure to see all the evil which will come upon my people, and how shall I bear to see the destruction of my friends?" She here openly expresses the fact that, though she is now greatly elevated, yet she is not able to sever the bond that unites her to her kindred. But, still more, she asserts that her life, though embellished with all the glory that Ahasuerus could bestow, has no value to her if she cannot also know that the lives of her kindred are safe from harm. All this was so well expressed by

her that her word is very appropriate in pointing for our comfort to that Prince who in reality makes this sentiment His own—who, though in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but laid aside His glory, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross. But it is also appropriate as an exhortation for us, which should impel us in our circumstances to more and more approach her in this duty. It would be little credit to us should we prefer only those who are alike spiritually-minded with ourselves, and should we neglect or ignore those who are related to us according to the body, and should we look upon the perdition of so many souls with indifference.

On vers. 7–14. The great excitement which now took place in Shushan, beginning among the scribes of the king and spreading through all the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces of the great Persian empire, from India to Ethiopia, by means of the couriers who rode the best and fleetest horses of the king's stud, and which seized all satraps and governors, but particularly all Jewish communities, may, as a first effect, have provoked much inquiry respecting the meaning of the message, and then great astonishment at it. It is, however, hardly possible that any one already comprehended the significance of the event. What was visible was seemingly only a shell in which lay secreted a seed capable of infinite developments, a new universal law, or rather a new and glorious gospel which should henceforth rule over the world's history and expand to ever increasing authority. The Jews were to have the right to arm themselves against the day of attack on the part of the heathen. This implied that though externally dependent, still among and in themselves they should have freedom and the right to observe their laws and religion. This again prophetically indicates that the kingdoms of the world, although outwardly powerful, should inwardly lay themselves more and more open to the power of the kingdom of God. The Jews should now be empowered to take their defence against their enemies into their own hands. Thus it was implied that, in spite of the restricted sphere to which they were consigned, they still had a right to self-exertion. This mode of action upon attack only left them in an externally insufficient position for successful defence. Yet even in this was contained the prophecy that the people of God are permitted, in an inward and higher sense, themselves to do the best for victory over their enemies, and this the more since the means of the world's empires are here insufficient. Both the right to exist and to be active in the new sphere which they should enter, though as yet existing in embryo, was never sanctioned here. And if Judaism even to-day expects to find in the book of Esther that which will afford it joy, then we must go still further and apprehend its deeper and more glorious import for Christianity and the Christian church.

On vers. 15–17. Mordecai, after having attained all his requests, went out from the king clothed in royal garments, adorned with a large golden crown upon his head. And in all the land and cities, wherever the new law was promulgated, joy and rejoicing arose among the Jews. A great festival day had come for them. We do not know in how far their joy was pure. If it only arose because they could now make the necessary preparations to defend themselves from the attacks of their assailants, then no one will begrudge them their joy. It was certainly a time of deliverance for them. It is just such times as these that have made great impressions not only upon the Jews, but likewise upon the heathen surrounding them. As in the case of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt (Ex. xii. 38; Numb. x. 29), so also here many of the people of the land joined themselves to the Jews, indeed were converted to Judaism. Prophecies such as Isa. xiv. 1; xliv. 5 began to be in part realized. Periods of deliverance are chiefly periods of the extension of God's kingdom. Would that we might realize this in our times of trouble! Since the time of sorrow must of necessity have an end and make way for a time of deliverance, we may very properly rejoice in prospect of the future growth in the church, however threatening the outlook may be. It is on this account that our Lord exhorts us to raise the head when all these things are in process of fulfilment.

The points most important in our chapter are given in brief terms closely following each other. There is God's watchful and energetic care for His instruments for good. Esther and Mordecai are in advance established in their influential position, so that they may the more effectually execute His will. Then comes His care for His people, from whom He averts the threatening danger, and lastly the world is cared for.

Brenz: "What an example is here presented to us of the issue of the greatest dangers which may threaten God's people or church. But what is said of the safety of the universal church, the same holds true of every private individual who is a member of the church. 'I pray not for them alone,' says Christ, 'but for those who through their word shall believe in me.'"

Starke: "It is a small thing for God to turn the seasons of sorrow of the pious into hours of joy (Ps. xxx. 12; John xvi. 20). God helps His people (Luke i. 52) and causes them to rejoice over their enemies (Ps. xcii. 12)."

## B.—THE JEWS DESTROY THEIR ENEMIES, AND AT MORDECAI'S REQUEST ESTABLISH THE FESTIVAL OF PURIM.

### CHAP. IX. 1–32.

I. *The common defence of the Jews is very successful.* Vers. 1–15.

1 Now [And] in *the* twelfth [twelve] month, that *is the* month Adar, on *the* thir-
teenth [thirteen] day of the same [in it], when [that] the king's commandment
[word] and his decree [law] drew near to be put in the execution [done], in the day
that *the* enemies of the Jews hoped to have power over [on] them, (though it [and
(*i. e.*, then) that] it was turned *to the contrary* that the Jews [themselves] had rule
2 [should have power] over [on] them that hated them [their haters]), the Jews
gathered [congregated] themselves *together* in their cities, throughout [in] all *the*
provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay [send *forth*] hand on such as sought their
hurt [on the seekers of their evil]; and no man *could* withstand [stood in *the* face
3 of] them; for *the* fear of them fell upon all people [the peoples]. And all *the*
rulers [princes] of the provinces, and the lieutenants [satraps], and the deputies
[pashas], and [*the*] officers of the king [doers of the work which *was* to the king],
4 helped [*were* lifting] the Jews; because the fear of Mordecai fell upon them. For
Mordecai *was* great in the king's house, and his fame [hearing] went [*was* going]
*out* throughout [in] all the provinces; for this [the] man Mordecai waxed greater
5 and greater [*was* going and great]. Thus [And] the Jews smote [on] all their ene-
mies *with the* stroke [smiting] of *the* sword, and slaughter and destruction, and did
what they would [according to their pleasure] unto those that hated them [on their
6 haters]. And in Shushan the palace [citadel] the Jews slew and destroyed five
7, 8 hundred men. And Parshandatha, and Dalphon, and Aspatha, and Poratha,
9 and Adalia, and Aridatha, and Parmashta, and Arisai, and Aridai, and Vajezatha,
10 the ten sons of Haman, *the* son of Hammedatha [the Medatha], *the* enemy of the
11 Jews, slew they; but [and] on the spoil laid [sent *forth*] they not their hand. On
that day *the* number of those that were slain [the slain *ones*] in Shushan the palace
12 [citadel] was brought [came] before the king. And the king said unto Esther the
queen, The Jews have slain and destroyed five hundred men in Shushan the palace
[citadel], and *the* ten sons of Haman; what have they done in *the* rest of the king's
provinces? Now [And] what *is* thy petition? and it shall be granted [given to]
13 thee; or [and] what *is* thy request further [again]? and it shall be done. Then
[And] said Esther, If it please [*be* good upon] the king, let it be granted [given] to
the Jews which [who] *are* in Shushan to do to-morrow also according unto this
day's [to-day's] decree [law], and let Haman's ten sons be hanged [let them hang]
14 upon the gallows [tree]. And the king commanded [said] it so to be done; and
15 *the* decree [law] was given at Shushan; and they hanged Haman's ten sons. For
[And] the Jews that *were* in Shushan gathered [congregated] themselves *together* on
*the* fourteenth day also of *the* month Adar, and slew [smote] three hundred men
[males] at Shushan; but [and] on the prey [booty] they laid not their hand.

II. *At the desire of Mordecai the Jews resolve to celebrate the* 14*th and* 15*th of the month Adar as Purim.* Vers. 16–28.

16 But [And] the other [remainder of the] Jews that *were* in the king's provinces
gathered [congregated] themselves *together*, and stood [*there was a* standing] for
[upon] their lives [soul], and *had* rest from their enemies, and slew [*there was a*
smiting] of [in] their foes seventy and five thousand (but they laid not their hands
17 [hand] on the prey [booty]). On *the* thirteenth day of *the* month Adar: and on

*the* fourteenth *day* of the same [in it] rested they [*there was a* resting], and made
18 [*there was a* making] it *a* day of feasting [banquet] and gladness. But [And] the
Jews that *were* at Shushan assembled [congregated] *together* on *the* thirteenth *day*
thereof [in it], and on *the* fourteenth thereof [in it]; and on *the* fifteenth *day* of the
same [in it] they rested [*there was a* resting]. and made [*a* making] it *a* day of
19 feasting [banquet] and gladness. Therefore the Jews of the villages [country *places*],
that dwelt in *the* unwalled towns [cities of the country *places*], made [*were* making]
*the* fourteenth day of the month Adar *a day of* gladness and feasting [banquet], and
20 *a* good day, and of sending portions one [*a* man] to another [his neighbor]. And
Mordecai wrote these things [words], and sent letters [books] unto all the Jews
that *were* in all *the* provinces of the king Ahasuerus, *both* [the] nigh and [the] far,
21 to stablish *this* among [upon] them, that they should keep [to be making] *the* four-
teenth day of *the* month Adar, and *the* fifteenth day of the same [in it] yearly, [in
22 every year and (*i. e.*, by) year], as the days wherein the Jews rested from their
enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy [gladness],
and from mourning *into a* good day; that they should make [to make] them days
of feasting [banquet] and joy [gladness], and of sending portions one [*a* man] to
23 another [his neighbor], and gifts to the poor. And the Jews undertook [*each* re-
ceived] to do as they *had* begun [what they *had* begun to do], and as [what] Mor-
24 decai *had* written unto them; because Haman *the* son of Hammedatha [the Me-
datha] the Agagite, *the* enemy of all the Jews, *had* devised against the Jews to
destroy them, and *had* cast Pur (that *is*, the lot) to consume [discomfit] them, and
25 to destroy them: but [and] when *Esther* [it] came before the king, he com-
manded [said] by [with the] letters [books], *that* his wicked [evil] device, which
he devised against the Jews, should return upon his *own* head, and *that* he [him]
26 and his sons should be hanged [they should hang] on the gallows [tree]. Where-
fore [Therefore] they called these days Purim, after [upon] the name of [upon]
Pur: therefore for [upon] all *the* words of this letter, and *of that* which [and what]
they *had* seen concerning this matter [upon thus], and which [what] had come
27 unto them. The Jews ordained [established], and took [*each* received] upon them,
and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined [the *ones* joining] themselves unto
[upon] them, so as [and] it should not fail [pass], that they would keep [to be
making] these two days according to their writing, and according to their *appointed*
28 time, [in] every year [and (*i. e.*, by) year]; and *that* these days *should be* [these
days *were*] remembered and kept [made] throughout [in] every generation [and
(*i. e.*, by) generation], every family [family and (*i. e.*, by) family], every province
[province and (*i. e.*, by) province], and every city [city and (*i. e.*, by) city]; and
*that* these days of Purim should not fail [pass] from among [*the* midst of] the Jews,
nor the memorial [remembrance] of them perish [cease] from their seed.

III. *At the request of Esther the Jews also resolve to commemorate the feast of Purim with fasting and mourning.* Vers. 29–32.

29 Then [And] Esther the queen, *the* daughter of Abihail, and Mordecai the Jew,
wrote with all authority, to confirm [establish] this second letter of [the] Purim.
30 And he sent *the* letters [books] unto all the Jews, to *the* hundred twenty and seven
31 provinces of *the* kingdom of Ahasuerus, *with* words of peace and truth, to confirm
[establish] these days of [the] Purim in their times *appointed*, according as Morde-
cai the Jew and Esther the queen *had* enjoined [established upon] them, and as
they *had* decreed [established] for [upon] themselves [their soul], and for [upon]
32 their seed, *the* matters [words] of the fastings and their cry. And *the* decree [say-
ing] of Esther confirmed [established] these matters [words] of [the] Purim; and
it was written in the book.

# SUPPLEMENT.

## DISTINCTION AND POWER OF MORDECAI IN THE MIGHTY PERSIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER X. 1–3.

1 AND the king Ahasuerus laid [put] a tribute upon the land, and *upon the* isles of
2 the sea. And all *the* acts [work] of his power [authority] and of his might, and *the*
declaration [spreading] of *the* greatness of Mordecai, *whereunto* the king advanced
him [whom the king made great], *are* they not written in [upon] *the* book of *the*
Chronicles [words of the days] of the kings of Media [Madai] and Persia [Paras]?
3 For Mordecai the Jew *was* next [second] unto [the] king Ahasuerus, and great
among [to] the Jews, and accepted of [to] *the* multitude of his brethren, seeking *the*
wealth of [good to] his people, and speaking peace to all his seed.

### EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The author here gives us the last and most important part of the solution, the success which followed the measures of Mordecai for the deliverance of the Jews. Thus his history takes such a turn that the great Persian heathen empire, which at first rejoiced with feasting and hilarity, now suffers a great defeat. Moreover this occurs by the very Jewish nation which Haman and similar enemies hoped to destroy. The time of joyous feasting now came to the Jews and to those who had joined them. Mordecai's measure for the removal of the danger was quite sufficient. This was true first (vers. 1–5) in the Persian empire in general.

Ver. 1. **Now in the twelfth month, that is, the month Adar, on the thirteenth day of the same, when**—אֲשֶׁר may here be taken as the accus. of time, in which, or where. **the king's commandment and his decree drew near to be put into execution,** *i. e.*, in which the king's word and law should be carried out, **in the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have power over them (though it was turned to the contrary so that the Jews had rule over them that hated them).** The infin. absol. וְנַהֲפוֹךְ הוּא may be made to depend, as a continuation of the preceding perfect upon אֲשֶׁר. Then הוּא will stand as a neuter for the thing which their enemies hoped to accomplish on the thirteenth. וְנַהֲפוֹךְ may also serve as a remark inserted as a casual intermediate expression, then הוּא will probably refer back to יוֹם, comp. ver. 22: "As the day was turned unto them (so) that," *etc.* As this remark does not anticipate, and in advance indicate the result afterward realized, but only speaks of change brought about by the issue of the second royal edict, שָׁלַט stands the second time for the "might" or "power" which now awaited the Jews according to right and law, but had not yet been realized. הֵמָּה added to the subject, serves to make a sharp contrast between the Jews and their enemies, so that it may be translated *ipsi*, (themselves) comp. Ewald, § 814 *a*. In ver. 2 follows the mention of a fixed time: **The Jews gathered themselves together in their cities,** *i. e.*, those in which they were more numerous, but yet dwelt mixed up with the heathen inhabitants. They gathered themselves, **to lay hand on such as sought their hurt,** *i. e.*, according to chap. viii. 11, such as attacked them to destroy them. **And no man could withstand them,**—so עָמַד בִּפְנֵי (comp. Josh. x. 8; xxi. 42; xxiii. 9), because fear of them, or their fear had fallen upon all the people (comp. chap. viii. 17).*

Ver. 3. All the princes, the satraps, and governors, and also other persons of rank whom it is unnecessary here to name (comp. chap. iii. 9), assisted the Jews. מְנַשְּׂאִים, as in Ezek. i. 4.†

Ver. 4. These were especially influenced by the fear of Mordecai, who now became more and more powerful and authoritative, (comp. 1 Chron. xvii. 12, where we find instead of גָּדוֹל the intrans. partic. גָּדֵל).

Ver. 5. Thus the Jews inflicted a great defeat

* [" The Jews apparently did not remain wholly on the defensive. Their enemies were no doubt well known to them, and were prepared for the struggle which it was seen must come. Sometimes the one side, sometimes the other, would commence the attack." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† [" This is very important. It has been stated that according to the narrative of Esther the Jews were allowed to kill '75,000 *Persians*;' and this (supposed) feature of the narrative has been pronounced 'incredible.' The present verse shows that the real Persians, who formed the standing army which kept the empire in subjection, and were at the disposal of the various governors of the province, took the Jews' side. Their enemies were almost entirely to be found among the idolatrous people of the subject nations, for whose lives neither the Persians generally, nor their monarchs, cared greatly." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

upon all their enemies with the sword, slaughter and destruction: they carried out the right of retaliation which had been accorded them in ch. viii. 11. הִכָּה with בְּ is to *smite*, to defeat some one (2 Sam. xxiii. 10; xxiv. 17; Num. xxii. 6). מַכַּת can only depend upon הִכָּה; הֶרֶג and אַבְדָן both belong to מכת (comp. chap. ix. 5, where מַכַּת־הֶרֶג corresponds to הַשְׁמִיד).

Vers. 6–15. The defence of the Jews succeeded especially well in Shushan. Ver. 6. **And in Shushan the palace the Jews slew and destroyed five hundred men.*** The infin. abs. וְאַבֵּד as a supplement to the foregoing perfect expresses: "they slew and destroyed."

Ver. 7. The insertion of the names of the ten sons of Haman who were also destroyed, corresponds to the author's method of exactness, and his disposition to mention names, as is seen in chap. i. 14. Jewish rabbis have found these names indicative of representative importance, and have taken the individual traits to mean something prophetic. This peculiar mode of writing, corresponding so well to the style of later mystical modes of interpretation of later Jewish theology, may have been inherent in its spirit, or it may have been because they find the "minuscule" letter ת in the first, ש in the seventh, and ז in the tenth name, and also the "majuscule" letter ו in the tenth name.† According to statements made by Buxtorf (*Synag. Jud.*, p. 588) the mode of writing should be a sign that the ten sons were suspended in a perpendicular line, one over the other, or an omen that after their fall they should never more rise to glory. The Jews did not take the booty of their enemies as was permitted them to do in the edict of chap. viii. 11. This, however, was the order given to their enemies in the edict of Haman, chap. iii. 13, and the author here gives it prominent mention, in order to show that there was no intention on the part of the Jews, to gratify a low avaricious disposition, but only to defend themselves.

Vers. 11–15. After Ahasuerus had discovered the number of those who had perished in Shushan, he stated the same to Esther, adding: **What have they done in the rest of the king's provinces?** *i. e.*, how many must they not have destroyed there; this he said in order to prove to her that he had granted a great favor to the Jews, and hence that he was well-disposed toward them (comp. chap. viii. 7, 8). But to the same intent he also adds the promise following: **Now what is thy petition? and it shall be granted thee.**—Perhaps he recognized the fact that, if the Jews had to do with so many opponents, they could hardly have mastered them, and even now great danger threatened them on the part of those remaining, if they could not hunt down such in their hiding places (and there must have been many in so large a city) and destroy them utterly. וְיִנָּתֵן, masc. or rather neuter, with reference to מַה, while in chap. vii. 2 we find the fem. וְתִנָּתֵן in relation to שְׁאֵלָתֵךְ. The necessity of extending the privilege granted the Jews to the following day, must be evident, since Esther (chap. viii. 11) on her part, without consulting Mordecai, still further requested it. **And let Haman's ten sons be hanged upon the gallows**, *i. e.*, crucify the dead bodies in order to increase the disgrace of their execution, but more in order to augment the fear of the Jews. This was the Hebrew and Persian custom (see Ezra vi. 11 [comp. Plutarch, *Artax.* 17]).

Ver. 14. The king acceded to Esther's request, and so another edict was issued. This contained principally or exclusively a renewed permission for the Jews. This must be publicly proclaimed. With respect to the sons of Haman a simple command was sufficient. The words, **and they hanged Haman's ten sons**, by no means indicates the substance or consequence of the law; opposed to this are the accents and the perfect תָּלוּ. But since the publication of a law was the consequence of the king's acquiescence, so it was also with the hanging of Haman's sons.

Vers. 16–28. *The establishment of Purim.*—In vers. 16–19 we find the historical introduction to the new edict of Mordecai, in vers. 20–28 an index of contents, and in vers. 24–28, still further, a supplement, confirmatory of what preceded, and which seems to have been taken from some other writing.

The statement in ver. 16: **But the other Jews**—separate from those in Shushan, *etc.*—again connects with what preceded in vers. 1 and 2, in order first, to add the number of those whom they had slain, and next to give due mention to the day of their conflict as well as to the fact that the 14th was for them already a day of rest.* The author adds after the phrase **and stood for their lives** (comp. chap. viii. 11): **and had rest from their enemies.**—נוֹחַ is instead of the more usual נוּחַ, Infin. Absol. as in Num. xi. 25. And though he is interested to publish the result for which the Jews stood, namely, that they slew 75,000 of their enemies, yet he is more busied with the main thought that, these outside Jews, in distinction from those in Shushan, had peace soon after their first defence. The perfect

* ["By 'Shushan the palace' or 'the fort,' we are probably to understand the whole of the upper town, which occupied an area of above a hundred acres, and contained, no doubt, many residences besides the actual palace. It is not likely that the Jews would have ventured to shed blood within the palace precincts." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["Excepting Adalia, all these names are readily traceable to Old Persian roots. *Parshandatha* is 'given to Persia,' or 'to the Persians;' *Dalphon*, which in Persian must have been *Darphon* or *Darpon*, is probably the Persian representative of the Sansc. *darpin*, 'arrogant;' *Aspatha* is from *aspa*, 'horse,' and would probably mean 'horseman;' *Poratha* is apparently from *paru*, 'much, great,' and *ratha*, 'a chariot,' and would mean 'having many chariots;' *Aridatha* is from the roots *ari* 'very,' and *da*, 'to give,' and would mean 'liberal' (comp. Phradates). *Parmashta* is a little doubtful, but may be from *fra*, an intensive particle, and *mathista*, 'greatest' (comp. Lat. *prœmagnus*). *Arisai* has the intensive *ari* prefixed to a root *sava*, which is perhaps 'to conquer' or 'to go;' and *Aridai* has the same intensive prefixed to the root *da*, 'to give.' Finally, *Vajezatha* comprises two elements, *vaya*, 'the wind,' and *zatha*, (comp. Zend. *zyat*), 'powerful;' and would mean 'strong as the wind' (comp. Chitratachma, 'strong as the leopard;' Tritantæchmes, 'strong as Tritan, *i. e.*, Feridem)." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

* [*Shushan* here is "probably the lower town, which lay east of the upper one and was of about the same size." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

in vers. 16, 17, as also in ver. 18, is continued by subordinated infinitives (comp. Ewald, § 351 *c*). The statement that the outside Jews had rest already on the 14th of Adar, is here the main point. The other, in ver. 18, that the Jews in Shushan first had peace and joy on the fifteenth, is subordinate. This relation is best expressed by the word "while," by which ver. 19, with its עַל־כֵּן, may be joined to vers. 16 and 17: **Therefore the Jews of the villages, that dwelt in the unwalled towns, made the fourteenth day of the month Adar a day of gladness and feasting,** *etc.*—It does not matter much about the first season of joy, as stated in ver. 17, but it is important that this season had now become a custom of the people, and must have existed down to the time of our author. As evidence of this we have the partic. עֹשִׂים, and also the particles עַל־כֵּן, which latter is generally employed in an explanation as to how a custom originated. It seems, therefore, that for a long time there existed a difference of time as respects the day of the feast of Purim. It appears that the Jews in the smaller villages had one day, and those residing in the larger cities, *i. e.*, also in Jerusalem (according to some MSS. of the Septuagint version *αἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν*) had another. The writing of Mordecai, mentioned in the following verses, which ordered a uniform celebration, *viz.*, of two days (on the 14th and 15th of Adar) soon restored uniformity. But its acceptance had as a first consequence that, only those chief communities in the larger cities (vers. 23, 27), obeyed the order, but the smaller bodies still retained the 14th Adar as the chief day of the feast. To assume a contradiction between vers. 23 and 27 (as does Bertheau) would be unwarranted even if the section beginning with ver. 20 be not an addition by our author, but by some later person. At the time of Josephus it seems that the season of celebration was uniform (comp. *Antiq.* VI. 13). According to the Mishna (*Megilla*, 1)this difference only exists that the book of Esther should be read on the 14th in the smaller towns, but on the 15th in the ancient walled cities of Palestine הַפְּרוֹזִים, with the Kethib, is the plural of פְּרוֹזִי, *countryman.* The Keri is the same as Deut. iii. 5, and 1 Sam. vi. 18. There could have been another form from פְּרָז such as פְּרוֹז, as in קָטוֹן beside קָטָן. מִשְׁלֹחַ is the accus., dependent on עֹשִׂים: **And of sending portions one to another.**—According to ver. 22 (comp. Neh. viii. 10) one made presents in these feasts, similar to the sacrificial feasts, to those less wealthy, but also to others to whom one desired to signify a joyous mind.

Vers. 20–23. The writing which Mordecai sent to all the Jews, doubtless contained the substance of our book of Esther, הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה; *i. e.*, it recounted the danger which had threatened the Jews, and the way in which they were preserved from destruction; for this was needful to state here, in order to give cause and color to the feast ordered by Mordecai. But this did not, therefore, need to include the whole book of Esther.

Ver. 21. Mordecai's purpose was: **To stablish this among them, that they should keep the,** *etc.*—קִיֵּם besides this place (verses 20–32) occurs only in Ruth iv. 7; Ezra xiii. 6; Ps. cxix. 28, 106; and used with עַל it signifies to establish something as binding upon some one, so that it shall become a duty obligatory on him. עָשָׂה with יוֹם here seems to mean (comp. ver. 27), to *celebrate* a day. The phrase לִהְיוֹת עֹשִׂים, following upon the long intervening sentences of ver. 21, is again taken up in ver. 22 by לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹתָם יְמֵי מִשְׁתֶּה and still more enlarged. The result was (ver. 23) that what the Jews had begun to do (ver. 22) and what Mordecai wrote to them to do was by them established as a valid and permanent custom. קִבֵּל, to "accept" (ch. ix. 4), here means, according to later linguistic usage, to *recognize* something as a valid tradition or law. The sing. form is explained by the fact that the verb precedes its subject, according to Gesen. § 114. [Rather it denotes a *distribution* or individual sense.—Tr.]

Vers. 24–28. Now in order both to give the name of the feast just mentioned as well as its duration through two days, our author again briefly repeats the substance of the historical basis in vers. 24 and 25. He also makes brief mention of the facts decisive of the name, and then refers us in ver. 26 to Mordecai's letter and the experiences of the Jews as forming its basis. In ver. 24 we find Haman's intention to destroy the Jews (comp. chap. iii. 1, 6 sqq.), and he then points to the feast of Pur or casting of lots (chap. iii. 7). לְהֻמָּם, "to destroy them," from an older word, הָמַם, which generally describes confusion and anguish such as comes from God (Ex. xiv. 24; Deut. ii. 15), but which here may have been selected as a play upon the name of Haman. As regards the edict so friendly to the Jews in ver. 25, comp. chap. viii. 8 sqq.—**But when (it) came before the king,** *etc.* The suffix of the word בְּבֹאָהּ can have no reference to Esther; she is not mentioned in this connection (so opposed to the Targum, Syriac and most interpreters), but can only be taken as a neuter (as for example in Ezek. xxxiii. 33), (so Bertheau and Keil); and this the more in keeping with the intention of Haman, which is placed in its proper light.—**He commanded by letters that,** *etc.*—אָמַר עִם־הַסֵּפֶר for: "to command by writing," occurs only in this place. It is also peculiar in this section that the command: **that his wicked device, which he devised against the Jews, should return upon his own head,** is given in direct speech, while usually in the rest of the book the infin. with לְ is employed. Finally the author also mentions the execution of Haman and his sons, on which see chap. vii. 10 and ix. 6 sqq. In ver. 26 follows the declaration of the name of the day of the celebration, to which the author here designed to give prominence; but this is followed by the statement,

after עַל־כֵּן, that this should last two days. What is simply indicated by the particles עַל־כֵּן is further enlarged upon by עַל־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי **Therefore for all the words of this letter** (of Mordecai in accordance with ver. 20), and (of all that) **which they had seen concerning the matter** (עַל־כָּכָה, concerning the so and thus), **and which had come unto them**; hence also because their own experience fully corroborated the substance of Mordecai's letter. In ver. 27 follows after עַל־כֵּן the concluding sentence: **The Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them** (*i. e.* all proselytes), **so as it should not fail** (but be unalterably established, לֹא יַעֲבֹר, as in chap. i. 19), **that they would keep these two days according to their writing, and according to their appointed time every year** (year after year).—עֹשִׂים following upon ver. 21 is easily comprehensible. Their writing and determination of time can only have come to them from Mordecai's. In ver. 28 there follows the further injunction: **And that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation,** *etc.* The partic. נִזְכָּרִים, *etc.*, depend upon לִהְיוֹת in the preceding verse. סוּף מִן = "to have an end," *to cease.*

Vers. 29–32. In order more firmly to establish the new law, and the confirmation of a new custom, which thus far had only been observed by Mordecai and Esther, that is, to connect a day of fasting and mourning with the days of the feast of Purim, a second letter was published. This time it was Queen Esther who composed the letter, hence the femin. וַתִּכְתֹּב. Mordecai is also mentioned; but possibly he was only added to give the letter authority and legality, as being the highest functionary in the realm, and to add the writings mentioned in ver. 30. It was especially Esther's concern that the fasts and wailings which had their origin with herself at the time of the decisive step should serve as a reminder of the great distress so happily overcome. According to chap. ii. 15 she was the daughter of Abihail, and on account of the solemnity of the occasion she is expressly designated as such. אֶת־כָּל־תֹּקֶף, "with all strength" (power). תֹּקֶף occurs only here, in chap. x. 2 and Dan. xi. 17, and would signify the great emphasis that Esther laid on the season of fasting and mourning no less than on the celebration of the joyous feast. The object of לְקַיֵּם, "to make valid as a law," **this second letter of Purim** (the first was that of Mordecai in ver. 20), is also the object of the preceding וַתִּכְתֹּב. By the word "this" the author designates the second letter, since he has in mind not to give its substance, but simply to indicate its existence.

Ver. 30 explains somewhat why Mordecai is also mentioned in ver. 29 along with Esther: **And he sent the letters unto all the Jews.** The subject can here only be Mordecai himself. The סְפָרִים, however, which he sent were not copies of Esther's letter (Keil), but writings accompanying it. These may have had the object of further confirming and explaining the facts on account of which fasts and seasons of mourning should be instituted, and of giving a historic sketch of the fast and mourning of the Jews living in Shushan. The words: **And he sent the letters unto all the Jews to the hundred twenty and seven provinces,** are in apposition to **the kingdom of Ahasuerus.**—The contents of the writing are briefly designated as words of peace, *i. e.* as words that meant well, which aimed at the welfare of Israel by thus recommending a good custom for general observance, and which were based on truth.

Ver. 31. The aim of both Esther and Mordecai's letters was: **to confirm these days of Purim in their times appointed.**—This does not mean that it had reference only to certain periods or divisions of the days of Purim in which fasts and mourning should take place, and for which arrangements should be made (Bertheau and also Keil); for that would have been expressed otherwise and more definitely; but it gives the proper validity to the selected days of the feast of Purim, the 14th and 15th Adar. The main thing, however, is contained in the following: **According as Mordecai the Jew and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had decreed for themselves and for their seed, the matters of the fastings and their cry.**—Hence they would also establish the feast of Purim for themselves, so that they might join fasting and lamentation to the feast as Mordecai and Esther had previously done. The suffix of עֲלֵיהֶם may also refer to the above-mentioned days of Purim (not as to their definite time, Bertheau and Keil; for this is only mentioned incidentally); but since קִיֵּם with עַל always means *to make a thing obligatory*, it is naturally referred to Esther and Mordecai. It is true there follows the phrase עַל־נַפְשָׁם; but we may understand this in the sense of עֲלֵיהֶם when preceding וְעַל־זַרְעָם. There cannot well be any other subject intended by קִיְּמוּ than (against Keil) the above-mentioned Mordecai and Esther. עַל־זַרְעָם is a *zeugmatic* mode of expression. It has practical reference to Mordecai's posterity since Esther, as regards her descendants, could not well hope to see them perpetuate Jewish customs.

Ver. 32 strengthens the foregoing greatly.—**And the decree of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim,** those, namely, that had reference to the fasts and mourning.—**And it was written in the book,** of course not in Esther's letter, nor in Mordecai's writing accompanying the decree, which would be designated by the plural סְפָרִים; but it was written in the book indicated in ver. 20, in which Mordecai wrote concerning these events, and which is not identical with our Esther-book, but may

have served as one of its sources.* The day of fasting and mourning is not definitely fixed nor stated here; but it was probably the 13th of Adar, which Haman had set apart for the destruction of the Jews, and which the Jews celebrate as תַּעֲנִית אֶסְתֵּר, *Esther's fast*, although in the period of the Talmud there is mention made of a three days' fast, which was observed after that of Purim.

Chap. x. Our book aims not only to present the deliverance, but also the elevation of Judaism in the time and midst of the great and powerful heathenism of the period of Ahasuerus. It would represent the latter in the person of Haman, the enemy to Judaism, and the former in the person of Mordecai. Hence at its close it speaks once more of Mordecai's greatness and honor.—**And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles of the sea.**—The Kethib אחשרש is an orthographical mistake for אֲחַשְׁוֵרשׁ. מַס, "a levy," tribute (a tribute-service), here means a *tax* levied, and this for the reason that tribute-service belonged to products or moneys which were rendered to the king.† It may be asked why this remark occurs in our book, which, according to all that has gone before, does not belong to the history of Ahasuerus, but has to do with quite another matter. Keil thinks the author wished briefly to indicate at the close whence Ahasuerus derived the means to support such magnificent state as was described at the beginning of our book. But this inference would be superfluous, and would come somewhat late here. The only safe answer is given us by the manner in which the author, in ver. 2, connects the power of Ahasuerus with the greatness of Mordecai. The greater the power of Ahasuerus and his wealth, the more powerful the dignity of Ahasuerus. It is as if the author would tell us: Ahasuerus had power extending over the whole earth, and he caused its wealth to flow into his treasury, and hence made himself felt as the head and lord of the entire power of the earth. It is worth while in this connection to observe the comprehensive statement עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְאִיֵּי הַיָּם But this concentration of universal sway in himself did not avail for the suppression of an externally despicable Judaism; it rather served for the recognition and elevation of the latter, since, according to the Providence recognized in our book, Mordecai, the Jew, became the second ruler after Ahasuerus. Although it seemed as if the people of God had been stricken out of the list of people of the earth, still, in Mordecai, because of his relation to Ahasuerus, it became possessed of the wealth of the peoples of the earth.‡

Ver. 2. The author does not designate either the wealth or the power of Ahasuerus or of Mordecai more minutely, but rather refers, for particulars on both to the archives of the empire of the Medes and Persians.* It is enough for him to be able to refer to these, and it is especially honorable for Mordecai's cause, that even the archives of heathen kings must remember him. For פָּרָשָׁה, "clear statement," *summary*, comp. chap. ix. 7.

Ver. 3. Here the author must once more give prominence to the fact that Mordecai, the Jew, who for him stands as the representative of Judaism, stood next to king Ahasuerus, since therefrom it follows that the greatness of the one was also that of the other.

מִשְׁנֶה, "the second," here means the first minister (comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 7), and hence indicates that Mordecai was great among the Jews, and favored among the multitude of his brethren; *i. e.*, that he really occupied a representative position among them.† On רָצוּי comp. Deut. xxxiii. 24. The expression רֹב אֶחָיו is not to be taken in a limited sense, as if he would say less than: "*all* his brethren;" but may be explained, as Bertheau justly remarks, from the poetic elevation to which his speech rises at its close. The additional sentence also: **Seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed**, is quite in place here, in so far as it indicates that what came to Mordecai also redounded to the good of his entire people. זַרְעוֹ, in parallelism with עַמּוֹ, is the *family* to which he belongs, as in 2 Kings xi. 1; Is. lxi. 9, and not his *posterity*.

## DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

On ver. 1. The day in which the enemies of the Jews expected to see the realization of their hopes, became instead for the Jews a day of victory, and for their enemies a day of reverse and defeat. This, under existing circumstances, seemed to be a change which could only be brought about, as it were, by a miracle. It was indeed one of those Providences by means of which it has pleased God to reveal Himself from time to time in an especially remarkable manner. At all events, the prophets had foretold such occurrences as a matter surely to be expected. When the captivity of Israel shall have

* ["As *book* elsewhere in Esther (סֵפֶר, in the sing.) always means a particular book—"the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia (ch. ii. 23; vi. 1; q. 2), it seems best to give it the same sense here." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["Some fresh arrangement of the tribute is likely to have followed on the return of Xerxes from Greece. His exchequer would be exhausted, and steps would have to be taken to replenish it. The expression in the original does not necessarily imply the first imposition of a tribute." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

‡ [Upon the expression *isles of the sea*, in this connection, Rawlinson remarks: "Cyprus, Aradus, the island of Tyre, Platea, *etc.*, remained in the hands of the Persians after the victories of the Greeks, and may be the 'isles' here intended. Or Xerxes may have ignored the loss of the Ægean Islands, and have 'laid' his tribute upon them, though he might not be able to exact it."—TR.]

* ["In the latter years of Xerxes his 'power and might' were chiefly shown in the erection of magnificent buildings, more especially at Persepolis. He abstained from military expeditions." "Media takes precedence of Persia (contrary to chap. i. 3, 14, 18, *etc.*), because the kingdom of Media had preceded that of Persia, and in the 'Book of the Chronicles' its history came first." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

† ["It has been objected that Artabanus, the captain of the guard, and not Mordecai, was Xerxes' chief favorite in his twelfth and thirteenth years. But this view rests upon the false chronology of Ctesias, who gives Xerxes 13 years only, instead of the 21 of Ptolemy, Manetho, and the generality of the Greek writers. Artabanus was favorite towards the close of Xerxes' reign, *i. e.*, in his 20th and 21st years." RAWLINSON.—TR.]

reached its culmination, when the people of God are on the point of expiring under the rod of their drivers, then, instead of really perishing, they should become captors for their captors and task-masters for their drivers (Is. xiv. 2). What is here shown in a small prelude, according to such prophecy, should attain a much larger circumference and a much greater glory. Our book itself, according to its deeper significance, points in a manner typical or prophetical to this great and glorious final history. As a matter of fact, this change of affairs was itself deeply grounded in the nature and circumstances of things. So certain as the God of Israel was the only true God, whose kingdom shall not be destroyed, but through all apparent reverses shall continually rise to new and greater victories, so likewise to His people—so long as it is the sole bearer of His sway, the grave, which threatens to swallow it up, shall ever be a place of revivification and resurrection. And to-day also His empire must continue; and that which thought to overcome its power must itself be overcome, and either be absorbed or consigned to destruction. All the days of persecution for God's kingdom are days indeed in which its enemies hope to overcome it, but it always turns out that such enemies are themselves conquered at last.

Brenz: "We have above such an example in Haman, who was himself hung on the cross which he had prepared for Mordecai. So the Egyptians were themselves overwhelmed in the sea to which they had driven the Israelites in order to overwhelm them. So also Saul, who had driven David over to the Philistines, that they might destroy him, was himself destroyed by the Philistines."

On vers. 2–4. At the time of the deliverance from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan, the Lord showed abundantly that He was able to make His people a great nation despite the most powerful of their enemies. Now in its exile He again showed them that, as for Himself, He now no longer had need of them as a people, at least as a politically independent one. The great deeds that were then done were edifying and elevating in tendency; what He now did was momentous and instructive. It was plainly evident that He could accomplish His purpose aside from external means or political circumstances. It is still more manifest than it then was that it has pleased Him to be powerful in those who are weak, and great in those who have little influence. In those days he prepared as His instruments the chief persons and princes of His own people, who were in an especial manner filled with the Spirit. Now, however, he employs instead the satraps and governors of Persia, little as they were willing or fit for such work. Together with and among kings, such as Cyrus and Ahasuerus, they must also further God's purposes. There was a time when the Lord had caused fear and terror to fall upon the peoples before Israel, especially those who stood opposed in war, so that they fled from before them (comp. Deut. ii. 25). Now, however, the princes and governors, who had great fear, were obliged to protect the rights of the subjects of the king, and thus they protected Israel. This corresponded entirely to His greatness. Therein is shown His claim as the God of all men. This is itself further evinced by the fact that, if His people will only become more spiritual, as is His wish, and partake of His nature, He will by no means leave them fatherless. But the more spiritual His kingdom, *i. e.*, His people, will become, the more will He assist them to arrive at truth, justice, and security through the world while in it.

On vers. 5–11. 1. We now know a different and better mode of conquering enemies than by the sword and through bloodshed. We know that love only will gain the victory over hate. The people of God is strongest where it is given over to sacrifice and suffering. But we know further that this spiritual mode of combat and victory has become possible only since the time when we received spiritual strength and weapons. In the Old Testament time one could only speak of an external victory over opponents, but not of an internal one. Hence we find it explicable why Israel was compelled to fight such sanguinary battles and merciless wars of destruction. What is most striking in our history is the fact that the Jews, although living in circumstances in which they did not need to wield the sword, nevertheless seized the sword. Though they were no more a people in a political sense, and hence could not procure help for themselves, still they acted as a separate political community. The cause that made them wield the sword of destruction with much the greater pleasure and satisfaction was the fact that Esther stood at their head, and instead of bespeaking a shortening of the work of blood, she promoted it. It is observable also that after the destruction of so many enemies, instead of expressing pain that it needed so severe a conflict, she manifested only joy over their success. But we may nevertheless ask whether condemnation of the then Jews, whom one judges so severely often, as well as criticism of the author, who must have thought and felt as they did, does not proceed from a too rigid doctrinal stand-point, which is inclined to measure every thing by an arbitrary standard, without sufficient regard for circumstances. We would doubtless excuse the then expressions of vindictiveness, were it not for the principle that seems to be involved. For in a real war, in which the patriotic feeling has supreme control, and the weakening of an enemy is a duty of self-preservation, we find such feelings as are exhibited in Judaism and Esther very natural, to say the least. We also perceive the same sentiments often displayed by Israel in its earlier conflicts, without taking so serious an account of them. But the main objection really fails. For the carnage was not of their free will, but a matter of stern necessity. It resulted from the peculiar situation of the case; in fact it was so ordered by the government that the Jews should seize the sword. They were not only entitled, but actually necessitated in this case to return to their political independence. Hence the older interpreters very properly lay great stress upon the fact that the Jews did not venture this of themselves, but at the instance of higher authority. Starke also says: "It is one thing to take revenge of one's self, another to do so on the order of authority; not the latter, but the former, is forbidden. The simple command of a government will justify such

an act only in so far as it is a guaranty against pure thirst for revenge. Every thing here depends upon the disposition of mind. But we would certainly misjudge the temper of the then Jews were we to assume that because the people were but a religious community, we are at liberty to apply a Christian standard to them. It would be unjust to deny them the privilege, which they as an independent people formerly enjoyed, of rejoicing in a victory over their enemies; and it would be little to the purpose, if instead of aiming at their conversion, we acquiesced in their destruction. Instead of justifying the complaint that, we do not pay sufficient regard to those Old Testament national conditions, we must also remember that Old Testament saints could not well avoid often taking a stand-point opposed to their enemies, just as we are still allowed to assume a position at variance with those in enmity against God. Besides, we are not to forget that, for those who will not join themselves to the kingdom or people of God, whatever its form or degree of development, this very hostility is a ground of condemnation. All things that cannot be employed for a good end will finally issue in destruction and extinction. This is still true, and will be true until the end of time. In the same manner even the angels in heaven could not have acted differently from Esther with regard to those enemies in the city of Shushan. We would be more just to Esther, to the Jews spoken of in our book, and to the book itself, if, in what was done in Shushan as well as in all Persia, we would see an anticipation of the judgments connected and parallel with the progress of the kingdom of God on earth, and especially of the final judgment. If the animus of the O. T. with respect to the destruction of enemies seems to us terribly vindictive, rather than mild, yet this may not only be excusable, but may even be a prophetic intimation. The fact, so prominently and emphatically expressed, in the present instance, that the Jews did not stretch out their hands after the goods (spoil) of their enemies, proves to us that they meant to conduct this contest as a measure of self-protection, or better as a holy war, the sole purpose of which was the removal of their enemies.

BRENZ: "This example, however, is set before us not that we should take it upon ourselves to avenge injuries, according to our own judgment, but that we may recognize the severity of the divine wrath against the impious persecutor of the people of God, and that in persecution we might most confidently expect deliverance through faith, and be obedient to the calls of God."

2. That the sons of Haman should also suffer was agreeable to Persian law, according to which, in many cases, the whole circle of relationship of a criminal must suffer death with him (comp. Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6). Nor was this mode of proceeding contrary to the Mosaic code. The law that the children should not die for their fathers (more correctly: *at the same time*), Deut. xxiv. 16, was only applicable to those cases in which the children had no part in the crime of their parents (comp. 2 Kings xiv. 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 4). Doubtless the sons of Haman belonged to those who were inimical to the Jews and attacked them; indeed they may have been their bitterest enemies. It is fair to suppose them in the same state of mind with their father, so that Isa. xiv. 21 came true in their case. Esther requested that, after they were executed, they should also be hung. That the Jews really executed this climax of punishment, may indicate the especially severe judgment that will overtake those who are the principal agents of Antichrist on earth; and this illustrates the truth that opposition against whatever is antagonistic to goodness and piety, must rise till it reaches its overwhelming acme. This is a principle valid even for Christians, that they must be in a hostile attitude to evil to the last degree.

BRENZ: "This is written in admonition of parents, in order that they may be incited to cultivate piety, lest along with themselves they may also drag their children down into destruction. Such severity of God is stated in the Decalogue: 'Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those that hate me' (comp. John. xviii. 17 sq.)."

On vers. 11–32. 1. In the first pages of our book Ahasuerus, together with the representatives of his empire, indeed heathendom itself, celebrated a great feast. Here, at the end, however, it is for the Jewish people to celebrate a feast. The way of the world begins with pleasure and mirth, but does not end so. The way of God's people leads through sorrow, but at its end is the great feast which is described by Zech. in chap. xiv., as a feast of tabernacles; since it will be celebrated in the tabernacles of undisturbed peace. This, according to Isa. xxv. 6 sqq., may also be the celebrating feast of salvation and consolation, in which God will wipe away all tears from all eyes. We here have to do with the celebration of a feast in time. This obviously differs greatly from the heathen festival. When in later centuries Purim was celebrated with heathenish abandon and luxury, when it seemed to the Jews that they regarded it as a duty to so intoxicate themselves so that they could not distinguish between the names of Mordecai and Haman, this became a striking proof to how low a level, even to heathenism, Judaism had sunk.

The festivals that the people of the Lord as such celebrate, have quite a different purpose from those of heathendom. Ahasuerus aimed to show the riches of his glorious kingdom. God's people desire first of all to praise God's grace. They would give thanks for the gifts bestowed upon them. They would secure and keep what they already have by rendering thanks and praise to God as its author. Their's are feasts of gratitude. Hence these also have a different character from the others. The pious cannot manifest their spirit of gratitude to God for all His benefits without also proving this by benefaction to their brethren in the faith. The love of God has kindled love to their fellows in their hearts; this would prove itself in deeds of kindness and benevolence. They would confess their allegiance to God as to one mild and kindly; they would else deny Him were they not to give sway, on their part, to mildness and kindliness. Their festivals, therefore, are seasons of refreshing, but especially so to the poorer brethren among them (comp. vers. 19, 22). At the same time

there is joined to their spirit of rejoicing one of great seriousness. They cannot enjoy their deliverance without also looking back upon the sorrow that preceded it. They can only appreciate the former by taking a full view of the latter. They do not forget that though salvation is theirs, still there are even yet abundant causes for sorrow and grief. The chief cause of this is the remains of sin in them. As the *Muzzoth* (unleavened) days are followed by the serious Paschal sacrifice, and as the joy of the feast of tabernacles is preceded by the repentance of the fast of the day of atonement, so also here the joyous feast of Purim is connected with a preparation of fasting and mourning (comp. ver. 31). In eternity also will this transition hold true.

Starke: "It is the privilege of God's children to rejoice in the Lord (Deut. xii. 15; Phil. iv. 4). When God presents us with days of joy and blessing, we should also remember the poor, (Sir. xiv. 4; Ps. xxii. 27 sqq.)."

2. In Deut xiii. 1, it is commanded neither to add to nor to take from the law. If then the Jewish people nevertheless added another feast to those already existing then, doubtless they took into account the principle that what one is encouraged to do in view of a certain law is not so much an addition as an outflow of the same. At any rate the Jewish church already began in this manner to assume a freer position with respect to the Law. And this, if the interior impulse be true, not so much to the letter as rather to the spirit, would be still loyal; nor could it very easily transform the "writing." spoken of in vers. 21, 27, into an objectionable system of statute law.

Starke: "We can well receive or retain good church ceremonies, if only they are not opposed to the Word of God, in view of our Christian freedom. Even the holidays ordered by the authorities of one's country should be celebrated in a becoming manner (Zech. vii. 2–5)."

On chap. x. That next to the great power of Ahasuerus, having such extensive dominions, all subject to taxation, the greatness of the Jew Mordecai should have been handed down to the memory of all times in the books of record of remarkable events of the Medes and Persians, was a great honor to the Jews. To this day they rejoice over his elevation. But they may well look to it to see whether they may now claim him as their own. That which God especially honored and protected in Mordecai and the then Judaism, was their fidelity to Him and His law. And only where these are found will we find a church that may receive the book of Esther as a prophecy of its victory and continuance in spite of all oppressions on the part of the world.

Brenz: "The Jews, because they rejected Christ, the true seed of Abraham, are now no longer the people of God, no more His Church, but belong to Ishmael and Esau. who always have persecuted the true seed of Abraham. And since they persecute the true Israel, *i. e.*, Christians with the same enmity with which Haman once persecuted them, it is clear that they are themselves the kindred and allies of Haman the Amalekite."

Only where we suffer like Mordecai may one take comfort, as is so convincingly expressed in our book in the thought that the crown is at the end of the cross.

Feuardent: "Mordecai, in order to vindicate the glory of God and his countrymen from the Hamanites, endured the hatred of many. He afflicted himself with fastings, prayers, sackcloth, cryings. and lamentations; he constantly spurned that impious man; and was at last adjudged to suffer on the ignominious cross. Now, however, by the singular favor of God he is crowned beyond all men (Ahasuerus alone excepted) with glory and honor even in this world."

**THE END.**

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